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Editorial

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Welcome to the 2024 annual volume of *Review of Scottish Culture* (ROSC), hosted by the European Ethnological Centre at the University of Edinburgh and published by Edinburgh University Press. We are particularly pleased to be returning, after a hiatus of several years, with a fresh online layout. I am delighted to fulfil the role of journal editor, supported by a distinguished and enthusiastic editorial board of experts, from across Scotland and internationally. We have made every effort to maintain the standards of excellence set by previous volumes of ROSC in print.

This is the 40th year of ROSC, founded in 1984 to explore and showcase Scotland's rich cultural heritage, in all its diversity and range. The focus is Scottish ethnology (folkore and folklife), both nationally and internationally. The journal encourages multi and interdisciplinary research on the ethnology of Scotland and Scottish culture globally, its tangible and intangible heritage. These key areas are our continued focus in our new digital form.

Moving forwards, we would like to take advantage of the opportunities that online presentation offers, including sound and video files and stills images alongside text-based content. We want to be at the forefront of the discipline as it develops: creative and innovative as well as respectful to those who went before us to make this field dynamic, useful and exciting; co-workers in the field, contributing in both traditional and innovative ways – often mutually compatible and enriching.

In this 2024 issue, then, we are delighted to present a wide range of essays, engaging with Scottish culture from the present day back to the eighteenth century. A powerful team of distinguished, and emerging, writers are featured, from Scotland and from Europe. We are grateful to them and to all the people whose culture is presented, and represented, here.

There is a broadly narrative theme to the volume – a nod to Scotland's Year of Stories in 2022. Tangible culture is very well represented too. Some subjects will be familiar – Stephen Miller's exploration, for instance, of a well known Scottish folklorist, and his circle, from a new perspective. Hugh Cheape's study of a Hebridean plough type honours the original intentions of ROSC, demonstrating how the material reflects the communities who create it. Similar comments could be made about the detailed observations made by Piers Dixon and Joyce Durham, grounded in archaeology whilst fully cognisant of

living traditions and cultures. By looking at farm diaries, Dorothy McGuire presents important insights into everyday agricultural life in all its dimensions, with a great deal of specificity. This makes an interesting juxtaposition with Alistair Mutch's detailed piece on an Aberdeenshire laird's house. Many pieces are illustrated, facilitating readers' engagement with complex topics.

James Porter's essay on the Waterson manuscripts, and their family as well as historical significance, sits well alongside Katherine Campbell and Emily Lyall's work on Robert Cleghorn in context – including an opportunity to hear an example in the accompanying sound file. Murray Cook moves into the area of popular literature and archaeology through the work of Walter Scott; Jennifer Barnes shares important insights into performance and popular culture, through William McGonagall and Dundee. Abraham Kovacs examines folk religion and humour in the work of Ferenc Baráth and Ieuan Rees uses the starting point of a Bannockburn clock to show how material culture can contain a wealth of hidden personal and social information. A similar viewpoint informs Simon Gall's essay, taking the starting point of a soft toy to show how an oil family communicates and connects.

In short, I am confident that there is something here for anyone interested in the culture and traditions of Scotland and, I hope, encouragement for future submissions. We are keen to broaden our reach, whilst maintaining the depth of scholarship that ROSC is known for. Understanding the culture of Scotland – both as it is expressed today in this diverse climate and as it connects to the past and future – is our goal and your contribution is welcomed. Theory and methodology, material culture, the culture of making, performance, narratology, music, song, food culture, customs and belief, visual and audio culture including social media, exhibition and interpretation and tourism: all of these are topics I would like to see represented in future issues. We are open now for submissions for the 2025 issue; proposals of 350 words should be sent to myself, valentina.bold@ed.ac.uk, preferably by the 30th of July 2024. Thank you for choosing to read this *Review of Scottish Culture*. I feel sure you will find it worthwhile and, I hope, as enjoyable as I have.

The European Ethnological Research Centre

Outputs and projects

The European Ethnological Research Centre (EERC) was founded by Prof Alexander Fenton CBE in 1989. Initially housed within National Museums Scotland the EERC has, since 2006, been part of Celtic & Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. The EERC conducts research into Scottish life and society following an ethnological approach. The results of that research are published in a variety of outputs: Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology; Flashbacks; Regional Flashbacks; Sources in Scottish History, Review of Scottish Culture and other occasional publications.

The Flashbacks Series

The Flashbacks series provides first-hand accounts of lived experience from those who live and have lived across Scotland. These accounts are from a variety of presentation: diary; memoir; correspondence and recorded interviews. The *Regional Flashbacks* draws form the Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project in providing these first-hand accounts. From work to family life, town to village and the external to the inner world of the contributors, readers gain an insight into life and society across Scotland.

Sources in Local History

The Sources in Local History series was created by Professor Fenton. His aim was to publish and promote research into diaries, account books, journals and other documents containing information about everyday life and society in Scotland. Professor Fenton had long advocated their value for the study of the country's ethnology and history, and before the series was established, he had included part-transcriptions and associated articles in the *Review of Scottish Culture*. Six volumes were published in the original *Sources in Local History* series.

The series was revived in 2015 as part of the Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project. With this relaunch, it became a free-to-access, digital resource. It also broadened its scope to include documents produced by societies as well as by individuals; and a new 'Scots Abroad' strand was introduced in order to capture the experiences of the many Scots who left these shores either as emigrants or sojourners, or in the course of duty. To date, 31 volumes of transcribed and edited documents have been produced in the new series.

Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project (RESP)

Following completion of the 14-volume 'Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology', the EERC launched the Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project (RESP), in 2011. The aim of the Project was to enhance the Compendium by facilitating the collection of primary source material that would illustrate everyday life and society in Scotland, past and present. After an initial scoping study, Dumfries and Galloway was chosen as the first research

area and it was determined that the Study would have two distinct parts: the spoken word and the written word. From the outset, key objectives included i) the involvement of local partners and volunteers and ii) implementing a process which would allow the research materials generated by the Project to be shared as widely as possible.

RESP: The spoken word

EERC staff worked with local organisations and partners and held events to promote the RESP and recruit volunteer fieldworkers and potential interviewees. Fieldworkers were subsequently given training in all aspects of collection, from practical equipment operation to ethical guidance. They were given ongoing support from EERC staff which began with detailed feedback on initial interviews and included the provision of a shared reflective diary (where fieldworkers were encouraged to reflect on their own practice and share their thoughts on what they had learned from each interview). Fieldworker gatherings were also arranged, where participating fieldworkers were encouraged to reflect on the material they had collected. During the active years of the Dumfries and Galloway RESP (2011-2018), around 60 volunteer fieldworkers made recordings with nearly 250 interviewees, amounting to hundreds of hours of new fieldwork research.

The decision to recruit local volunteer fieldworkers was central to the Project and had a number of beneficial outcomes. Most importantly, the Project sought to gather a body of source material which would represent the priorities and concerns of the region. By training the fieldworkers and then allowing them decide who to interview and what questions to ask, it was hoped an unmediated impression of local experience could emerge. In addition, by including local partners and volunteer fieldworkers, the EERC were able to maximise the work that could be achieved during the study period. This led to a dynamic and invigorating experience for everyone involved.

In the introduction to Volume One of the Compendium of Scottish Ethnology, Dr Margaret Mackay includes this quote from Sandy Fenton, a guiding principle of the RESP:

> [Ethnology] is a subject that relates to each and every one of us and there is no one who cannot be a practitioner. It is one in which personal roots, the home and environment within which the researcher is brought up, become part of the research apparatus of national identity (I:26).

In addition to the active collecting, a small number of items and pre-existing collections were donated to the Project, thereby ensuring wider access to these materials and ongoing care and security of this valuable legacy resource. This included the first materials added to the RESP Archive, a series of interviews carried out between 1999 and 2016 comprising 42 recordings made with 46 contributors made by members of the Stranraer and District Local History Trust. This rich body of material resulted in the first publication to be generated by the RESP, the Regional Flashback *Stranraer and District Lives: Voices in Trust* (2017). Another donated item, a recording made by Ian Blacklock in 1975 with his 100-year-old granny, takes us back to memories of seeing Queen

Victoria at the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal in 1894.

The RESP model has developed over time and is currently active in East Lothian with smaller projects in other parts of the country, such as work with the Harris Tweed Authority in the Western Isles, supported on a smaller scale and over a shorter time-frame.

To date, almost 300 fieldwork recordings have been added to the East Lothian collection. This includes both ongoing original fieldwork and donated material.

The RESP Archive Project

As mentioned above, a key principle of the RESP from the outset was to make the resources as widely accessible as possible and this commitment led to the establishment of the RESP Archive Project and the collaboration with the Centre for Research Collections at the University of Edinburgh, where the RESP fieldwork recordings are now held. As a born-digital collection, the RESP recordings were already cleared for digital release and so, in 2018, work began on building the resource which would become the RESP website https://collections.ed.ac.uk/eerc/

This website is accessible to anyone and provides access to the entire RESP collection. Each recording has been screened in order to comply with GDPR regulations, and redacted as appropriate. The recordings each appear on a dedicated page alongside any available visual resources, a detailed summary of the interview contents and full transcriptions. In this way, the RESP team have sought to make the recordings as accessible as possible. The resource continues to be added to with both original fieldwork recordings and legacy materials and, now that the website is up and running, the RESP archive team is moving focus more towards outreach and engagement in order to promote the resource and encourage wide engagement with this unique collection.

Innovation: Being part of the wider Centre for Research Collections has meant that the EERC and the RESP Archive Team have been able to call on the expertise of a varied team of experts. The Project has also provided a unique testing bed for the team working within the CRC on digital preservation: allowing them to realise significant developments in this important area of archive work.

A key strength of the RESP model is that it is simple and agile. It has therefore been possible to respond to opportunities as they arise and to direct resources wisely to achieve the best impact. One recent development has been to move into film production as a way of using in-house expertise to develop resources which can reach a wide audience, encourage more participation in the RESP and create a resource that can be used in future and beyond the time the RESP is active.

RESP outputs so far include:

Printed resources: Four books, including one edited by the volunteer fieldworker who conducted the research (*Whithorn: An Economy of People, 1920-1960* ed. Julia Muir Watt) and one joint-edited with a volunteer (*Lochmaben:*

Community Memories, eds. Isabelle C Gow and Sheila Findlay).

The provision of written articles about the work and content of the RESP is an area under development at the moment and includes:

> iPRES paper: 'A Tartan Rather than a Plain Cloth': Building a Shared Workflow to Preserve the Regional Ethnology of Scotland Archive, delivered by Sara Day Thomson, Digital Archivist, CRC, at iPRES22, in Glasgow, September 2022.
>
> SRA paper: 'The Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project: Archive and Research in Partnership' based on a paper given by Caroline Milligan and Lesley Bryson at the Scottish Records Association conference in 2022, this paper has been submitted and is awaiting publication.
>
> David Hannay paper: David Hannay donated his fieldwork collection to the RESP (75 recordings made over his lifetime) and this material, largely concerned with the communities of Carsluith and Creetown, is explored in a paper currently being prepared for publication.

Visual Resources: *The Past is Still with Us*: A 19-minute film about East Lothian fisherman, Charlie Horne, which was shown in local venues and is now available on the RESP Archive website. *Musselburgh Mills*: A 42-minute film which brought together the recollections of the main mills in Musselburgh: the paper mill, the wire mill and the net mill. This film, a collaboration with the John Gray Centre in Haddington, was launched in Musselburgh to an audience of over 170 people, many of whom had their own memories of the mills to share and discuss. The film was shown several times in 2023 with more screenings planned in 2024, and will also be available on-line in the future.

Future plans: In 2024 the RESP will continue to be active in East Lothian and will be working with colleagues at the John Gray centre on a film which focuses on life in Haddington. This film will combine material from the RESP Archive with visual resources from the John Gray Centre collection. The overall focus of the Project will be on maximising our resources and working in partnerships to preserve, promote, celebrate and encourage engagement with the RESP Archive recordings and the people who contributed to their creation.

EERC and Project staff

Lesley Bryson has been Project Archivist at the Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh since 2007 and the RESP Project Archivist since 2018. Lesley is responsible for resource development, workflow planning and also coordinates and undertakes cataloguing of the RESP Collections.

Colin Gateley has worked in audio visual production and digitisation for museums, galleries and education for over 27 years. He has been an AV assistant to EERC since 2017, including the editing and production of film output and the digitisation of audio content. More recently he has been involved in producing and editing videos using RESP audio recordings.

Dr Neill Martin is Senior Lecturer and Head of Celtic and Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. He studied at the universities of Stirling, Dalhousie, McGill and Edinburgh. His undergraduate and Masters degrees were in English and Music, later developing an interest in ethnology and folklore before competing his PhD in the field of ritual and language in Celtic-language societies. His publications extend across festive culture, oral poetry, ballads and traditional belief. He has been Director of EERC since 2020.

Caroline Milligan is Archives Assistant with the RESP Archive Project and Research Assistant and editor with the EERC. Caroline was involved in the initial RESP pilot study. As well as preparing the finding aids for RESP resources being added to the Project website, she has an active role in supporting the work of the RESP in the community and has edited a number of EERC publications including two in the Regional Flashback series, *Stranraer and District Lives: Voices in Trust* (2017) *and Border Mills: Lives of Peeblesshire Textile Workers*, Ian MacDougall, (2023)

Mark Mulhern is Senior Research Fellow at the EERC. He was one of the editors of *Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology* and is currently responsible for management of 'Spoken Word' strand of the *Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project*. In addition, he is General Editor of the *Flashbacks* and *Regional Flashbacks* series. With a background in bio-medical research and Scottish history, Mark has worked at the EERC since 2003.

Dr Kenneth Veitch has been a researcher with the EERC since 2001. A former editor of the *Review of Scottish Culture* (2003-2012), he manages the Written Word strand of the Regional Ethnology of Scotland Project. This includes the *Sources in Local History* series, a freely accessible, online collection of transcribed and edited documents that can be used to study the everyday lives of Scots from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century.

https://www.ed.ac.uk/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/research/eerc

The Director of EERC is Dr Neill Martin
Neill Martin | The University of Edinburgh

"Are You Quite Sure They Gave You Them All?" John Edward Crombie and the Personal Papers of the Rev. Walter Gregor (1825-97)

Stephen Miller

The Rev. Walter Gregor was born in 1825, at Fogieside, in the parish of Keith in Banffshire, the son of James Gregor, a tenant farmer. Educated at King's College in the University of Aberdeen, he graduated in 1849, and subsequently taught at Macduff Parish School in Gamrie, in Aberdeenshire, for ten years. Taking Divinity classes during that time, he was eventually licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Turriff (Aberdeenshire), in 1857, and was appointed in 1859, as the minister to the coastal parish of Pitsligo (Aberdeenshire), where he was to preside until 1891, when he went in semi-retirement and moved to Bonnyrigg, near Edinburgh, where his brother lived. He remained there until his death in 1897, and is buried there (Miller 2009b; 2011; 2017).

Gregor was a founding subscriber to the *Folk-Lore Society* founded in London in 1879; he was later to serve as its secretary for Northern Scotland. It was with the publication in 1881, by the Society of his *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland* that readily established his reputation as a folklorist of the first-rank. As his obituary by Edwin Sidney Hartland in *Folk-Lore* recounted:

> To know this book is to recognise its value as a transcript of the superstitions and traditions of a district rich in remains of the past up to that time unrecorded. Its author, however, was by no means content to rest on the reputation its publication immediately won, for he was an indefatigable collector. Frequent communications to the Folk-Lore Society and to the Société des Traditions Populaires, of which he was also a member, attest his continued industry (Anon 1897).

Gregor published in a variety of spheres: regionally, for instance, in the *Transactions* of both the *Banffshire Field Club* (1880–) and *Buchan Field Club* (1887–); nationally, in the *Folk-Lore Journal* (1883–90), continued by *Folk-Lore* (1891–); and internationally, in the *Revue des Traditions Populaires* (1886–). Moreover, he also published extensively in his lifetime as his obituary notice alluded to: looking simply at the *Folk-Lore Journal,* and its successor, *Folk-Lore*, there are thirty-five pieces there alone attributable to him. He also conducted fieldwork in Galloway under the auspices of the Ethnological Survey of the United Kingdom (Miller 2009a). For a bibliography that now needs updating, see (Miller 2000).

THE NEW SPALDING CLUB AND THE REV. WALTER GREGOR

Gregor promised the New Spalding Club in 1886, the year of its refounding, a work similar to the *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*. Nothing happened until over a decade later, when *The Folklore of the North-East of Scotland* was announced as the subscription volume for 1897, a multi-volume affair, with the first one having the title of *The Hours of the Day, the Days of the Year, and the Months*. The year of 1897 was also—inconveniently to say the least—the year of Gregor's death. The title was pulled from the lists as a consequence whilst correspondence was begun with Gregor's estate by the Secretary of the Club over obtaining the manuscript. It was here that Crombie became involved, later purchasing the manuscripts (note the plural) and who with a cautionary note reported that "he is not yet able to say whether a separate volume could be made out of the material in his hands." The Editorial Committee did reinstate Gregor's title, one now "based on the MS. Collections of the late Rev. Walter Gregor, LL.D." and "[t]o be edited by James E. Crombie, M.A." This was from the annual report for 1900, and those for the subsequent years of 1901–04 simply mention that it, along with other works for the Club, were "approaching completeness in the hands of their respective editors." No mention was made of it in the 1905 annual report or thereafter, and it was silently dropped without any comment or note of explanation being given.

Whilst Gregor's lost publication for the New Spalding Club has already been discussed, there is now further material to hand to be considered and a fuller story to date as a result can be told (Miller 2005). Part of his personal papers survive, which is remarkable for folklorists of this period, and they now sit at UCL amongst the collections of the *Folk-Lore Society*, but residing in the Crombie Papers. And what is there now, is not what once was in Crombie's hands. Gregor's papers allow us to trace an afterlife of his work, with Crombie's attempts to edit them creating in one sense a shadow world of Gregor's own activities.

THE CROMBIE PAPERS: "ARE YOU QUITE SURE THEY GAVE YOU THEM ALL?"

"Dr Gregor has not gone half into the matter if all his notes have been handed over to you. Are you quite sure they gave you them all?" This was the question posed to J.E. Crombie in a letter from William Cramond dated 17 February 1900.[1] He had earlier commented, "[a]llow me to say that Dr Gregor's collections are disappointing. They are both far too few in number and he misses several of the best." Returning what had been sent, he asked that "[o]n receiving Dr Gregor's MS enclosed Will you kindly send me a post card to assure me it has reached you."

William Cramond (1844–1907), a schoolmaster at Cullen in Moray, was involved with the New Spalding Club, the Field Club covering the historic counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine (Cormack 1964; Donaldson 1965). His most prominent publications for the Club were the two-volume compilations, *The Annals*

1 Letter from William Cramond to J.E. Crombie, 17 February 1900, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, J.E. Crombie Papers, Box T206, Folder T.

of Banff (Cramond 1891; 1893), and *The Records of Elgin, 1234–1800* (Cramond 1903; 1908), the last volume posthumously edited by the Rev. Stephen Ree from a nearly-complete manuscript found amongst his papers. John Edward Crombie (1862–1932) too was involved with the New Spalding Club, and was equally drawn into editing a manuscript left by another member of the Club, namely the Rev. Walter Gregor—or so he thought. And Cramond was not to be the only figure drawn into the subject of Gregor's manuscripts.

THE CROMBIE BROTHERS: JOHN EDWARD & JOHN WILLIAM CROMBIE

Crombie's research interests were in the fields of meteorology and seismology, with family money allowing him to build his own seismic station as well as support others working in that field. That said, he did make two contributions to *Folk-Lore*, one on "First-Footing in Aberdeenshire" (Crombie 1893), and the second on "Shoe-Throwing at Weddings" (Crombie 1895). He had earlier presented a paper to the 1891 International Folk-Lore Congress held that year in London (Crombie 1892). His brother, John William Crombie (1858–1908), also shared a passing interest in folklore and had earlier published in the *Folk-Lore Journal* in 1883, and in the following year of 1884, and elsewhere in 1886, an article on the "History of the Game of Hop-Scotch" (Crombie 1883abc; 1884; 1886). He was active in the work of the Folk-Tale Tabulation Committee of the Folk-Lore Society in the same period, and later was a member of the Council of the Society. But as seen it was to be James Edward from the two brothers who was to become involved with Gregor.

THE REV. H.M.B. REID AND THE REV. WALTER GREGOR

Amongst the Crombie Papers is a typed copy of a "Report on Dr. Walter Gregor's M.S.S. H.M.B. Reid, B.D., Balmaghie (January 1899)."[2] He was fuller Henry Martyn Beckwith Reid (1856–1927). Born in Glasgow, his family later moved to Dundee when his father took up the position of chaplain to H.M. Prison. After studying at the University of St Andrews, Reid was licensed in 1879, and served at Anderston Parish Kirk and then at Glasgow Cathedral. He was ordained as a minister in 1882, and moved to the parish of Balmaghie in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in Dumfries and Galloway. Serving there for close on twenty years he was appointed in 1904 as the Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow (Scott 1917, 395).

It was whilst living in the manse at Balmaghie that he became acquainted with Gregor when he was conducting fieldwork in Galloway under the auspices of the *Ethnographic Survey of the United Kingdom* sponsored by the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He carried out two separate collecting tours, the first one during the October and November of 1895, followed by a second visit in April and May of the following year, 1896. Gregor met Reid on 29 October 1895

2 Copy | REPORT | on | Dr. Walter Gregor's M.S.S. | H.M.B. Reid, B.D., Balmaghie | [short rule] | Jany. 1899, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T165, FLS Hon. Secretary Correspondence, FLS/1/2/2/16, Folder 2, Correspondence September 1933–April 1934, Subfolder 3.

when he "was most cordially received by Mr and Mrs Reid" as he noted (Gregor 1897, 612). He was their guest again in 1896, turning up on 20 April, remarking "where I was again cordially received by Mr and Mrs Reid" (Gregor 1898, 500). Of his 1895 visit, Gregor mentioned that "Mr Reid spared no pains to meet my wishes, both by driving me for miles through the wild Galloway moors and by taking me to those he considered able to help me both in Minnigaff and in Newton Stewart" (Gregor 1897, 612).

Gregor's death in 1897 prevented further planned fieldwork elsewhere in Scotland for the Survey, visits to Caithness, Morayshire, and Nairn having been proposed as part of his activities in 1895 and 1896, though as seen he was active only in Galloway in those years. The Survey turned then to Reid himself, "[t]he Committee has endeavoured to fill the place left vacant by the death of Dr Gregor by the appointment of the Rev. H.M.B. Reid to carry on the work initiated by him […]" (Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom 1898, 454). This was the work in Galloway and not Gregor's other proposed commitments. This was a curious move as Reid was nothing other at the time than an ordinary Church of Scotland minister. *About Galloway Folk* (Reid 1889), and his parish history, *The Kirk above Dee Water* (Reid 1895), were run-of-the-mill publications and while a member of the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society, he did not publish in its journal (Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society 1896). Nothing is ever mentioned in any of the further reports of the Survey whether any fieldwork was conducted by Reid or not. But this was not to be the end of his involvement with Gregor, as he was called upon to examine his personal papers on behalf of Crombie.

"REPORT ON DR. WALTER GREGOR'S M.S.S. H.M.B. REID, B.D., BALMAGHIE" (JANUARY 1899)

Reid's report is dated 27 January 1899 and reporting on the manuscripts was not an easy task, as "I must add, that the lamented and distinguished observer had left his M.S.S. in some confusion, owing to his sudden death." He continued, "[i]t has been a work of difficulty to reduce them to anything like order, and as now arranged, they would still need careful editing for the purpose in view," and ended his overview with the observation that "I have taken the view that I was not called upon, or expected, to do more than make a rough selection of the suitable papers." The sum asked for them was £25 (equivalent to around £2,500 in current values), "amply justified" thought Reid, "in exchange for the papers which I have tied up and sealed." Reid was tasked with essentially finding the manuscript of *The Folklore of the North-East of Scotland* and not with producing an overview of Gregor's papers. And, as regards that manuscript, if it was not to be found, then the next stage was in finding the working materials for it, "the suitable papers" as Reid put it. As a result we will never know what was left behind as such of Gregor's papers and how extensive overall was his archive at the time of his death.

Reid assumed, reasonably enough, that Gregor's planned book was going to be an enlarged version of his *Notes on the Folklore of the North-East of Scotland:* "He had actually begun the latter

at his lamented death, and his method was to incorporate his latest collections with the text of the 1881 volume under the heads there laid down." As an example of what had been prepared, Reid mentioned the topic of Weather, Chapter 21 in the *Notes*, to which Gregor had added "a considerable mass of new matter" and "woven into a connected treatise." Similarly treated were Riddles (Chapter 16), Marriage (Chapter 17), Place Rhymes (Chapter 18), Place and Family Characteristics (Chapter 19), Times and Seasons and Weather (Chapter 21), Christmas, New Year's Day, &c. (Chapter 22), Countings-Out (Chapter 23), Farming (Chapter 25), Boats and Fishing (Chapter 26), Death (Chapter 27), Burial (Chapter 28). This meant that eleven out of the twenty-eight chapters that made up the *Notes* had been dealt with, effectively the second half of the book. From chapters sixteen to twenty-eight just two were seemingly unworked, namely Animal and Plant Superstitions (Chapter 20) and Washing Day (Chapter 24). If Gregor was intent on expanding all of the contents of the *Notes*, then the first fifteen chapters remained to be dealt with. Besides these chapters there were also manuscripts relating to (in Reid's ordering), Birds, Witches, Rocks, Child, Miscellaneous, Proverbs. Two of these correspond to chapters in the *Notes*, The Child (Chapter 2) and Witches (Chapter 14).

THE HOURS OF THE DAY, THE DAYS OF THE YEAR, AND THE MONTHS

The Hours of the Day, the Days of the Year, and the Months never appeared, either authored by Gregor or edited by Crombie, but a letter by Gregor amongst the Crombie Papers shows that he was ready to start to deliver the manuscript to the printers. Dated the 21 November 1896, and addressed to Peter Anderson, the Secretary of the New Spalding Club, Gregor shared the title he had chosen for the book and outlined its scope: "It is intended to be a record of all the customs, superstitions, rhymes &c connected with particular hours, days and months throughout the year."[3] And as regards the timescale envisaged, "I hope to be able to begin printing soon & to carry on pretty steadily." Gregor died in 1897, early in the year on 4 February, and so little time for anything substantial to have been set by the printer. Reid does not mention any galley proofs being found amongst his papers. This letter is paperclipped to an uncompleted rough working draft of Crombie's Introduction.[4] As regards other introductions, the one for Chapter 1, The Calendar,[5] is present, whereas Chapter 2, Hours of the Day,[6] seems never to have made it beyond the first page with half of it remaining blank. None of these drafts are fair or top copies.

3 Letter from Rev. Walter Gregor to [Peter John] Anderson, 21 November 1896, paperclipped to "Introduction" to *The Hours of the Day, the Days of the Year, and the Months* in the hand of J.E. Crombie, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, J.E. Crombie Papers, Box T209/1, Folder M, Days & Hours.

4 "Introduction," draft in the hand of J.E. Crombie, undated, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, J.E. Crombie Papers, Box T209/1, Folder M, Days & Hours.

5 Chapter 1, "The Calendar," draft in the hand of J.E. Crombie, undated, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder K, Calendar i.

6 Chapter 2, "Hours of the Day," draft in the hand of J.E. Crombie, undated, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, J.E. Crombie Papers, Box T209/1, Folder M, Days & Hours.

Reid in his Report wrote of Gregor having expanded chapters from the *Notes* with extra material and "woven into a connected treatise" in his own words. As regards the work for the New Spalding Club, the relevant ones were "Times and Seasons and Weather" (Chapter 21), and "Christmas, New Year's Day, &c." (Chapter 22). All that is now present is the material for the month of May, comprising of twenty-seven sheets held together with a brass pin, and with a cover sheet in Crombie's hand reading "Months of the Year | May."[7] Gregor's original pages (taken from exercise books) are mounted onto larger-sized sheets and Crombie has entered running titles in red ink across the top of each subsequent page. In a number of cases it is Gregor's notes on their own that are pasted in place. Besides May, there is material for Hallowe'en, though in this case it is individual sheets of notes and left as such by Crombie.[8]

Amongst the papers are two printed questionnaires, titled *Notes on the Folk Lore of March*,[9] and one similarly so for the month of September,[10] the pair sent out in April 1900. Five questionnaires were returned as regards the one for March, and six for September. There is also a similar, but much earlier, printed questionnaire present, one on *First-Footing*, again sent out in April, but this time from 1892.[11] Twelve replies were received on that occasion. Either material for March and September was missing from Gregor's papers, or Crombie found it to be thin and wanting in depth, and so resorted to expanding Gregor's notes to hand.

Both questionnaires were distributed by Cramond as a letter to Crombie makes clear:

> I have duly received the printed Notes for the months of March and September. […] I have already issued some & will issue the rest today with a note that they be returned to you within ten days please don't expect too much as the months are a good deal more difficult than the days.[12]

Further on in the letter he wrote, "I enclose 3 items & will send you some Month notes very soon." Cramond also passed on information sent to him. William Smith, the schoolmaster at Deskford in Banffshire, wrote down weather lore and proverbs in a letter to Cramond in April of 1900, which was passed on to Crombie with a note that "[i]f I can get any more about the other months I shall send them to you."[13] Earlier, in March 1900, another William Smith had written directly to Crombie, "I have read with much interest the Notes on the folklore and popular

7 "Months of the Year | May," UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder K, Calendar i.

8 [Hallowe'en], in the hand of Rev. Walter Gregor, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder L, Calendar ii.

9 *Notes on the Folk Lore of March*, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder K, Calendar i.

10 *Notes on the Folk Lore of September*, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder L, Calendar ii.

11 *First-Footing*, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder K, Calendar i.

12 Letter from William Cramond to [J.E. Crombie], 31 March 1900, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

13 Letter from William Smith (of Deskford) to [William Cramond], 12 April 1900, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

sayings about the months of March & April."[14] This suggests there was a possible questionnaire for the month of April as well, but that said, Cramond's letter does not mention it. As regards those questionnaires returned, they were received (for March) from Mrs M.H. Colville (The Castle, Banff), Alex[ander] Cramond (Auchinblae), Mr Cruickshank (Station Agent, Elgin), James Shearer (Cairnie, Huntly), and Mrs Simpson (St Helens, Banff). For September, those same names as for March, and adding that of John Yeats of Banff. Some of the questionnaires have correspondence attached to them,[15] and there is one of Cramond covering notes also present, "I enclose a Contribution from Banff & another from the Mearns. I hope the bundle I posted on Sat^{dy} has reached you In haste".[16]

Cramond was still in contact with Crombie in 1901. "I am glad to have a letter from you again. I was just going to write you."[17] He mentioned having come across one A. Hutcheson, who "showed me a bundle of Folk Lore Stories, hitherto unpublished & collected a few years ago chiefly in Ross-shire. They are fairy stories & what is knowns as Folk-lore proper." The search for calendar customs was still ongoing between the pair of them, and "I shall ask my old friend, Jn Graham who is now 96 but clear headed & active as ever, if he can give some Calendar rhymes & let you know soon."

Little now remains of Crombie's correspondence, and bar the letters mentioned above, there are just present two letters from the Rev. John G. Michie, one sent in 1892 and the other in 1897,[18] one from the Rev. John Philip in 1892,[19] regarding the *First-Footing* questionnaire sent out that year (the subject too of the letter from Michie that year), and finally a letter from Gregor himself dated 20 July 1894.[20] There he writes that "[t]he only superstition I have met with regarding the hedgehog is that it is unlucky to meet one." He went to ask Crombie if he has joined the Italian Folk-Lore Society or not. "Italy should furnish much. I am thinking of becoming a member." Whilst Italy was on the up, Spain was sliding. "Spain has collapsed with its Societies. At least I have not seen anything for a long time about them." And with this comment the letter closes.

Little, equally, remains of *The Hours of the Day, the*

14 Letter from William Smith (of Aberdeen) to [William Cramond], 12 March 1900, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

15 Attached to the respective questionnaires, see letter from James Shearer to [William Cramond], 3 May 1900, and same from Mrs Simpson to [William Cramond], undated [but 1900], UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder K, Calendar i. The two letters from M.H. Colville to Cramond, dated 13 April & 8 May 1900, presently found in another folder must once have been with her questionnaire when returned. UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

16 Letter from William Cramond to [J.E. Crombie], undated [but 1900], UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/1, Folder K, Calendar i.

17 Letter from William Cramond to J.E. Crombie, 28 January 1901, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

18 Letters from Rev. John G. Michie to J.E. Crombie, 21 April 1892 & 10 May 1897, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

19 Letter from Rev. John Philip to [J.E. Crombie], 29 April 1892, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

20 Letter from Rev. Walter Gregor to J.E. Crombie, 20 July 1894, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/2, Folder E, Miscellaneous Notes.

Days of the Year, and the Months. "I hope to be able to begin printing soon" was Gregor's statement to Anderson, in 1896. How complete the manuscript was remains unclear, if his words should be read with a note of caution on his part or not. Reid, however, was not able to find one as his Report makes clear. Nevertheless, Crombie was prepared to work with Gregor's papers, started work on them, but why he stopped remains unclear. But this does not end his encounter with Gregor as will be seen.

THE DEATH OF J.E. CROMBIE (1932)

"I regret to inform you of the demise of Mr J.E. Crombie some weeks ago," J.A. Ross wrote on the headed notepaper of J. & J. Crombie Limited, woollen manufacturers of Woodside, Aberdeen, the family business (of Crombie coat fame) in a letter to the Secretary of the Folk-Lore Society dated 5 October 1932.[21] He continued: "Mr Crombie has left a number of boxes filled with notes made by himself and by others about Folk-Lore; the bulk having been collected I believe when he was so deeply interested in it many years ago." His library was destined for the University of Aberdeen Library, "but it is not certain as to best destination for the written notes which might be of more interest to a Folk-Lore Society." Ross ended the letter soliciting the advice of the Society. The next letter present is from 7 March 1933, by which time Crombie's papers had been sorted by his widow, Florence, "and I am to ask if you are still prepared to receive them."[22] The Society was quick to answer in the affirmative as the reply from Ross was dated 11 March 1933 (and refers to a letter of 9 March) where he wrote that "I […] will send you early next week, the notes and papers left by the late Mr James E. Crombie."[23] The final letter in this correspondence is from 27 March 1933, Ross offering to send on a letter of thanks from the Society to Florence Crombie for the gift of the papers, "as naturally she valued them very much, the collecting of same being the work of her husband for a great part of his life."[24]

THE J.E. CROMBIE PAPERS

The Folk-Lore Society in its Annual Report for 1934 reported that "[o]ther gifts of books have been above the usual average, and include valuable pamphlets from the library of the late Mr J.E. Crombie, presented by Mrs Crombie, together with some important folklore MSS. […]" (Folk-Lore Society 1934, 3). In noting his death in the previous year's report, Crombie

21 Letter from J.A. Ross to the Secretary of the Folk-Lore Society, 5 October 1932, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T165, FLS Hon. Secretary Correspondence, FLS/1/2/2/16, Folder 2, Correspondence September 1933–April 1934, Subfolder 3.

22 Letter from J.A. Ross to the Secretary of the Folk-Lore Society, 7 March 1933, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T165, FLS Hon. Secretary Correspondence, FLS/1/2/2/16, Folder 2, Correspondence September 1933–April 1934, Subfolder 3.

23 Letter from J.A. Ross to the Secretary of the Folk-Lore Society, 11 March 1933, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T165, FLS Hon. Secretary Correspondence, FLS/1/2/2/16, Folder 2, Correspondence September 1933–April 1934, Subfolder 3.

24 Letter from J.A. Ross to the Secretary of the Folk-Lore Society, 27 March 1933, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T165, FLS Hon. Secretary Correspondence, FLS/1/2/2/16, Folder 2, Correspondence September 1933–April 1934, Subfolder 3.

was mentioned as being a Trustee of the Society (Folk-Lore Society 1933, 5). The Crombie Papers now sit in six archive boxes amongst the archives of the Society,[25] and not, as once was reported, "in a large wooden box held among the Society's records" (Folk-Lore Society 1959, 407). The first question to be asked is whether amongst their contents there are the manuscripts to match those papers of Gregor as listed by Reid in 1899. But for two possible exceptions, the simple answer is no. Weather (Chapter 21) had been specifically mentioned by Reid as one of the chapters from the *Notes* that been expanded and Gregor's notes are present (though now sorted out into individual topics).[26] Turning to Boats and Fishing (Chapter 26), again there is a considerable mass of notes there.[27] But it is as notes and not "woven into a connected treatise" that the material is present and not written up ready for the press.

So how then does the current contents of these boxes come about? Margaret Aven Gardiner, Gregor's widow, died in 1906, and the only possible conclusion is that Crombie acquired another tranche of Gregor's personal papers, either in the period up to her death, or shortly afterwards. It is curious, to say the least, that those papers mentioned by Reid in 1899, the ones purchased by Crombie as a result, are now in large part missing.

The first significant item is Gregor's own Introduction (incomplete but present in fair copy) to *The Hours of the Day, the Days of the Year, and the Months*.[28] This is now filed with a group of seventeen manuscripts, which when first seen give the impression that these are the chapters for the New Spalding Club volume, and so what is being handled is the manuscript itself.[29] This is not so, and they are each best described as a *précis* or overview of a particular folklore topic to be worked up by Gregor. A number were outlined at length, for instance, "Ceremonial Customs | Birth, Marriage, Death" is twelve pages long, while some are simple running lists only. "Festival Customs | Christmas, New-Year &c" opens:

> Give all the customs relating to Christmas any particular game or games played at Christmas—any weather forecasts from the day of the week on which Christmas begins Any rhymes or sayings about Christmas any proverbs, as: "A green Yeel macks a fat Kirkyard."

And so it carries on so for another five pages before breaking off with "May-day—any customs connected with it—any rhymes—any fires kindled." Gregor is in effect putting together a *quasi* handbook of what to collect and record of Scottish folklore. He was anticipating a handbook

25 UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Boxes T206, T207/1, T207/2, T208, T209/1, T209/2. The papers have recently been sorted and reboxed.

26 UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T207/1, Weather ii; Box T207/2, Folder F, Weather i, & Folder G, Weather ii.

27 UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T209/2, Folder H, Sea & Fishing, i–iii; Folder I, Fishing & Fishermen.

28 "Introduction," in the hand of Rev. Walter Gregor, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T206, Folder U, Questionnaire.

29 The topics are: Agricultural Customs, Ceremonial Customs, Disease Medicine, Domesticated Animals, Domesticated Birds, Festival Customs, Heavenly Bodies, Minor Superstitions, Months Days, Place Names, Reptiles, Rhymes Jingles, Tales Fables Proverbs, Trees Plants, Various Customs, Wild Animals, Wild Birds, UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T206, Folder U, Questionnaire.

such as Seán Ó Súilleabháin's *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* (Ó Súilleabháin 1942), rather than the Folk-Lore Society's *The Handbook of Folklore* that appeared in 1890 (Gomme 1890). Whilst these outlines or *aide-mémoires* shows his overarching understanding of folklore genres, it is also in one sense his own Achilles heel, as he could never hope to write up his notes to this level of depth and with such a demand of detail.

"MRS CROMBIE WAS ADVISED TO BURN THESE SHEETS OF NOTES ON FOLKLORE"

The Folk-Lore Society was gifted the papers as seen in 1933, and Mary Macleod Banks published material from them as early as the next year in an article for *Folk-Lore*, drawing on in this instance here items sent to Crombie (Banks 1934). She also recognised that the papers contained extensive notes in Gregor's hand and was to make use of his manuscript material in her three volume compilation of *British Calendar Customs: Scotland* (Banks 1937; 1939a; 1941) published by the Folk-Lore Society. Banks also drew upon them for an article on fisher folklore from the North-East of Scotland in 1939, and she recounted how they very nearly went up in smoke:

> Most of these notes come from the collection of Mr Crombie. At his death Mrs Crombie was advised to burn these sheets of notes on folklore as of no value; fortunately she judged differently and offered them unsorted to the Folk-Lore Society together with a few unpublished notes made by the Rev. W. Gregor. It was a surprise to find among them notes of customs which had escaped the notice of other collectors (Banks 1939b, 348).

This is a common trope, manuscripts consigned to the fire and plucked at the last minute from the flames to be saved—however, in this case, it is not scorch marks but the appropriate *dreich* of the Scottish clime that is to be seen in the damp spots and blemishes on the pages.

Gregor had an interest in children's folklore, and published a number of articles on the topic (Gregor 1886; 1891b; 1893; 1895), one of which on counting-out rhymes (Gregor 1887), was so lengthy it was later to be reprinted as a book (Gregor 1891a). He made one hundred and sixty-five contributions alone to Alice Gomme's monumental two volume set of *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (Gomme 1894; 1898b). The second volume appeared in 1898, and Gomme wrote appreciatively of Gregor (now deceased) and his role in her work:

> The completion of the second volume of my Dictionary has been delayed from several unforeseen circumstances, the most important being the death of my most kind and learned friend the Rev. Dr Gregor. The loss which folk-lore students as a body sustained by this lamented scholar's death, was in my own case accentuated, not only by many years of kindly communication, but by the very special help which he generously gave me for this collection (Gomme 1898a, v).

Crombie acquired a remarkable collection of children's folklore from Macduff School collected from the pupils there in their own hands by the schoolmaster, M. Simpson in 1885, and this is the

second major item of note amongst the papers.[30]

"[P]rint is much safer than MS," wrote the Manx folklorist A.W. Moore (1853–1909) in 1893, and the loss of his own personal papers made the point well (Miller 2018). Gregor's papers survive only in part, but survive they do, and were acquired from his widow after his death by Crombie, and the Folk-Lore Society then obtained them from Crombie's own widow when they were so nearly lost. And then as seen, what is now held by the Folk-Lore Society is a second set of Gregor's papers, the ones obtained first now gone. Crombie's own actions are a narrative of recovery to sit alongside Gregor's own one of collecting. As Moore recognised, recording was just that, and not in itself a safeguarding of what was collected. Even if the New Spalding Club had published his work, there still would have been material left unpublished in his hands. The Folk-Lore Society lacked any permanent premises of its own and so could offer no home for his papers. "Are you quite sure they gave you them all?" was Cramond's query to Crombie in 1900. The answer is not, but even amongst those he was given, there are still more than "a few unpublished notes" by the Rev. Walter Gregor sitting amongst the J.E. Crombie Papers waiting to be brought to "the notice of other collectors."

30 UCL Special Collections, Folk-Lore Society, Box T206, Folder O, [Games]. See too, letter from M. Simpson to Walter Gregor, 27 November [1885], present here.

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Mastrick: an eighteenth-century Aberdeenshire laird's house

Alistair Mutch

In the parish of Rayne, Aberdeenshire, stood a distinctive farmhouse, now demolished. Before demolition, a plan was drawn up to which can be added earlier photographs. Combined with documentary evidence, this article suggests that its form appears to point to it having been at the centre of a small late eighteenth-century estate. In contrast to the one and a half storey farmhouses which are the dominant nineteenth century building type in the region, Mastrick has a single storey cottage at its core, extended by projecting wings on each side (Fenton and Walker 1981: 196). It appears to have never been rebuilt in the nineteenth century. As such, it falls into a gap between, on the one hand, the major buildings that are covered in volumes such as the *Buildings of Scotland* series, and, on the other, ethnological or archaeological inquiries into humbler dwellings (Sharples, Walker and Woodworth 2015; Fenton and Walker 1981; RCAMS 2007). In turn, the material remains form an impetus to explore archival material that reveals something of the process of the growth of civility in the late eighteenth century amongst a broader section of the population.

The farmhouse

The farm of Mastrick sits a short distance from the Kirkton of Rayne, about two miles from the settlement of Old Rayne. It has an open aspect over fields to Bennachie in the south. The farmhouse, when recorded, had white harled walls and a slate roof, apart from a shed with a tin roof (figures 1, 2 and 3). It consisted of a central single storey cottage of two rooms measuring 10.5 metres by 5.5 metres. On each side of this central cottage were wings projecting to the south. Each wing projected to four metres and had a gable topped by a chimney. In each gable end was a window placed towards the right-hand side as viewed. The western wing, joined by a narrow one-metre-long passage to the main block, measured 7.5 metres by 5 metres. On the east side, again joined by a narrow passage that, like the other, was illuminated by a narrow window, the wing, also 5 metres wide, extended further back to give a total length of 11 metres (figure 6). At the rear it was joined to a shed of rubble construction with a tin roof. There was a staircase in this wing to a boarded attic space used as a bedroom. This wing was used for the farm kitchen, with bedrooms in the other wing. Removal of internal plaster showed that the walls were of rubble construction

(figure 4). The L-shaped steading, sitting to the east of the farmhouse, (also now demolished) featured squared stones on its southern gable and window dressings, but was otherwise of rubble construction.

The parish

The parish of Rayne lies at the heart of the Garioch, the fertile heart of Aberdeenshire and an area known for agricultural production (Mutch 2022). Although in the eighteenth century there was one small settlement at Old Rayne, on the road between Aberdeen and Huntly, most of the population was resident in the fermtouns scattered across the parish. In 1696 there were fifteen of these, each supporting a number of tenants (Stuart 1844) The account of the parish supplied by the Reverend Patrick Davidson in 1795 makes no mention of the enclosure of land to make self-contained farms (Sinclair 1795). Rather, the fermtouns were islands of arable land surrounded by moor and peat moss. Only one third of the arable land was infield land, that is, land regularly manured and used for producing grain crops. The remaining outfield land supported a large population of hares, recorded Davidson, 'as there is a great deal of broom in the out-fields' (Sinclair 1795: 113). Despite this, the land was fertile if treated in the right way. 'A better mode of farming,' argued Davidson, 'however, has of late got in among some of the tenants, who bring lime from Aberdeen, and lay down an acre with turnips yearly, and the year after sow it with bear, and red clover and rye-grass seeds.' Despite this, he continued,

> the greatest part of the parish consists of crofts, or small holdings, plowed by two horses, and sometimes two horses and two cows, and that very imperfectly. The tenants are at no pains to clean their grounds of a great deal of weeds, such as runches or wild mustard, knot-grass, couch-grass, and wild oats. Indeed, there are too many small crofts; and the occupiers of them are so poor, that their cattle have not strength enough to plow and dress them properly (Sinclair 1795: 107).

By the time of Davidson's account, ownership of the parish was split between five landowners, only three of which - Alexander Leith of Freefield, Alexander Leslie of Wartle, and Alexander Stewart of Loanhead – were resident in the parish. In 1745 a stent or rate was levied on the heritors of the parish by the Presbytery of Garioch to finance the construction of a new manse for the minister of Rayne (Presbytery of Garioch 1745). The stent roll (table 1) gives an indication of the valuation

Table *1*: landowners, parish of Rayne, 1745

Landowner	Valuation	%
Logie	1070	42.07
Freefield	406.66	15.99
Warthill	364	14.31
Rothmaise	140	5.5
Lonehead	70	2.75
Baldychaish	45	1.77
Old Rayne	448	17.61
Total	2543.66	100

Nearly half of the parish (by value) was in the hands of Elphinstone of Logie in the neighbouring parish of Chapel of Garioch and so a non-resident. That factor makes the small estate of Loanhead more significant in the social structure of the parish.

The estate of Loanhead

In 1666 the minister of Rayne, Andrew Logie, is recorded as living at Loanhead (Third Spalding Club 1933: 116). He was firmly committed to the cause of Episcopalianism (that is, to the position of bishops within a Reformed Protestant church) and, as such, fell foul of the Covenanting forces in the bitter religious disputes that wracked Scotland in the mid-seventeenth century. Along with other Aberdeen divines, often known as the 'Aberdeen Doctors', he refused to sign the Covenant to defend Presbyterian ecclesiology. In 1640 he was deposed from his living, having been forced to march on foot to Aberdeen where the case against him was held. He was reinstated in 1641 but deposed again in 1643. In the following year his son, John, was executed in Edinburgh for his adherence to the Royalist cause (Scott 1926: 183). The Reverend John Davidson, in his history of the Garioch, records that:

> Logie was a man of talent, and in strong sympathy in all matters of national politics with the general population of the Garioch; circumstances which explain the fact that he continued to act practically as the minister of Rayne though deposed. The people had unanimously, it would appear, refused to subscribe the Covenant; and after the removal of Middleton's successor to Old Machar, in 1661, Logie was replaced in his original charge (Davidson 1878: 306).

Another son, George, succeeded him as the owner of Loanhead. His son, Andrew, became an advocate in Aberdeen and was recorded as the owner of the 'town' of 'Lonhead' in the returns complied for the imposition of a poll tax in 1696 (Stuart 1846: 280). He was also appointed as a Commissioner of Supply for collecting the tax by the parliament of 1696, suggesting that he might have renounced his grandfather's Episcopalianism (RPS 1696). His own small estate was farmed by six tenants. A law suit raised by his widow Anna Paton in 1708 suggests that he had died sometime in the early years of the eighteenth century (Morison 1811). After that date, the ownership of the estate is not clear; Logie's heiress, Mary, married William Wemyss of Craighall in the parish of Kennethmont (Third Spalding Club 1933: 118).

Alexander Stewart of Loanhead

In September 1786 the Register of Sasines records Alexander Stewart of Mill of Ardo in the parish of Methlick taking possession of the estate of Loanhead, which comprised the farms of Mains of Loanhead and 'Mosstack, called Mastrick' (Sasines 1786). This appears to have been the first mention of Mastrick; the name does not appear in the session records before 1794, when there appeared 'Catherine Alexander late servant to Mr Stewart in Mastrick, and acknowledged herself to be with child. Being suitably spoken to and interrogated she gave up George Bruce, who had likewise been servant to Mr Stewart as the father of her child'

(Session of Rayne 1794). There are still extensive tracts of moss to the north of the parish, although traces of it at Mastrick were eradicated by over one hundred years of agricultural improvement. Intriguingly, Davidson in his compendious history of the Garioch, published in 1878, notes that 'when the house of Mastrick in Rayne, built sometime after 1700, was pulled down, the plastered dividing walls were found to be built of hard peat neatly squared' (Davidson 1878: 383). As well as indicating that Mastrick was settled well before Stewart's ownership, this observation is also given that it occurs in the context of a point made by Davidson about the 'mansion houses' of the Garioch. Such an observation, as well as the reference to the 'house of Mastrick' suggests a dwelling above a mere farmhouse.

That Alexander Stewart was a man of some standing is indicated by his appearance in various taxation rolls. In 1789 he appears together with Alexander Leith of Freefield, one of the major landowners in the parish, as paying tax on a private carriage, one of only two taxed in the parish (Scotland's Places 1789a). In the same year he is one of only four people paying tax for a carriage or saddle horse. The minister, Peter Davidson paid tax for one horse, as did the other major landowner, Alexander Leslie of Warthill. Leith of Freefield paid for three horses, while Stewart, significantly noted as 'Mr Alex Stuart of Mastrick' paid for two horses (Scotland's Places 1789-90a). He also employed a driver, Nathanial Davidson, for whom he was liable to tax from 1789 to 1797 (Scotland's Places 1789b). This suggests a person of some standing in the district, as does the fact that he paid a tax for the servant Mary Watt in 1789. (Leith paid tax for two female servants, Leslie for one) (Scotland's Places 1789-90b). As a further means of extracting money, the ever-inventive British state imposed a tax on clocks and watches in 1797. Stewart paid tax on a clock and a silver watch, while the Leiths at Freefield had a clock and three gold watches (Scotland's Places 1797).

All this evidence suggests that by 1789 Alexander Stewart was established at Mastrick with some pretensions to social status. His house at Mastrick first appears in the window tax records in 1787, that is, in the year following his purchase of the estate, as paying tax on seven windows. (at the same time, Leith of Freefield was paying tax on thirty-two). Two years later, two additional windows have been added (Scotland's Places 1788-9; 1789-90c). There are four windows in the main block, with a further three in the west wing. Does this suggest an order of building? We can, at this point, draw on some further evidence from the presbytery records that might indicate some practical reasons why Mastrick took the form in did, at least in part. When manses were built they were inspected by the presbytery to make sure that they were suitable for someone of the minister's social standing. When the presbytery inspected the manse of Kintore in 1728 they recorded, amongst other features, 'a Kitchen on the west side of the close, commonly called the stone chamber, betwixt which and the principal house there is a communication' (Presbytery of Garioch 1728). It would appear that while the main house (which was of one storey with attic rooms) was

slated, the kitchen was thatched. Given the ever-present risk of fire, especially in buildings thatched with heather, it was clearly prudent to set the kitchen to one side. In 1737, revisiting the same manse, the presbytery recorded that in the 'communication' between the kitchen and the main house was 'a little press with Door, lock, key and bands', suggesting something more than a narrow corridor (Presbytery of Garioch 1737). Similar separate kitchens were also recorded at Insch in 1730, Chapel of Garioch in 1724 and Premnay in 1745. Given that the eastern wing of Mastrick was used as the kitchen, joined by a corridor to the main house, perhaps this had its origins in this practice. What is distinctive is the balancing of this chamber by a matching wing on the west.

At some point, Alexander married Christian Leith of Freefield. In 1797 she was recorded as being liable to tax on a gold watch at Freefield, which suggests a marriage after that date (Scotland's Places 1797). Alexander Leith of Freefield was the principal resident heritor in the parish. The Loanhead estate marched with the policies at Freefield, although much of Freefield's landholdings were in the neighbouring parish of Culsalmond, where Alexander Leith was an elder of the Church of Scotland (Session of Culsalmond 1790). This was clearly a prestigious match for Stewart, as the much smaller landowner. Freefield's policies feature a mile-long drive to the house, well treed in a parish which is generally open. ('There are at present but a few acres planted with trees in the parish, and these are the common Scotch firs. There are also a few ash, elm, and plane trees, on different spots of ground' recorded Davidson in 1795) (Sinclair 1795: 108). According to Sharples, Walker and Woodworth (2015: 629), Freefield (Figure 5) is a 'Palladian villa reinterpreted for North-East Scotland … Main block and its advanced pavilions, symmetrically composed, are mid-C18, with linking quadrants added in the late C18 or early C19, all built in rubble and formerly harled'. Is there an element of emulation for his new bride? If so, perhaps it was not sufficient, for in 1798 Stuart put the estate up for sale. The advertisement in the *Aberdeen Journal* claims an estate with 'excellent early soil, and capable of great improvement'. More significantly for our purpose it also proclaims that there was 'on the premises a suitable Mansion-house and office houses' (*Aberdeen Journal* 1798). In 1799, Alexander disposed of his estate to Alexander Gordon of Newton, in the neighbouring parish of Insch (Sasines 1799). He moved to the farm of Mastrick on the outskirts of Aberdeen. There is no mention of a farm called Mastrick in the farm horse tax records for 1797-8 for that location, so it would appear that Alexander took the name with him. He died there in 1808, the executor on his will being his brother-in-law John Ross Leith (Later Leith Ross) (Aberdeen Commissary Court 1808).

Conclusion

With the purchase of the Loanhead estate by Alexander Gordon of Newton in the neighbouring parish of Insch, Mastrick became just another farmhouse. There was an associated croft and it is interesting to note that when the farm was

advertised for let in 1812 it was as 'The Mains of Mastrick'. By this stage it possessed a 'central and commodious Steading, mostly slated' (*Aberdeen Journal* 1812). Whether this was incorporated in the surviving L-shaped steading would require further investigation. By the time of the 1851 census the farm was recorded as being of fifty-two acres in extent under the tenancy of Alexander Diack (Rayne 1851). It features in Helen Beaton's account of the parish in the nineteenth century as 'amongst the first water mills in the district was the one at Mastrick Farm, and, to the great amazement of the on-lookers, the drum revolved the wrong way!' (Beaton 1923: 125). The farm, by now a holding of seventy acres, was purchased by the sitting tenant, Alexander Mutch, from the Newton estate after the Second World War. The house was lived in until the late 1960s. However, being judged too small and inconvenient for modern living it was abandoned and a new house built nearby. The land has been amalgamated into a bigger holding and the house of Mastrick was demolished c.2019.

Although the evidence does not allow us to draw definite conclusions, it points strongly to the distinctive built form of Mastrick, with its two wings in imitation of grander Palladian exemplars, being the consequence of its rebuilding as the main house of the laird of a small estate. Whether similar small houses, perhaps disguised under later accretions, were built in other parts of Scotland is an open question for further research. Combining the examination of material remains with archival evidence helps reveal the growing civility of a prosperous section of the population in the late eighteenth century. In the changing nature of the built form amongst this group ministers and their manses might have been the forerunners. The extensive records of the Church of Scotland, especially the approval of rebuilt manses by presbyteries, might form a useful source for further investigation.

Figure 1: house from south east (Alistair Mutch).

Figure 2: house from south west (Alistair Mutch).

Figure 3: house from east showing rear shed (Alistair Mutch).

Figure 4: Mastrick, interior of east corridor wall (Alistair Mutch).

Figure 5: Freefield front elevation showing projecting wings (Alistair Mutch).

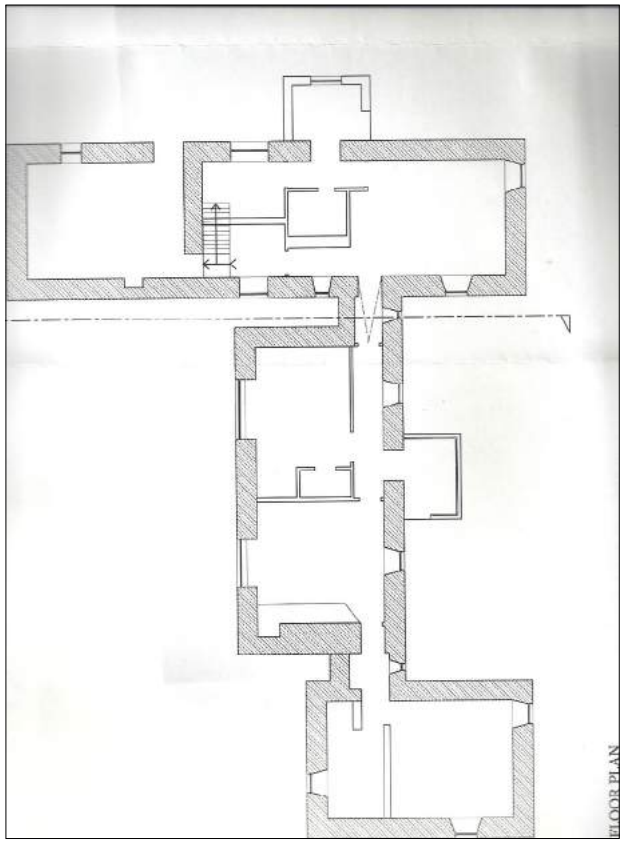

Figure 6: floor plan (drawn by Emma Gibb of Annie Kenyon Architects for Alistair Mutch).

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"Fleeting Lives": the diary of William Allison of Malletsheugh, Mearns and Thorn, Bearsden, and other farm diaries

Dorothy E. McGuire

Introduction

Farm diaries may be defined as a personal record of daily events, observations and related text compiled by someone living and / or working on a farm. The purpose of such diaries might be: to record what use fields are put to year by year; what the weather was; the progress of crops under differing conditions; work carried out; income; expenditure; other related matters – and so to plan for the future. On small family farms, the overlap of the work of the farm and the life of the family can be reflected in the farm diary, and material included that is irrelevant to the work of the farm. This review focuses on nineteenth and early twentieth century diaries produced in west central Scotland, by William Allison of Northfield, Malletsheugh, Mearns and Thorn, Bearsden, Peter Turner of Oxgang, Kirkintilloch, and the Donald family of Sornbeg, Galston. Some extracts from the 'Journal' of James Wilson, Banffshire (Hillis 2008), are

Figure 1: Ploughing at Thorn Farm, East Dunbartonshire Libraries.

included, for purposes of comparison.

Peter Turner (1870-1959), of Oxgang Farm, Kirkintilloch, Dunbartonshire, was a grandson of William Allison (1787-1866), and a selection of his diaries (1890-1893, 1895-1899, 1899-1902, and 1902-1908) are in the keeping of East Dunbartonshire Archives (Turner 1897).[1] Turner's diary reads like a series of notes. His daily entries start with a weather report and continue with a short series of phrases which describe what happened that day, but with no explanation of events. As well as describing what happened in the various fields of the farm, Turner makes reference to business and social matters and often mentions his farming relatives, the Allisons. A comparison of Turner's diary for the week ending 16 November

Turner	**Wilson**
Teu [Sic] 10th Cold Showery. Dunging stubble Buchanan here with 2 horses.	16th I went to Portsoy on Tuesday last with two loads of corn, and brought home coals etc. The corn weighed 43lbs and I got 23/6. Corn and barley are rising in price almost everyday. I would get 25/ for that same corn now. I am rather afraid however that the prices will not be long maintained. 54 lbs barley is giving 30/.
Wed 11th Stormy & wet. Cleaned 6 bags corn. 10½ cwt cabbage to M Craig. cart to house. Will. Allison here for troughs, 2 bunches straw to Fleming.	Wednesday was Hallow Fair. It was a very bad day. Wind and rain the whole day. I see by the papers that a great deal of damage has been done especially to shipping. It was not a large market but fees were a little up. I would have kept the boy we have, but he was asking too much wages. I engaged a boy, George Gray, for £6.10. Mr. & Mrs. Ross, Hillfolds, came over in the morning, and he came down to the market, but we were home again by twelve o'clock.
Thur 12th Good day. 6 bags corn to Meiklehill. Put in stack & thrashed. T. Curran finishing pits. Commenced to shaw turnips.	Next day was Cornhill market. I had over a calving quey and 16 sheep. I had plenty of merchants but the prices were very small. Mr. Ross bought the quey for £14 and I sold 7 lambs and two ewes.
Fri 13th Very wet day. 2 carts turnips to M. Craig. At Birdston for J. Barr's gig. Sat 14th Dull day. 2 women at turnip 7 carts turnip to M. Craig & 6 to house. Weighed from 19 to 23 cwt. Sun 15th Good day. Eclipse of moon. Mon 16th Good day. Jean shawing. Brought down all that were shawed. Carting out gas lime. T. Curran here.	On Friday afternoon I went down to Glenglassaugh Distillery with a sample of the barley. The manager advised me to go to Portsoy as he thought I would get more for it there than he was giving. I sold it to Mr. Ewing for 27/ and weigh it up to 53 lbs. I got railway bags and had it down to Glassaugh Station today. There was 17 qrs. but there is about 4 or 5 qrs. small barley.

Figure 2: Comparison of Peter Turner's diary and James Wilson's journal.

1891 with the journal of James Wilson (Hillis 2008), demonstrates a difference in approach.

Wilson employed a conversational tone, revealing something of his opinions, and the reasoning behind his actions. Turner's basic, note-like recording makes it difficult to get a sense of his personality, but the sparse details in his diaries can be amplified by recourse to other sources such as census returns, valuation rolls, trade directories, and local newspapers. For example, on 10 June 1897 Turner noted in his diary 'At Farmers trip Loch Lomond and long tour. 16 of us'. Context is found for this in the *Kirkintilloch Herald* for 16 June 1897 to the effect that committee members of the Kirkintilloch Farmers' Dance had a day's outing 'with their lady friends' that week ('Local News' 1897). It transpires that the Turner brothers helped to organise the annual Farmers' Dance.

Another example is a trip Peter Turner took, in June of 1901. On 6 June, Turner took a train from Central Station, in Glasgow, and headed south. He stayed for a couple of days with 'M. Strang', and visited Maidenhead and Beaconsfield. Then he spent a couple of days with the Flemings, and explored Windsor and Kingston. Next, he visited G. Sinclair, followed by Livingston, then Bowie, back to Sinclair's, and, on 17 June, after an 'enjoyable journey by train' Peter arrived back home, and provided no explanation for the trip. Around this time, there was a movement of farmers from the west of Scotland to the south and east of England, where they took leases on arable farms that were difficult to let, following a fall in the price of wheat (Lorrain Smith 1932). The incomers were dairy farmers and continued to work as dairy farmers. Was Peter Turner considering joining this migration? While at Sinclair's he 'Drove round farm', and commented that the farm was 'Very needful of rain crops very stunted. Potatoes looking well enough 23/ per ac.' He thought that Livingston's place was 'looking very well Cheap farm 24/ per ac.' The 'M. Strang' that Turner stayed with first, may have been Matthew Strang, one of the Strangs of Easter Bedcow, a dairy farm near Kirkintilloch. The Turners socialised with the Strangs, in the 1890s, and Bill Turner attended M. Strang's wedding, in November of 1901. Fleming is also mentioned elsewhere in Peter Turner's diary, mainly as the Turners supplied a Fleming with straw, and a Fleming supplied Oxgang with dung. 'Livingston' is likely to have been James Livingston, who (according to the Census) was resident at Wester Balmuildy Farm, near Summerston, in 1881, when he was described as a nephew of the farmer. In the 1891 Census the twenty-five year old Livingston was described as a 'farm servant' at Wester Balmuildy. In 1895, the *Kirkintilloch Herald* reported on a dinner held at the Buchanan Street (railway) Station Hotel, on the occasion of James Livingston, Balmuildy, leaving the district, to take up the farm of Lawford Hill, near Rugby ('Local News' 1895). If, in June 1901, Peter Turner had been thinking of migrating to England, he had friends there to help him out. However, had Peter being giving serious consideration to joining the migration, he would have looked at more farms than a couple run by his friends. Turner may simply have gone on holiday, and, as a farmer, could not refrain from passing comment on the farms that he saw.

The lease of Oxgang was held by Peter's father, James Turner. The diaries show that, over the period 1898-1900, Peter made trips to look at specific farms, in areas such as Killearn (16 July, 1898), Bridge of Weir (30 September, 1898). Denny (8 June, 1899), Glassford (25 August, 1899), Clarkston (29 August, 1899). This suggests that Peter was thinking of taking a lease on a farm of his own, and was looking for something suitable. However, he stopped looking before his trip to England. Peter's son, also Peter Turner, maintained that his father, Peter senior, had the running of Oxgang Farm before his grandfather, James, died. Perhaps James made Peter a joint leaseholder with him, at Oxgang, so that Peter, with the assurance of being sole leaseholder, after the death of his father, became more settled at Oxgang. It appears that, by the time he visited England, Peter Turner had changed his mind about leaving Oxgang. However, his younger brother, Bill had begun to think of a farm of his own, and Peter sometimes went with him to view prospective farms.

> 'Bill & I at Cardross. Wallacetown farm' (4 October, 1900)
>
> 'Bill & I at Linlithgow seeing Farm East Bonhard (2 April, 1901)

When Bill's attention was caught by Loanhead Farm, near Houston, Renfrewshire, Peter's diaries show the family support system in operation. On 5 July, 1901, James Turner accompanied Bill to see the estate factor concerning Loanhead Farm. Presumably Turner senior assisted Bill in the negotiations, following which Bill took a lease on the farm. Naturally, other members of the family were interested in Bill's endeavours and, even before Bill took over Loanhead, his family visited. On the 22 July, 1901, Bill was accompanied to Loanhead by his father and 'Uncle John' (presumed to be John Allison of Rosebank), and on 23 October, the youngest Turner brother, James junior, and their mother (Mary Allison) were also at Loanhead. With a lease secured, Bill needed the equipment to run the farm. On 21 November, the outgoing tenant of Loanhead held a sale which Bill, Peter, and 'W. Allison'[2] attended. What, if anything, they bought is not noted. The next day (22 November 1901) the same three men were at a sale in Queenzieburn, near Kilsyth, where a self binder and a set of harrows were purchased. There is no mention of Bill buying any cows, although he might have bought the existing herd, at the Loanhead sale. Another requisite for the successful running of a small, family run dairy farm, at this time, was a capable woman able to manage the dairy. If the farmer was unmarried, he might have with him a sister, or his mother[3]. M. Strang, working in a part of England not traditionally a dairying area, returned to the Kirkintilloch area to marry. Peter Turner does not supply us with the identity of Strang's bride, so we don't know whether Strang was sweet on her before he went to England, or whether the principal attraction was that she was accustomed to the hard work of a small family run dairy. At the end of 1902 Peter notes Bill's wedding and mentions that five friends stayed overnight. Bill's bride was Jean Chapman, who hailed from Gartshore in the neighbourhood of Kirkintilloch.

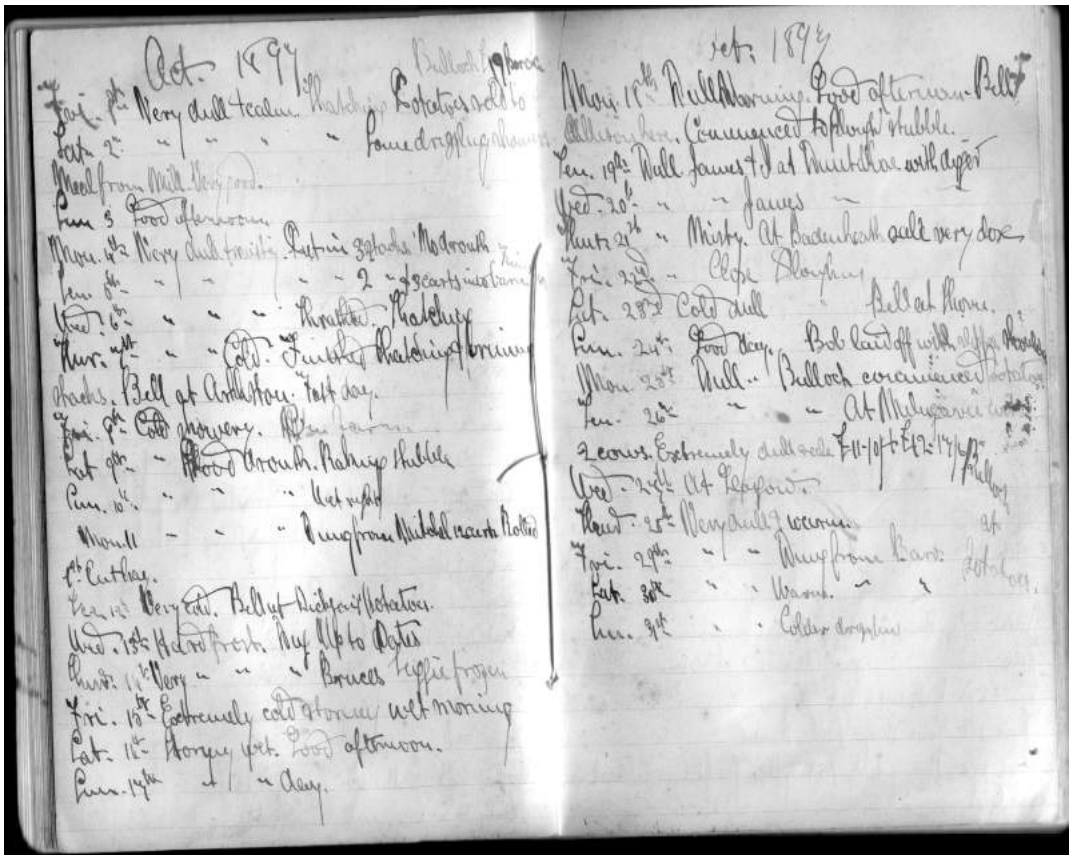

Figure. 3: Sample page of Peter Turner's Diary Turner of Oxgang Collection, East Dunbartonshire Libraries.

By 1904, it was the turn of James junior to look for a farm of his own, assisted by Bill and Peter, and James' friend, Watson. James cast his net as far east as Dunfermline and Edinburgh, but his attention was caught by the farm of Downan, Ballantrae, Ayrshire. Peter junior said that Peter senior had some concerns about this farm, and dissuaded James from taking the lease. James went to Belfast to speak to the owner (September 1906), and took a post as farm manager at Ballantrae. In his diary entry for 14 December 1906, Peter notes 'Farmers ball. Bill & Jas. here. Jas. got clock & roll top desk.' The *Kirkintilloch Herald* generally covered the annual Farmer's Ball (or Dance), and the report on the 1901 Ball (16 December 1901) noted that William Turner, secretary of the ball since its inception, who had recently left the district for Renfrewshire was presented with a 'marble timepiece with side ornaments'. The report also notes the 'excellent singing of Miss Jeanie Jackson and Mr William Turner'. The report on the 1906 Ball mentions 'conspicuous in the management of these dances for a number of years back Mr. Jas. Turner, formerly of Oxgang, but now manager on Mr. Wright's farm of Downan, near Ballantrae'. James was commended on his organising ability

and, in recognition of his services, was presented with a black marble timepiece and a roll top writing desk.

In his diaries, Peter covered some health matters. Starting in 1901 Peter mentioned experiencing occasional episodes of dizziness, which sometimes led to him passing out. He does not mention any treatment or diagnosis but, after May 1908, no more episodes of dizziness are noted. On 11 May 1907, Peter indicated that there was a problem with one of his hands by writing 'Got hand operated on'. There is no mention of why the hand required to be operated on. The next mention of the hand was six months later, on 11 November, when Peter wrote 'Called in at Infir. to see Dr about hand'. Thereafter there are occasional references to Peter's troublesome hand and its treatment. Presumably Peter senior wanted to keep track of the treatment by noting it in his diary, but he may have remembered vividly the incident that led to the treatment. In conversation, Peter junior supplied the missing information. Peter senior was building a stack. He was standing on the incomplete stack receiving sheaves forked up to him by a co-worker. He reached for one sheaf a bit too eagerly, and one of the tines of the pitchfork pierced his hand. The wound turned bad, and the doctors recommended amputation. Peter demurred, and suffered years with a festering hand until, in the 1920s, he gave way to medical advice, and the, by this time, useless hand was amputated. Peter junior maintained that his father's general health improved after this. Peter senior mentioned the health of his

Figure 4: Oxgang Farmstead, constructed in the mid-nineteenth century, sat at the junction of Waterside Road and Old Aisle Road, Kirkintilloch. Turner of Oxgang Collection, East Dunbartonshire Libraries.

own father with characteristic reticence. On Saturday 2 June 1907, he noted 'Father been in bed since Mon'; the following Thursday, 13 June, he reported 'Father no better'; and on Saturday 15 June 'Father died at 8.30p.m.' On Wednesday 19 June, Turner noted 'Cold stormy showers. Painting forenoon. Father's funeral.' It seems that his father had associated Peter with him in the lease, so enabling a smooth transition of the farm from father to son, and the work to continue uninterrupted. Peter Turner noted the time of his father's death, as though marking the passing of a monarch, but the diary contains no words of mourning, and no reflections on the life of James Turner.

A slightly earlier, and more emotionally expressive farm diary (1858-1866) was produced at the farm of Sornbeg, near Galston, Ayrshire (Donald nd). The fate of the original manuscript of this diary is unknown, but a photocopy is in the keeping of Ayrshire Archives. Although the diary has been catalogued as the work of Alexander Donald (1843-1905) and Alexander certainly made contributions, the diary is a work of group authorship, with contributions from various members of the family.[4] Sometimes visitors to the farm were permitted to add their comments, using the diary as a sort of visitor's book. In November of 1863 one Will Brownlee added:

> At Sornbeg my first real introduction to fairm life. Enjoyed it to the full. As long as I live I will remember Sornbeg and its inmates for their kindness and courtesy.

While some of the entries were signed (as Brownlee's was), or at least initialled, for many of the entries authorship is unknown, so it is difficult to build up a picture of the individual characters. However, as the children left the farm to marry, to take a lease on a farm of their own, or to follow careers outside farming, Nicol Brown Donald (1829-1906), who followed his father as farmer of Sornbeg, became more prominent as an author. The Sornbeg diary contains information on the weather, farm activities, and social engagements, and includes what might have been a slightly more expansive account of a family wedding, but unfortunately some information has been lost through imperfect photocopying.

However, it is clear that, on 24 December 1858, Janet Donald married John Dick, the farmer of Doonholm Farm, Ayr. Nicol and his brother Thomas had taken a train to Ayr the previous May to look over Doonholm Farm, and John Dick may have leased the farm around that time. According to the diary, sixty people were at the wedding breakfast, the fare was excellent, and the subsequent dancing continued until an early hour. With the wedding over, the inhabitants of Sornbeg began to look forward to a visit from the young couple, but were frustrated by the weather. On 12 January 1859, Nicol wrote:

> We are expecting Janet up this week or the end of next, weather permitting. they had a day's ploughing on Saturday last at Doonholm there was 19 ploughs and they got a splendid day they farmers all got a fine tea at night which was very kind of the young couple it is three weeks on Friday since they were married and they have entered into a great bustle at first but they are better able and willing to work and have been used to it all their days.

If this was the traditional day's ploughing to welcome a new farmer, it would indicate that John Dick was new to the area, and suggests that he followed the same schedule as Bill Turner – first find a bride, then find a farm, then marry. This is a plan that highlights the importance of women to the management of family-run dairy farms of the time. As appetites among ploughmen on such occasions were legendary, Janet Donald would have been hard worked to provide them with 'a fine tea', and still she was missed at Sornbeg. On 30 January 1859 Alexander Donald wrote:

> The ground is lying white with snow & hail As this month is said to be one of the stormiest of our winter months along with its follower February. so it has proved itself to be for the last week. We intend to have a visit from M[r] & M[rs] Dick Doonholm about the end of the week, when the long-wished-for Fancy will be realized.

Hillis, in his preface to Wilson's journal, comments that 'Family letters, diaries and journals often contain detailed comments on religion with the Sunday sermon attracting particular criticism, discussion and debate' (Hillis 2008: vi). In the Oxgang diary, Turner makes no mention of Sunday sermons. The only indication of religion is his noting of fast days in preparation for taking the Sacrament, which suggests that Turner was a regular attendee of the Church of Scotland and took the Sacrament. He also mentions participation in the charitable work of transporting coal for the needy, in association with a local church. In the Donald diary, there was interest expressed in the quality of sermons preached in the local church. However, the family's Christian principles were sometimes strained by their pride in their prize-winning bull, Lincoln, who in agricultural shows did not always score as highly as the family thought that he should:

> 17 April, 1863
>
> The annual exhibition of dairy stock in connection with the Kilmarnock farmer's club came off today … we were successful with the best 3 quey stirks and second with the aged bull, it was but right to yield quietly to the judgement of men whose superior skill and experience in cattle had them pronounce their verdict but it is also in accordance with the strictest rules of morality, and the tastes prejudices of mankind to think as highly of their own as they ought to do, but waiving all prejudice and preconceived opinions despite the cold water spurted from the envy of meanspirited & degeneia[?] neighbours. we do not think that the county can produce as good a three year old bull as is at present in the possession of William Donald of Sornbeg

The Donald diary is a family undertaking, and the family members contributed as often or as little as they liked. They read each other's contributions and occasionally made comments on these. Sometimes one family member wrote things that seem designed to be read by one or all of the others. They could poke fun with impertinent comments:

> 17 February, 1861
>
> Today is still thaw but I doubt we are to have frost by the end of the year, & it will stop the plough. We have had the plough stopped for the last week.
>
> The subscriber wishes to know how many years there are in the above writers 12 months he also

> wishes to know who held the plough when it was stoped a whole week.

The diary provided the siblings with an opportunity to tease each other. On 4 February, 1860, after a social engagement, one of the Donalds wrote, rather coyly:

> A large party at Burnann last night. " "brought home Margaret Tom took home " " Alex did not take home " ".

Just as Turner mentioned the activities of various Turners and Allisons in his diary, the comings and goings of Donald family members were noted in their diary, but in more detail. In May 1863 Alexander, a teacher, moved to Muirkirk and Nicol wrote:

> 28 May 1863. Went to Muirkirk with my brother Alex[r], yesterday to open a school. and today I feel sad and solitary for I miss his presence among us one feels sorry to part with those who are dear to them even although they are not far away.

From time to time their mother, Janet McWhirter, had occasion to be away from the farm. Sometimes she stayed with one or other of her married daughters, particularly if they were ill or pregnant. Janet McWhirter was missed from Sornbeg and during one of her absences Nicol wrote:

> 16 Jun 1862 Mother away to stay with Agness again today hope she will not need to stay long as we weary for her at home I am glad that our Affection for her is growing with our years the solemn thought is that she must leave us some time but the joyful thought also is that we all hope to meet again where there is no more seperation. & to rejoice together. Amen. NBD

Clearly Nicol had no difficulty in expressing his feelings, and his love for his family, in the pages of the diary. Another means of expressing emotion is through poetry, and it was not long before the Donalds began to include poetry. Upon its commencement, on 1 April 1858, the Donald diary opened with a weather report before moving on to the progress of the crops and fertility of the animals, but by June 1858 Alexander had added a poem, 'The Trysting Tree':

> Deep in the forest was a little dell
> High overarched with a leafy sweep
> Of a broad oak, through whose gnarled roots there fell
> A slender rill that sang itself a-sleep
> Where its continuous toil had scooped a well
> To please the fairy folks breathlessly deep
> The stillness was save when the dreaming brook
> From its small urn a drizzly murmur shook

No author is given for this poem, so it may be Alexander's own, as quotes from Scott's 'Lady of the Lake', an 'Address to Winter' by Cowper, and a translation, by Hood, of 'Treacherous Girl', by Horace, all have their appellation. There are extensive quotes from Tennyson, but perhaps not everyone in the household approved of the Poet Laureate, as someone has included a defence of Tennyson in the diary.

> In Tennyson we see the beauty of his ideas by his easiness of expressing, he does not worry you by repetitions in endeavouring to enlarge upon the beauty of any thing he may have brought before you but you have the fullness and the grandeur brought out in one short pithy sentence, he is in no way guilty of Redundancy nor does he leave anything half painted, as when

> he says Elaine the Fair the Loveable Elaine the Lily Maid of Astolat, he is a true Poet and sings because he can, and the grand Moral thread of silver that glitters through the whole is virtue and true goodness, bravery and nobleness a mind despising things mean, and endeared and enchanted by things only great and good.

While it might be unusual for farmers to include poetry (either their own or another's) within the body of a diary, verses are sometimes found among their papers. Joseph Thomson, ploughman and later farmer at Springs, Tarbolton, who was exempted from serving in the First World War because it was 'expedient in national interest' that he 'be retained in work habitually engaged in' (Ayr County 1916), wrote a poem 'The Farmers' Lament' (Thomson nd), detailing the trials and tribulations faced by farmers, during the Great War of 1914-18. Hillis included some of James Wilson's verses in the published edition of his journal, including the following, entitled 'Life Aims':

> I live for those who love me,
> For those who know me true,
> For the Heaven that shines above me,
> And waits my spirit too.
> For the cause that lacks assistance
> For the wrongs that need resistance
> For the future in the distance
> And the good that I can do (Hillis 2008: 351).

This short verse is reminiscent of a poem by Alexander Lamb (1925-2015) who farmed at Crookboat, about five miles south of Lanark, at the confluence of the Clyde, and the Douglas Water. While 'Life Aims' looks forward, with high ideals, and hopes to do well, Lamb's verses look back with hope that the author has not been found wanting:

> I'd like to think, now life is done,
> That sometimes, on the road, I've won.
> That I have filled a needed post,
> With more than idle talk, or boast.
> That I did take those gifts divine,
> The breath of life and manhood fine,
> And used them every way I can,
> To help and serve my fellow man (Lamb nd).

In February 1864 a six stanza poem entitled 'The First Snowdrop' was included in the Donald diary. Snowdrops were regularly mentioned in the diary, with references such as 'There is a fine show of snowdrops at present' (2 March, 1860) and 'Snowdrops in flower a very mild winter a little frost but not severe' (6 January, 1862). Traditionally snowdrops are welcomed as harbingers of Spring. However, the Donalds were not always pleased to see them:

> 11 January 1866
>
> The Snowdrop in bloom today, 6 days earlier than last year, we don't like to see them so early, it is a Sign of too much growth at this season of the year, we would rather see the ground white, or hard with frost.

Despite the serious mention of the effects of the weather upon crops, the impression of the Donald diary is that it is a jollier composition than the Turner diaries. This is not due simply to the youth of the authors, although that is a likely factor. Nicol Brown Donald was about twenty-nine when the Donald diary was begun, and Alexander was about fifteen. Peter Turner was twenty in 1890, but his diaries seem pedestrian

by comparison. The Donald diary seems to derive its warm tone from the group dynamic, with the exchanges between family members imparting a sense of fun. While Nicol's acknowledgement that he was missing his brother and his fear that his mother would eventually die, although sad, speak to a background of familial love. However, Turner's diaries were work diaries primarily. He mentions the different fields by name and details their cultivation, so analysis of the diaries is informative about farming of that period. The livelier Donald diary, while containing a lot of work related information paints a clearer picture of family life.

William Allison

William Allison began his diary in 1817, when he was a young man of about thirty, and stopped only a few months before his death, aged 79. The last eight years of his diary overlap with the writing of the Donald diary. Like the Donald diary, the whereabouts of the original diary of William Allison (1787-1866) is unknown. However, a handwritten copy was made by Allison's grandson, Peter Turner. This copy contains abbreviations, which may or may not have been in the original, but Turner uses the same abbreviations in his own diaries of Oxgang Farm. While the entries in the diaries of Oxgang Farm, are brief, those of William Allison are even more so. Turner devoted a few lines to each day, his grandfather devoted a few lines to each year. In common with the Turner, Wilson, and Donald diaries, Allison provides information on farming matters such as the progress of the crops, the prices of the produce, and the weather. The following quote, from the Donald diary for 17 January 1861, contains all these elements and, at sixty-four words, is almost half as many words as William Allison used for the whole of 1861 (138 words):

> Still frosty today our Colt Dainty went away to beith fair. Marion Bone was buried today in Muchline churchyard. A large Funeral Grain is rather slow of sale this week. the top rather down both in Corn. and. wheat. sold a Calved Cow at 10 Guineas. Potatotes are still high in price. I bought a plough for 4/6 last Monday very cheap.
>
> John Donald

Allison also includes some family information. Unlike Peter Turner, when recording a death he provides a short reflection, through which he manages to convey feelings of love and loss. One gets a sense that he was protective of his brother, Arthur, and it is perhaps significant that the only death he recorded but did not share a reflection upon, was that of his step-mother. When, in 1829, William Allison tells us that his mother died, and eleven days later he fell off a hay rick and broke his collar bone, it is hard not to imagine that grief played a part in the accident. Allison lost two children as infants. For a parent of the nineteenth century this was not an unusual experience, and we may wonder how they bore it. One option was to try to maintain emotional detachment until the children had survived the dangers of babyhood. George, his father tells us, was one year and eight days old, while John was one year ten months and five days old at time of death. The recording of the exact ages of the children suggests affection, and,

with the reflections on these deaths that Allison notes ('He was lovely in life' and 'God plants his flowers when he thinks time and plucks at any age') his grief calls out to us from the pages of the diary. Friction within the family is apparent in the argument William Allison had with his son in 1848 (see below). One can almost hear doors slamming in the farmhouse as James slighted his father's farming methods. However this dispute was put into perspective for William the following year, when he nearly lost James as the result of an accident. It appears that Allison was supported through bereavement by his religious faith. We don't know if he discussed sermons, in the same way as the Donalds, but Allison became a church elder at Mearnskirk in 1830 and attended twenty kirk session meetings during the period 1834-5 (see Mearns 1834 - 1908).

The Farms

When he started writing his diary, William Allison identified the farm he was working on as 'Northfield', which his grandson Peter Turner locates in Malletsheugh, Mearns, Renfrewshire. There was a Northfield in the vicinity of Malletsheugh, which is indicated at a southern edge of Thomas Richardson's 1795 'Map of the town of Glasgow and country seven miles around'. Allison had family in this area. Westfield, where William's father, and afterwards his brother (both James Allison) farmed, is not shown on Richardson's map, but it was marked on mid nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps. Northfield is not marked on the Ordnance Survey maps, but seems to have been just to the North of Westfield. Possibly William Allison grew up at Westfield but as a young adult moved out to take up a lease, on a farm of his own. His brother John, who is also presumed to have grown up at Westfield, took a lease on the nearby farm of Kirkhouse.

Newspaper reports of the Mearns Cattle Show, in the mid nineteenth century indicate that the type of farming pursued in Mearns at the time was dairying, and in 1848 Mrs Allison, of Westfield, Malletsheugh, came second in the competition for the best sample of fresh butter ('Mearns Cattle Show' 1848). In his diary, William Allison barely mentions livestock but makes constant mention of the crops. Similarly, in his later diary, Peter Turner detailed work with the crops on Oxgang Farm but made little mention of the 20-24 cow dairy herd there, which would have been under the daily management of his mother. In the second half of the nineteenth century, some form of dairying was usual on small family farms across west central Scotland (McGuire 2012). The land was managed through crop rotation and the livestock fed by crops grown on the farms, and bought in feed. Newspaper advertisements from 1850 and 1851 describe Northfield as a dairy farm (see *Glasgow Herald* 1850 - 51*)*.

William Allison does not say why he left Northfield and his connections in Mearns Parish to live in Glasgow. The date he gives (15 May) for the removal, was a term day on which leases began and ended. So William's lease may have ended and not been renewed. The interlude in Glasgow is suggestive of an enforced departure from Mearns. The year 1835 appears as a kind of hiatus

in the diary, in that there is no mention of crops. At this time, the Allison diary was a farm diary without associated farm. The move to Glasgow is mentioned, but not what Allison did there. Allison records the birth of his daughter, Mary, but, apart from this, with no mention of planting, or sowing, or harvesting, the rhythms of life appear to have been in abeyance until the move to Thorn Farm in 1836. Thorn Farm, New Kilpatrick, was also in a dairying area. Like Northfield, Thorn is depicted on Richardson's map, but in the northern part. Although Thorn has disappeared under housing, the farm is commemorated in the Bearsden street names, Thorn Road and Thorn Drive.

The Diary

In the following abridgement of the diary the word-count has been reduced from 4207 to 2228. The commonplace abbreviations have been expanded, substituting 'potatoes' for 'pots', and 'and' for '&'. Punctuation has been added, and a few words, with the intention of improving readability. Not all the diary entries begin with the words 'The year', but where these were absent they have been added, to clarify the structure. Certain parts, sometimes whole years, have been deleted, to focus on the juxtaposition of the births, marriages, and deaths, within the family, with the seasonal renewal, of the earth:

> The year 1820 April 10 we began to sow Price of meal 1/5 pot. 1/1 On April 5th the Radicals intended to overturn the Government & consequently raised a great tumult but were disappointed by the treachery of their leaders so little blood was shed at that time.

The year 1821 April 25 we had all the oats sown, and on the 28th we began to plant potatoes and on the 3rd May my brother John departed this life, age 31 years. His lease on the farm of Kirkhouse being nearly expired, his widow and two little daughters removed to Newton on the 15th.[5] Fleeting and uncertain is human life and all its cares. Man that is born of woman is of few days and full of trouble. He cometh forth as a flower and is cut down. He flieth also as a shadow and continueth not.[6] On June 9th we sowed the turnips, and the potatoes began to break through. On June 30th we had most of the Ryegrass cut. On July 10th Ann Bennie[7] and I were joined in marriage by the Rev. John McFarlan, Minister of the gospel in Glasgow. On August 12th we began to cut the meadow, and on the 28 we stacked the hay. On September 1st we began to shear, and by the end of September we had all shorn. On October 13 we had all in, and we began to dig the potatoes on the 18th On November 6 all the potatoes were pitted.

The year 1822 June 1st the potatoes began to break through, and on June 23, about 6 pm., James Allison was born and, about this time, the oats began to ear. On the 17th July we began to cut the Meadow, and on August 26 we began to reap oats. On the 11th September we had all shorn and, on 22nd we had all in. On October 17 the potatoes were all pitted. A good crop.

The year 1823 July 10, we began to cut hay, and the oats began to ear. On the 18th we began to cut the meadow. On August 9th, we stacked the hay, and on September 16, we began to reap oats. On October 20, the oats were all in. On November 13, George Allison was born.

The year 1824 July 2 oats began to ear, and we began to cut hay. On August 10th we began to cut oats, and on September 28 we had all in. On October 27 the potatoes were all pitted, a good crop. On November 21, George Allison departed this life aged 1 year and 8 days. God plants his flowers when he thinks time and plucks at any age.[8]

The year 1825 at the end of June we began to cut hay, and on August 6 we stacked the hay. On August 12th we began to cut barley, and on the 24 we began to cut oats. On September 3rd had all shorn, and on the 13 we had all in. On October 11th Ann Allison was born.

The year 1828 January 2d George Allison was born. June 29 the oats began to ear and we began to cut the hay. On September 9 we began to shear, and had all in on October 17.

The year 1829 June 29, the oats began to ear, and on July 3 we began to cut hay. On August 15 we stacked the hay, and, on September 7, we began to shear. On September 9, my father and mother removed from Westfield Mearns to Newton. On 17 we had all shorn, and on October 16 we had the potatoes pitted. On the 10th December, my mother departed this life, at the age of 67 years. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.[9] On the 21st I got my collar bone broken, by falling off a hay rick.

The year 1830. Jan 28 John Knox & I were ordained elders of the Presbeterian church by Dr. McLatchie at Mearns Kirk & on 12 March, William Allison was born. On July 9 the oats began to ear, and, on July 28, we began to cut the meadow price 1/8 and on 17 August, we stacked the hay, and on 6th September we began to reap bere. On 5th October we had done shearing, and, on the 19th had all in. On the 22 we had the potatoes pitted but a very small crop.

The year 1832 May 15 We had potatoes planted, and on July 2d we began to cut hay, and, on the 9th, the oats began to ear. On the 1st September we began to reap oats and, on October 1st we had all in. About the end of October, my father was married to Mrs Allison, widow of the deceased James Allison at Waterside. He was aged 71 years, and she was something younger. On November 4th John Allison was born.

The year 1833 July 1st We began to cut hay and on August 6 we stacked the hay the weather very good and upon August 13th Dr. McLatchie Minister of the Gospel at Mearns Kirk departed this life, aged 80 years, having been a Minister there for 47 years. Life like a vain amusement flies as a shadow of a dream. The rich the poor the weak and wise glide softly down the stream.[10] About August 20 we began to shear and on September 10th we had all in and on 22, and 23 we pitted most of the potatoes. The crop was in general deficient. On September 11 my son, John Allison, departed this life aged 1 year 10 months and 5 days. He was lovely in life and at this early period was made meet for the inheritance of the saints in Light. So children are a heritage of the Lord.

The year 1835 May 15th. We removed from Northfield to Glasgow and on October 4 Mary Allison was born.

The year 1836, We removed from Glasgow to Thorn, East Kilpatrick.[11] We began to cut oats on September 30 and had done on the 24 October, and on the 28th there was a

considerable fall of snow, and on 7 November we got all in.

The year 1838 Jan 8 The frost set in and continued till March 15th before the plough could go freely. On the 28 March we began to sow, and, on April 2nd had done. On September 20 we began to cut oats, and, on October 5th, we began to cut wheat. On the 15th we finished cutting. On December 3d John Allison was born.

The year 1845 In the month of May, my stepmother departed this life, and my father, James Allison, being again a widower, removed from Newton to Westfield. This was a good summer but there was a great loss in the potato crop from disease.

The year 1847 December 7 James Allison, my father, departed this life aged 86 years.[12] The days of our years are three score and ten, or if by reason of more strength, they be fourscore, yet their strength is labour and sorrow for it is soon cut off and we fly away.[13]

The year 1848 My son James for some unreasonable fretfulness left us and engaged with Mr. Robertson, Hillington to learn (as he said) a better system of farming. He continued there for the summer, and, at Martinmas, took a small shop in Williamsburgh,[14] continuing to work occasionally with Mr. Robertson.

The year 1849 Jan. 23 my son, James, married Isabella Scott, daughter to William Scott, East Kilpatrick. In the month of April he met with an accident, from falling off a cart, which was nearly fatal. His head was severely bruised but, luckily, with good management, he recovered sooner than expected. On August 23rd my brother Arthur departed this life, aged 53 years. He was naturally active, ingenious, and energetic, striving to see everything in its true light and divested of superstition and delusion, but mankind in general are fond of the marvellous, and will not be satisfied with pure simplicity. On 23 November, my son, James, removed from Williamsburgh to Newkirk,[15] William Scott his father in law having given it up and removed to Coltness.

The year 1850 My daughter, Ann, was married to Mr Thomas Dunlop, provision merchant Glasgow, on February 20th. We had the bad disease among the cattle, by which we lost 4 cows and two stirks.[16] It returned again, in the month of April, when we lost 4. The summer was good with an excellent commencement to the harvest, but the end was wet and stormy. On December 5th, our neighbour, Mrs. Logan, departed this life, aged 62 years. She had long been afflicted with a cancer in the eye, which she bore with Christian patience. On the 8 December my daughter (Ann Dunlop) had a daughter, and on the 21d my son, James, had a daughter. The winter was very wet and on the 5 April, we began to sow. The spring was cold and backward, the summer was changeable but genial. On the 12 September we began to shear. On the 1st of October we had done shearing, and on the 15th, we had all in, beans excepted. A good crop, in tolerable condition.

The year 1852 On 7 May my brother-in-law, John Russell,[17] departed this life, aged 53 years. He was a man of persevering diligence, good judgement, and sound principle. On his death bed, he manifested the resignation, faith, and

Figure 5: Thorn Farm Steading, Bearsden, East Dunbartonshire Libraries.

hope of a Christian. The summer was very fine in the months of July and August, despite much thunder and heavy rain, which did considerable damage to the turnips. On 24 August, we began cutting oats, and on September 4, we had done cutting. On September 11 we had all the oats in, and, on the 15th, all the beans in.

The year 1859 April 7 we began to sow oats, and on 28 we began to plant potatoes. On the 30 we finished sowing oats, and had a little rain. From this, till June 22, was very dry. Then there was a considerable rain, which made the turnips braird. On August 13, Mrs Davidson,[18] my oldest sister, departed this life, aged 74. She was disabled with the palsy, and was long confined, under which she bore up with Christian patience. Our life passeth like a shadow or a dream. On August 22 we began to cut wheat, and on the 25, we began to cut oats. On September 5 we had all cut, and on the 16 had all in, crop deficient with the long drouth.

The year 1863 On December 19, my wife, Ann Bennie, departed this life aged 66 years, after a short and severe illness of a sore throat, which she bore with Christian patience and meekness. She was careful, cleanly, active and faithful, but if we have some virtues, we have all many vices, and it is in the mercy of God alone that we have hope, for with him is forgiveness and plenteous redemption, and he will redeem his penitent children from all their iniquities.[19]

The year 1866 On April 6 we began to sow oats, and on the 14 had mostly sown. On May 3 we had the potatoes planted and on 6th July my son, George, was married to Jean Donald, daughter to William Donald,[20] Baljaffrey.

What Happened Next

William Allison died at Thorn on 2 October 1866. The Inventory of his estate included 'value of one third share of crop, stock, household furniture and effects at Thorn' ('Allison Inventory' 1866). The other two thirds would have been claimed by his sons, George and William, since they are both described in the documentation as 'farmer Thorn', while their younger brother, John is described as 'also residing with me'. Possibly William Allison had associated two of his sons in the lease with him, as James Turner was later to associate Peter Turner with him, in the lease of Oxgang Farm. At the time of his death William Allison had £57 sixteen shillings in a current account with the Union Bank of Scotland, Maryhill, and £1,494 in deposit with the Union Bank of Scotland, Glasgow.[21] William had inherited (from his father) a parcel of land in Broomlands of Paisley with the house on it, and a dwelling house or tenement in Newton Mearns, with land at the back to the extent of eight falls. These properties were still in William's possession at the time of his own death, providing an income separate from farming. There were four tenants listed at the property at 11 Broomland, Paisley, and five at the property in Newton Mearns. William Allison's Inventory also mentions a shop and cellar at 43 Frederick Street, Glasgow, which was rented by Thomas Dunlop, William's son-in-law. The valuation of the estate was £1,902 twelve shillings and three pence,[22] which includes the rent owing on the various properties, but not the value of the properties themselves.

William Allison drew up his Will in 1846, nominating as executors his sons James, George and William, his wife, and his brothers Arthur and James ('Allison Will' 1846). By the time the Will came into effect, Ann Bennie and Arthur Allison were dead, George and William were farming at Thorn, while their brother James was the farmer of Brickhouse, Old Kilpatrick, and their uncle James was living in retirement in Glasgow. In the event of Ann Bennie surviving her husband, the executors were to:

> Secure such a sum on good heritable security or in the purchase of heritable property as will yield her a free yearly annuity of Thirty pounds per annum during all the years of her life […] Declaring that on the death of my said spouse the sum or property secured for payment of said annuity shall go to and be divided among my children the survivors of them, or the children of the predeceasers in the same way, and under the like conditions as are herein after specified with regard to the remainder of my means and Estate […] In the third place I direct my said Trustees and Executors […] to realize the remainder or residue of my said means heritable and moveable […] and to divide the same into sixteen equal shares and to pay or hand over Three parts or shares thereof to my said son James Allison, Three parts or shares thereof to my said son George Allison, Three parts or shares of to my said son William Allison and Three parts of shares thereof to my son John Allison also residing with me and two parts or shares to my daughter Ann Allison residing with me, and the remaining two parts or shares to my daughter Mary Allison also residing with me.

Thus the daughters were each to receive two thirds of the amount left to each son. The 1851 Census listed William's son, James Allison, at Newkirk but, by the time of the 1861 Census James was farming the ninety-acre farm of Brickhouse. In 1871 Brickhouse was described as 112 acres, and in 1881 the farm was described as 112 acres all arable. James was still the farmer of Brickhouse at the time of his death in 1895, when his estate was valued at £6,720 five shillings and three pence.[23]

James' younger brother, George, was farming at Thorn with their father at the time of William Allison's death. As mentioned in his father's diary, George married Jean Donald, daughter of William Donald of Baljaffray. George remained the farmer of Thorn, until his own death in 1927. His Inventory ('G. Allison Inventory' 1927) is much shorter than that of his elder brother, consisting of the household furniture, the stock and implements belonging to the farm of Thorn, and a debt due from Gilbert Thomson, dairyman, Canniesburn Toll. The total estate was valued at £1,024 five shillings and sixpence.

George's younger brothers, William and John, were also at Thorn at the time of their father's death but, by the time of the 1871 Census they were both farming at the ninety-five acre arable farm of Rosebank, Kirkintilloch. In 1871, William was married to Helen Donald, who may have been another of the daughters of William Donald of North Baljaffray. John never married but continued to farm alongside his brother.

In his diary, under 1850, William Allison noted the marriage of his elder daughter, Ann to Thomas Dunlop, a Glasgow provision merchant, and from his Will it seems that Dunlop rented shop space in Glasgow from his father-in-law. In 1851 the young couple could be found at 28 William Street, Glasgow, which ran between Elderslie Street and North Street, with their infant daughter, and Thomas' twenty-two year old brother, James Dunlop. As stated above, Thomas Dunlop was a 'provision merchant' at the time of his marriage. According to the Post Office Directory for Glasgow, in 1886 Thomas Dunlop was a grain and seed merchant who had business premises at 39 Carron Wharf, Port Dundas. Dunlop appears to have been a successful businessman. When he died, in 1893 his estate was valued at £15,692 twelve shillings and sixpence. After the death of her husband, Ann Allison lived with her son, Thomas Dunlop junior, and died in 1910.

At the time of her father's death William Allison's younger daughter, Mary Allison, was living at Thorn. Later she went to Rosebank, Kirkintilloch with her brothers, William and John, and was resident there at the time of her marriage (November 1868) to James Turner. At the time of the wedding, James Turner was working as a drapery warehouseman in Glasgow, but at the time of the 1861 Census, James Turner was a live-in ploughman at Balvie Farm about three miles distant from Thorn. Mary and James may have met around this time, but would William Allison have been pleased at a marriage between his daughter and a ploughman? The wedding took place after a suitable period of mourning, for the bride's father, at the home of the bride's sister, Ann Allison or Dunlop, so it appears that Mary's family accepted her choice ('Allison Marriage Certificate' 1868).

Figure 6: On the fringe of East Kilpatrick kirkyard, in Bearsden, amidst buttercup and bramble, and mantled with moss, stands the memorial to William Allison and his wife, Ann Bennie.

After the wedding, and with financial support from Thomas Dunlop, James Turner took a lease of Oxgang, Kirkintilloch, a neighbouring farm to Rosebank. Eventually Oxgang was taken over by James and Mary's son, Peter Turner. In Peter's diary there are very many references to his Allison relatives, but very few to his Turner kin. However, by the time the diaries were written, James Turner, and his brother, Peter, inhabited different social strata. James was an employer, who sat on the Parochial Board of Kirkintilloch[24], while Peter took in lodgers, and his daughters worked in factories. The Allison connection was an advantageous one for James Turner, and not just for the backing of Thomas Dunlop's capital. Most of the Allisons were involved in farming and represented a pool of local agricultural knowledge and experience, which could be shared among the group. Whether James Turner deliberately dissociated himself from his brother, or whether there was

a gradually drifting apart as a result of their different life experience, or whether there was some quarrel, is not known. James's son, Peter, bought Oxgang in 1920 and, according to Peter junior, it was Peter senior's wish to hand the farm to one of his sons, but none of them wanted it. The farm was sold around 1934-35 to the Department of Agriculture and divided up into smallholdings. Peter Turner retained one of these, built a house and continued to work the land. With the smallholding experiment a failure, the Department of Agriculture sold the land to Wimpey Homes for considerably more than they had paid for it only a few years earlier. Oxgang Farm was built over and the farm steading demolished. A church has been built on the site of the steading, but a few courses of stones of the farmhouse remain, at the junction of Waterside Road and Old Aisle Road.

Conclusion

'Fleeting and uncertain is human life and all its cares' quoted William Allison, in 1821. Such is the brevity of William's diary that the people mentioned therein, along with Allison himself, seem to rush by, leaving the merest glimpse of their all but forgotten lives behind. All but, but not entirely, forgotten. Through diaries like that of William Allison, Peter Turner, and the Donald family, we are reminded of a way of life that, though hard, was vibrant. We are reminded of people who provided food for the nation, and enjoyed interests such as dancing, poetry, and current affairs. Although William Allison's diary is concise, to the point of terseness, it shares principal concerns of weather, crops, religion, and family, with the Turner and Donald diaries, and also hints at the emotional life of the author. There are no poems included in William Allison's diary, either of Allison's own composition, or the work of a recognised poet. Yet William Allison's diary is itself a poem.

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Endnotes

1 The Turner Diary Database is held on CD Rom located in front inside pocket of M.Phil. dissertation folder, McGuire, D.E. (2004), *Farming in Kirkintilloch district in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries* LC630 East Dunbartonshire Libraries Local Studies, Kirkintilloch.

2 William Allison of Rosebank, or his son, William, who was the same age as Bill Turner, or William Allison of South Arkleston, or William Allison of Thorn?

3 When Robert Park, the farmer of High and Laigh Hatton farms, in Renfrewshire, died in 1870, at the age of 53, his only surviving son, Walter Scott Park, was still a child. Robert's widow, Ann Scott, took over the farms, but employed a farm manager who, under her direction could deal with the traditionally male roles on the farms. Once Walter Park was grown, a farm manager was no longer employed, but his mother continued at the farms, presumably still managing the dairy. In 1885, Walter married, and his mother bought a house in Bishopton, where she spent her remaining years. Ann Scott or Park may have taken the marriage of her son as a signal to retire, and make way for a new mistress of the farm.

4 Father, William Donald (1791-1871); mother, Janet McWhirter (1801-1866); other children, Agnes (1825-1882), Janet (1833- ?), Thomas (1834-1904), William (1835-1872), Martha (1837-1906), Mary (1839-1907), Margaret (1844-1907), John (1844-1894).

5 John's widow was Jean Russell and, in September of 1821, she gave birth to a son, John Allison (OPR Mearns Parish). In his Will, which was drawn up in 1827 (National Records of Scotland SC55/43/17) William's father, James Allison, remembered the children of his deceased son John Allison, who were identified as John and Mary Allison. There was no mention of the elder daughter, Janet. It is presumed that she was dead by the time her grandfather's Will was drawn up.

6 Job, 14.

7 Born in Carmunock, 1797.

8 'God plants…' The Catechisme, 1552, St. Andrews, page 2.

9 Rev.14:13.

10 Psalm 90.

11 According to Census returns, Thorn Farm consisted of 80 acres in 1851, and 113 acres in 1861.

12 James Allison died twenty years after making his Will, and did not leave enough funds to pay any of the legacies therein described. William, as eldest son, may have felt a moral obligation to fulfil his father's Will by paying these sums from his own resources. An entry in the Register of Sasines (National Records of Scotland, Register of Sasines no. 2221), 1849, records that William Allison, Farmer, Thorn was seised with the property left to him in his father's Will, but under burden of a proportion of the sums settled on his sisters, and niece and nephew by his father.

13 'The days…' Psalm 90.

14 Williamsburgh: a locality of Paisley.

15 James was listed as farmer at the sixty acre farm of Newkirk in the 1851 Census.

16 Stirk: a young bullock.

17 William's sister, Margaret Allison, was married to John Russell, who was a grocer in Paisley in 1849 (Register of Sasines no. 2221).

18 William's sister, Mary Allison, was married to Matthew Davidson, a Paisley carter (Register of Sasines no. 2221).

19 Psalm 130.

20 The 1851 Census describes William Donald as a grazier, with sixty acres in North Baljaffrey, Bearsden, East Dunbartonshire.

21 £57.16.0 would, in 1870, have had the approximate buying power of £3,618.80, in 2017. £1,494, in 1870, would have had the approximate buying power of £93,537.85, in 2017, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter.

22 £119,120.67 of buying power, in 2017, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter

23 £6,720.5.3, in 1890 gives a buying power of approximately £551,392.83 in 2017, www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currencyconverter.

24 See *Glasgow Herald*, 28 July 1891.

Stills, Shielings and Retting Ponds: Survey and Excavation at the Camp Shiel Burn, Peeblesshire, Scottish Borders

Joyce Durham and Piers Dixon

ABSTRACT

The Border Magazine for March 1933 recounts a story about smugglers of illicit whisky on Minchmoor near Traquair in the Scottish Borders. Moreover, according to an intriguing local tradition, the remains of an illicit whisky still were said to be located not far from Traquair at Birkie Cleugh by the Camp Shiel Burn.[1] This project was originally conceived to investigate the possible connection between the magazine story and the surviving structural remains said to be the site of the still, by means of a combination of field and archival research undertaken by members of the Peeblesshire Archaeological Society. However, as a result of the ensuing field survey, a range of previously unknown sites was discovered along the banks of the Camp Shiel Burn, including stills, flax retting ponds and shieling huts. Of these, a shieling hut and a still were excavated, revealing the poverty of the material culture of the former and the technical care applied to the construction of the latter. The shieling hut – a type of domestic building once common to the Southern Uplands – was dated by radiocarbon determinations to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The still is dated by the musket ball found in the middle of the floor to the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries. No secure dating evidence was found for the other sites but their presence attests to the active role played in the local post-medieval rural economy by what has become an isolated side valley now given over almost entirely to forestry.

INTRODUCTION

> 'It is very difficult of approach, as the sides of the glen are precipitous and the bottom strewn with boulders which have been washed out of the hillside by the rains of centuries. There is not much to see, just a sort of cave: and when it was pointed out to me, about thirty years ago, I did not put much faith in the story. It was, of course, an ideal spot for such traffic: difficult of access even in daylight, it was absolutely unapproachable at night.'[2]

In 2007, the attention of author Joyce Durham was drawn to a story about smugglers of illicit whisky on Minchmoor near Traquair in the Scottish Borders in the year 1816, described in

1 Throughout this article, the place name Birkie Cleugh, meaning a birch-grown ravine, is preferred to Birkie Cleuch. It can be spelt either way, but is currently spelt Birkie Cleuch on the Ordnance Survey (OS) map.

2 *The Border Magazine* March 1933 Vol. xxxvii No. 447, 'The Smugglers. A Tragedy of the Minch', pp. 42-3.

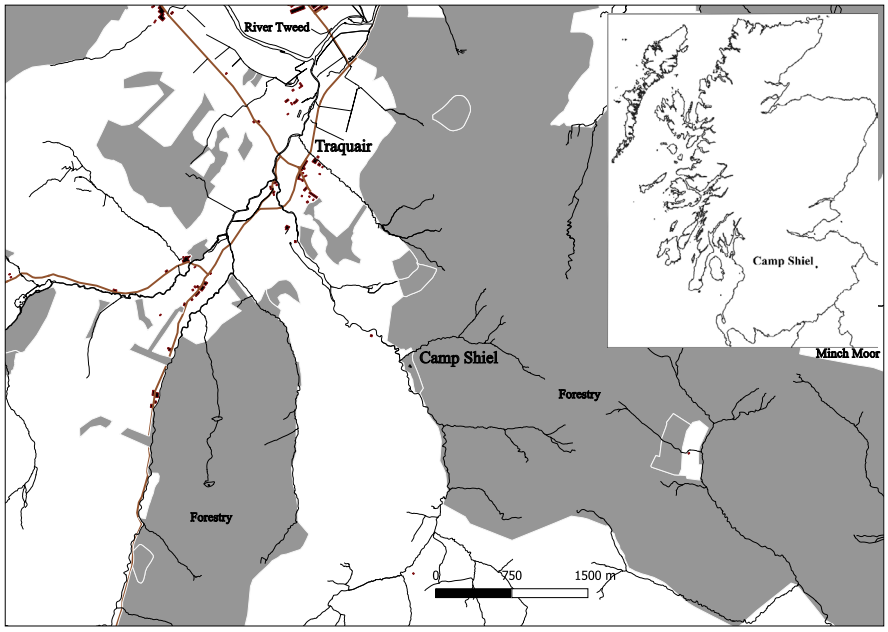

Figure 1: Location map. Copyright Piers Dixon OS OpenMap Local Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2018; HLA map data © Crown copyright Historic Environment Scotland.

The Border Magazine for March 1933. Moreover, according to an intriguing local tradition, the remains of an illicit whisky still was said to be located not far from Traquair at Birkie Cleugh by the Camp Shiel Burn. The original aim of this project was to investigate whether there might be a connection between the magazine story and the surviving structural remains supposed to be the site of the still. However, in the course of the ensuing reconnaissance survey, a greater range of previously unknown sites was discovered along the banks of the Camp Shiel Burn, including stills, flax retting ponds and shieling huts. The scope of the project was broadened with the aim of investigating these by means of detailed survey and selective excavation, and to undertake archival research in the hope of corroborating the smugglers' story. In particular it was intended that the putative still would be excavated in the hope of contributing to the currently limited knowledge of illicit stills. The work was carried out through a combination of field and archival research undertaken by members of the Peeblesshire Archaeological Society principally under the direction of Joyce Durham with the assistance of Piers Dixon during the excavation and the writing of this report.

Camp Shiel Burn is situated on the south-west facing slopes of Minch Moor about 2.5km south-east of the village of Traquair, Peeblesshire, in the Scottish Borders (Figure 1). The land has belonged to the Maxwell-Stewart family, lairds of Traquair since 1479 (OPS 1851: 221), and was part of the tenanted Traquair Knowe Farm. A late 1940s aerial photograph shows the ground cover as rough moorland (NCAP: 106G/Scot/

Figure 2: View of the landscape of Camp Shiel cottage and Camp Shiel Burn from the southwest. Copyright Joyce Durham.

UK/0018_5155). In the 1960s the land was sold to the Forestry Commission and planted with conifers. In the 1990s some of the trees by the burn were felled and the south bank was left to regenerate naturally. At the foot of the Camp Shiel Burn at its junction with Fingland Burn, a tributary of the Quair Water, lies Camp Shiel (Figure 2), a cottage built in 1831 (NRS: GD1/162/1; NT 340 328).

THE FIELD SURVEY

Field prospection revealed a range of archaeological sites along the banks of the Camp Shiel Burn (Figure 3). Eight possible monuments were recorded, including two stills, two shieling huts and three retting ponds. What was initially thought to be a possible mill site on the south side of the burn, visible as an arc of bank, was tested by a trial trench and found to be a natural feature

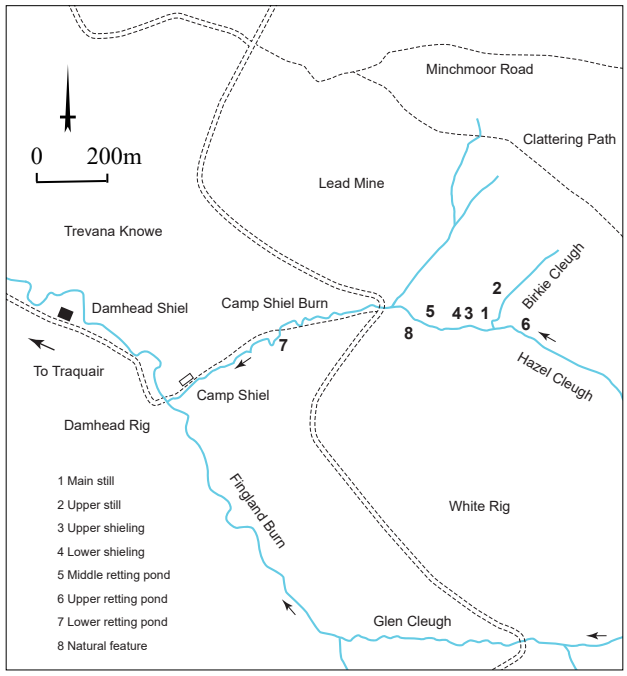

Figure 3: Map of the sites located in the field survey. Copyright Danny Dutton.

Figure 4: The Camp Shiel still from the northwest showing the stone-capped drain after removal of vegetation. Copyright Joyce Durham.

Figure 5: The flue and smoke away at the back of the still under excavation. Copyright Joyce Durham.

(NT 34668 32987; Figure 3, site 8 on plan). Test trenches were also excavated to confirm the interpretation of the other features; in two cases - the still at the junction with Birkie Cleugh Burn and the upper of the two shieling huts – the trial trenches were later extended to allow more comprehensive excavation (see below).

The Stills

What was identified as the site of the still suggested by local tradition is situated at an altitude of around 300m on the north bank of the Camp Shiel Burn, at its junction with a side burn called Birkie Cleugh (NT 34882 32951; Figure 3, site 1 on plan). Indeed, it is depicted as a sheepfold on the first edition 6-inch Ordnance Survey (OS) map of Peeblesshire (1859: sheet xviii)[3]. Prior to the investigation, the vegetation was thick moss

3 The map can be accessed online at https://maps.nls.uk/view/228779452.

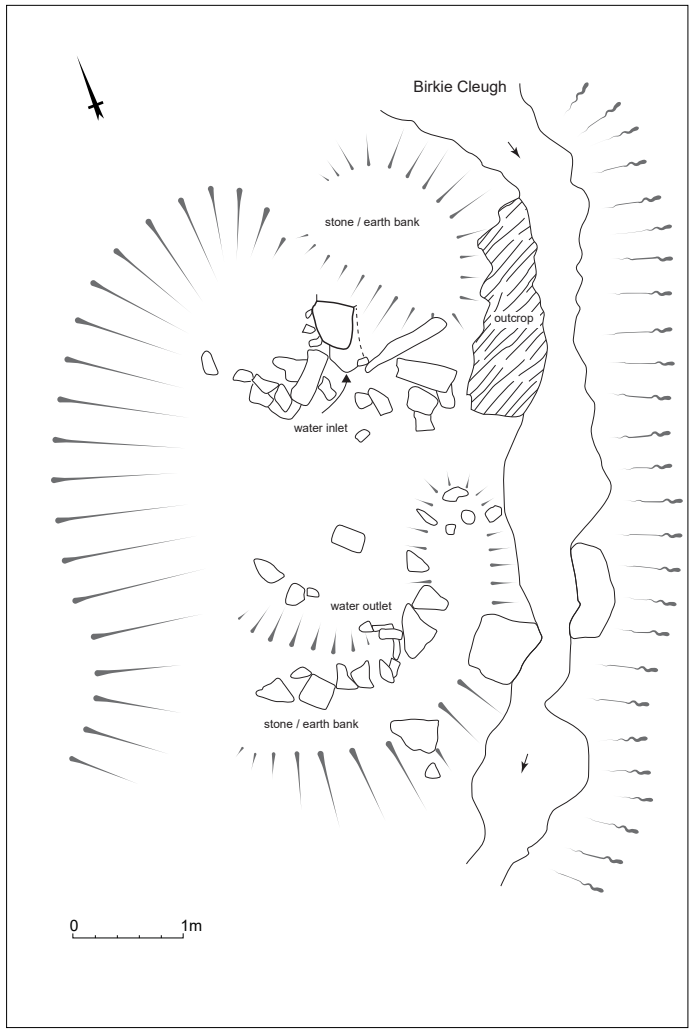

Figure 6: Site plan of the Birkie Cleugh still.
Copyright Danny Dutton.

with grass and ferns underlying mature pine trees originally planted by the Forestry Commission in the 1960s. Access to this and other sites was challenging due to the many wind-blown trees lying around in the immediate vicinity.

The structure of what we may term the Camp Shiel still is best described as a large stone-lined pit set into the hillside. Roughly D-shaped on plan, it measured 2.9m from north-east to south-west by 2.8m transversely and 1.5m in depth (Figure 4). An alcove or flue was visible in the north wall where it was set into the hillside (Figure 5). As this structure was thought to be the suspected site of the still, it was selected for excavation (see below).

About 40m up the Birkie Cleugh from its junction with Camp Shiel Burn, the remains of a second still, measuring 2.3m x 1.7m, were found (NT 34912 32976; Figure 3, site 2 on plan). This feature (the Birkie Cleugh still) was much more

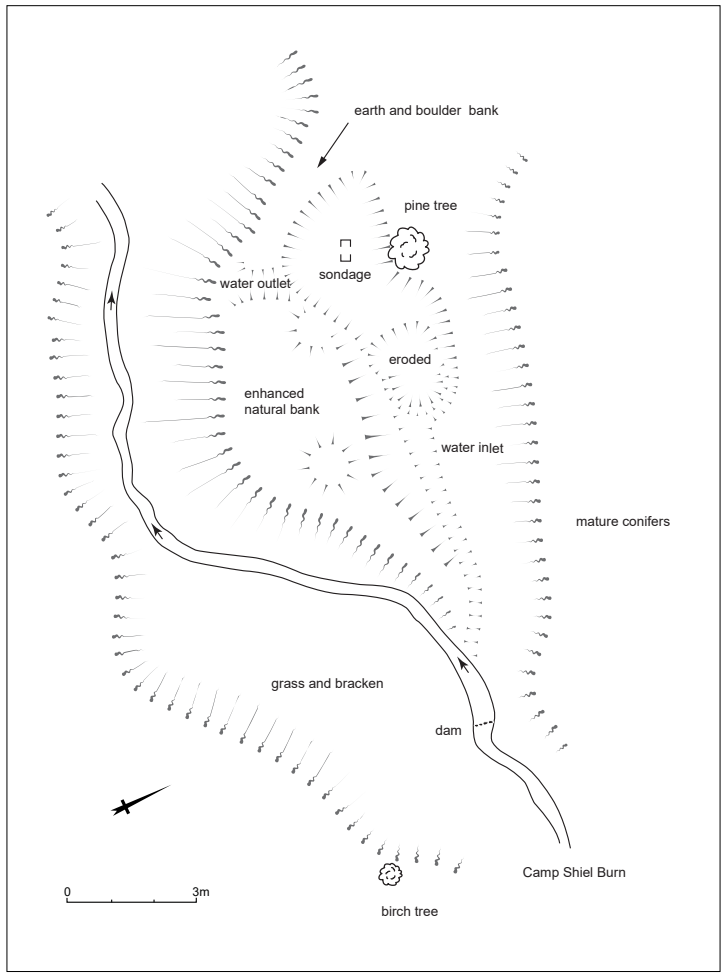

Figure 7: Site plan of the upper retting pond.
Copyright Danny Dutton.

basic and less well-preserved than the first, but similar in that it was dug into the hillside on one side, had a retaining wall on the other and a small lade for water running through it (Figure 6).

The Shieling Huts

The remains of two huts were located during the course of the survey. The first was found on a gently sloping terrace parallel to the stream on the north side of the burn and about 20m south-west of the still at the confluence with the Birkie Cleugh Burn (NT 34860 32941; Figure 3, site 3 on plan). The very slight remains of a second hut were found 7m downstream from the upper one (NT 34850 32942; Figure 3, site 4 on plan), showing as an L-shaped length of stony bank.

The first hut was not immediately recognisable as a building, let alone a shieling hut; it consisted of a grass-covered dome-shaped mound set within a rectangular depression which had sharply-defined edges on the north and east sides. There were several stones protruding around the rim

Figure 8: View of the lower retting pond from the southeast.
Copyright Joyce Durham.

of the depression but the picture was confused further by pine trees, some of them wind-blown. Seemingly at least partly artificial, this rather amorphous feature occupied a terrace about 2m above and parallel to the course of the burn and at a distance of about 5m from it. The ground immediately surrounding the possible structure was more or less level, forming a platform, with a stony slope on the downward side facing the stream.

In the hope that it would assist in interpreting the site, a 0.5m wide evaluation trench was dug along the top of the mound and then another at right angles to it. These showed that the mound fill was dark grey loose silt with a few stones of varying sizes and small fragments of charcoal. The mound was 0.5m deep at its highest point and there was a compacted surface at its base. As the initial trenches did not clarify the nature of the site, it was decided to extend the excavation (see below).

The Retting Ponds

Three possible retting ponds were located by the survey. One, which is situated 50m downstream from the shielings (NT34808 32938; Figure 3, site 5 on plan), is fed by what may have been a former water course of the Camp Shiel Burn that ends abruptly in a drop of about 1m over a dry-stone wall, badly disturbed by a large fallen tree.

There was a second pond approximately 80m upstream from the Birkie Cleugh on the north

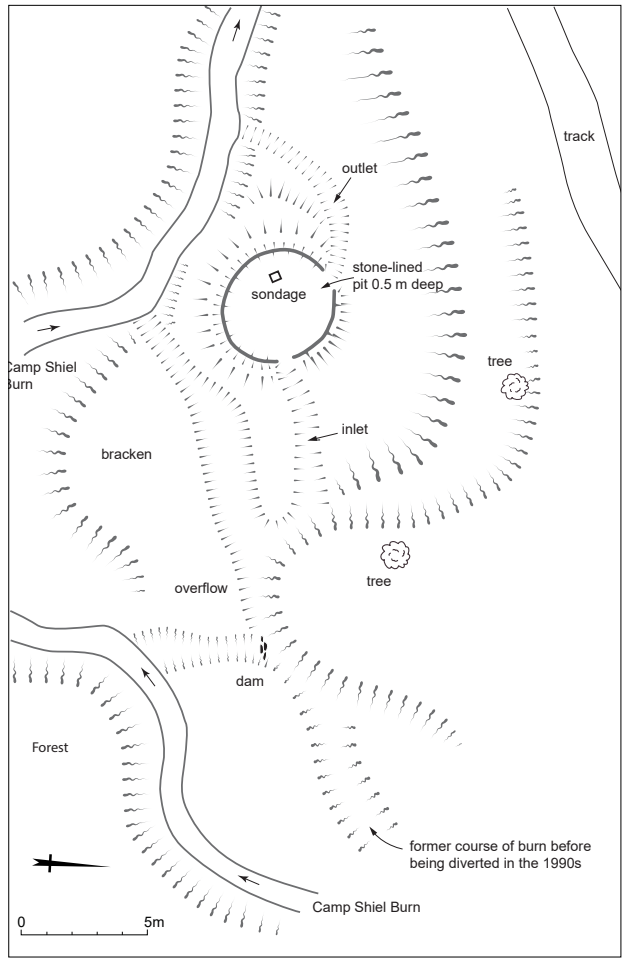

Figure 9: Site plan of the lower retting pond.
Copyright Danny Dutton.

bank of the Hazel Cleugh (NT 34956 32926; Figure 3, site 6 on plan). It comprised an oval pit roughly 5m by 2m in extent and 1m in depth, separated from the burn by an earthen bank. An exit channel in the middle of the earthen bank was noted which reinforced the interpretation of this structure as a retting pond (Figure 7). The upper part of the pit was deeper than the lower possibly caused by water cascading from a channel leading from the stream above. A small sondage dug into the base of the lower half of the pit revealed a stony silt deposit about 1.2m in depth over a compacted clay surface running with ground water.

A third retting pond on the north bank of the main burn about 300m above Camp Shiel Cottage (NT 34302 32924; Figure 3, site 7 on plan), comprised a roughly circular stone-lined pit 3m in diameter and 0.5m in depth (Figure 8). In its upper, east side, there was a gap to allow ingress of water from a channel, which led from an old stream bed (Figure 9). A few metres along this

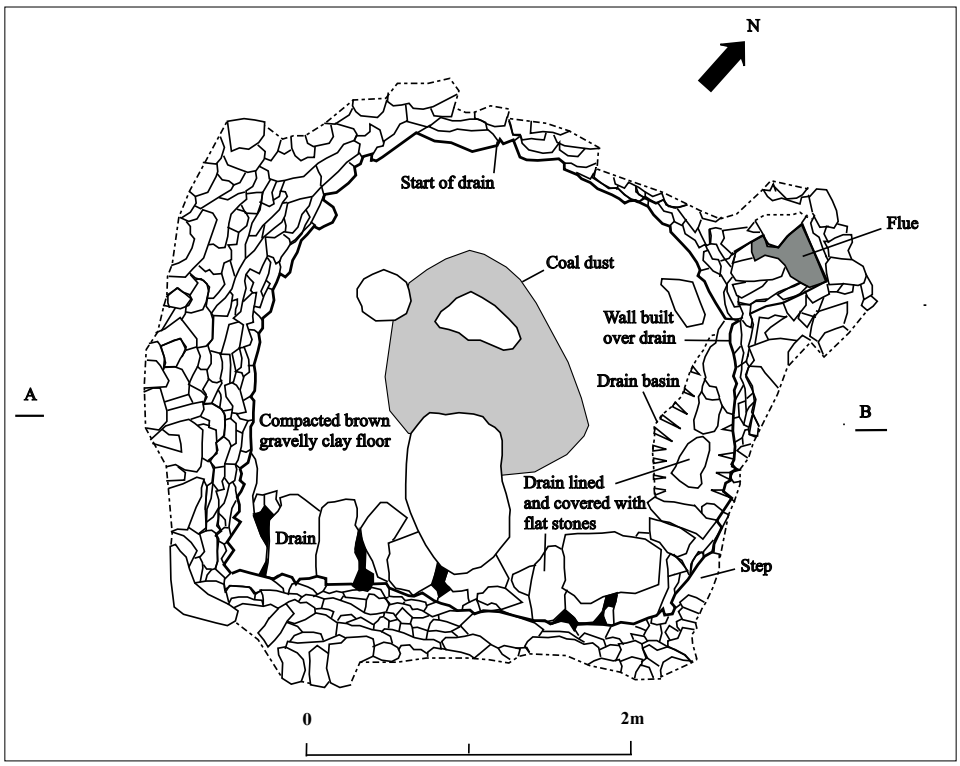

Figure 10: Plan of Camp Shiel still. Copyright Piers Dixon.

channel there was a gap for the overflow to run off, allowing the regulation of the water flow. On the north side of the pit there was a second gap and channel which allowed water to drain back into the stream. A small 0.6m deep sondage dug in the centre of the pit, revealed an orange silty deposit, with darker layers immediately above the compacted base, indicating episodes of silting and soil development.

Two of the three ponds appear therefore to have had stone lined pits and it is tempting to suggest that there was a sequence of development in the use and design of the ponds: the middle one having silted up, operations may have moved to a more efficient pond higher up the burn, which also in due course silted up, to be replaced by a more sophisticated one lower down.

THE EXCAVATIONS

The still

A decision was taken at the outset of the project that our investigation would be directed towards finding out all we could about how the Camp Shiel still was built and worked, whilst preserving its structural integrity.

Having removed the moss, grass and ferns from the walls and floor within the building, it was evident that the internal area had been previously cleared and the walls substantially rebuilt. The evidence for this was the lack of debris from natural decay and the fact that the walls showed signs of having been built in two phases – the

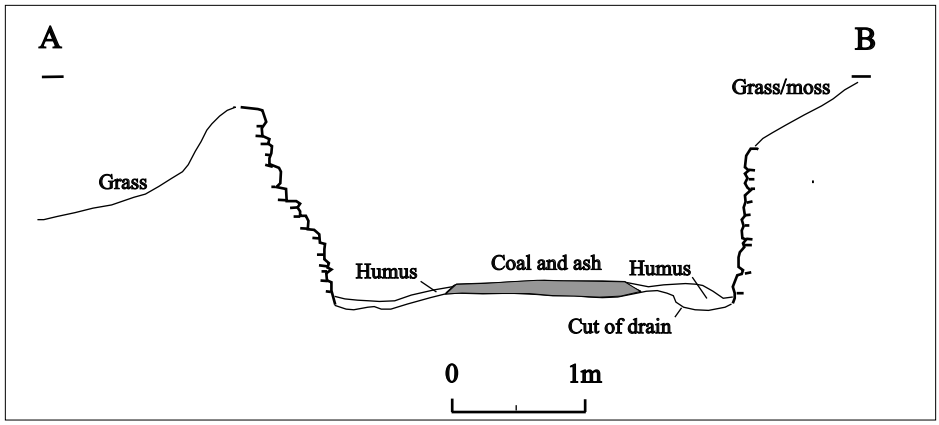

Figure 11: Profile and section of the Camp Shiel still. Copyright Piers Dixon.

upper courses being more roughly built than the lower (Figure 4). Access was from a step at the east corner, a drop of about 0.75m. One large flattish boulder and several other smaller ones lay on the floor of the structure. There was a fan-shaped mound of sandy clay material at the foot of the flue, which had fallen from above, possibly when one of two lintel stones had collapsed. This had built up since the building had been cleared. On the floor surface beneath this debris there was a quantity of ash but very little charcoal and no sign of heat-affected stone. Neither was there any evidence of burnt stone within the flue itself, suggesting that it had seen little use as a hearth, if that had been its original intended purpose. A flat boulder propped at the back of the flue was most probably a collapsed lintel stone. The back of a lintel stone still *in situ* could be seen to be packed with fist-sized stones when viewed from below.

Excavation of the floor area revealed a large central deposit of coal dust and ash, measuring 1.4m by 1.1m across and 0.1m in thickness under which a pinecone was found. Surrounding this deposit and overlying it was a humic layer about 60mm thick. Immediately under them both was an extremely compacted, possibly baked, floor layer of clayey material flecked with coal (Figures 10 and 11). Apart from a small sondage, this floor layer was left unexcavated. A 0.3m x 0.3m sondage was dug into the floor to try to establish the relationship of the building to the underlying deposits (Figure 12). There was an initial layer of extremely compacted yellow grey clay about 50mm thick which became progressively less compacted and stony lower down. At a depth of 0.3m the matrix became water-logged and gravelly with larger stones, indicating that the structure had possibly been built over the original stream bed in order to provide a constant, easily accessible supply of water.

Along the southern and eastern edges of the interior the line of a drain was revealed (Figures 10 and 11). Excavation showed that it was well built with flat stones lining the base and as capping. A short distance from the point at which the drain came out from under the flue, it widened, forming a basin filled with sandy silt. When the stream

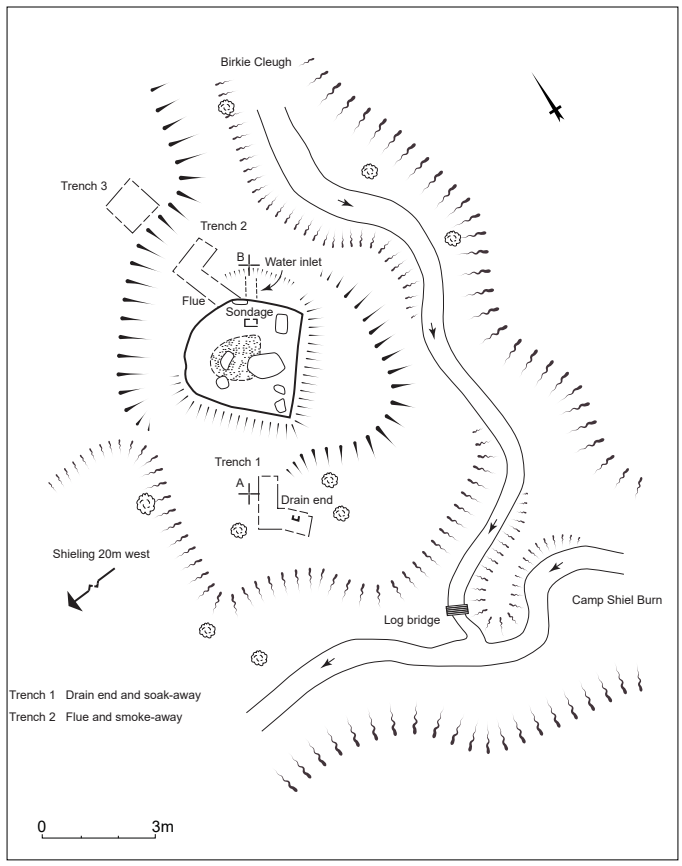

Figure 12: Site plan of Camp Shiel still.
Copyright Danny Dutton.

was either dammed or in spate, water flowed out from under the wall into the basin and thence down the drain. The drain exited the structure to the south at the lowest corner opposite the flue.

The only finds were two pieces of green glass from the humic layer and one of rusted metal from the central coal deposit. Subsequently, a musket ball, 16.6mm in diameter or 0.65inches and 19.99g in weight, was found by metal detecting in the centre of the clay floor about 30mm below the excavated surface, either placed intentionally by the distillers as a ritual or lost accidentally.[4]

In order to clarify the construction of the exterior of the structure and to trace the end of the drain, a 0.5m wide by 1.5m long trench (Figure 12, Trench 1 on plan) was opened on the built-up bank at the lower, south end of the building. On the surface of the bank was a spread of shaley coal. Below it a loose mix of stone and clay soil, 0.3m in thickness, was uncovered that became more consolidated as excavation progressed. At the lower end of the trench boulders had been placed

4 A photograph of the musket ball, deposited at Peebles Museum (Accession number PEEBM 15810.1), is available online at Peeblesshire Archaeological Society Reports, p. 34.

to make a firm base for the bank, preventing slippage. An eastward extension of the trench was made, and the end of the drain capped with stones was located. The trench was extended and a well-made soakaway uncovered, the stones at the end of the drain having been placed to allow the free flow of water. The matrix between the stones of the soak-away was gritty sand.

Excavation of the area above the flue revealed a rough retaining wall built on top of the lintel stone that was still in situ (Figures 5 and 12, Trench 2 on plan). Packed behind were fist-sized stones covered with soot and overlying these were flat stones placed to prevent soil filtering down between the stones, all of which combined to suggest a deliberately constructed smoke-away. The trench was extended up the slope revealing the same arrangement of stones about 0.3m below the ground surface. About 0.5m from the flue there was no longer any evidence of soot on the stones perhaps indicating that the smoke-away had not seen much use or had not functioned very well. A 1m square trench (Figure 12, Trench 3 on plan) was dug at the top of the slope above the smoke-away to demonstrate where it exited, but this could not be verified from this small sondage.

Discussion

As the excavation developed any doubts at the outset that the structure described above was an illicit still were dispelled. The measures the builders had taken to hide the intended activities from detection were many and thorough. The site was set into the slope of the ground, and with a turf roof would have been well camouflaged. The water supply that was led in and out of the building ensured there was little cause for outside movement, while the elaborately built smoke-away would have hidden the tell-tale signs of smoke. The situation they had chosen was not only concealed from view behind a hillside but offered access to a variety of routes over the hills by which to distribute the product without detection.

Excavation of the smoke-away and drain revealed just how well and with how much ingenuity they had been built. While the lower courses of the inside walls were built to the same high standard the upper ones were poorly constructed, showing that there had been two building phases. At some time in the history of the still it had either fallen down naturally or it had been pulled down; if it is indeed the setting for the 'smugglers' story, the structure would presumably have been demolished when the distillers were caught.

There is no certainty as to when or by whom the structure was cleared out and rebuilt, but there is a strong possibility that it was the forestry workers using it as a bothy in the 1960s. Alternatively, it might have been reused as a bothy by the estate during the shooting season. The pinecone found under the coal deposit indicates it is unlikely to be of great antiquity. A final but less likely occasion in recent time would have been when mature trees were felled in the 1990s.

However, the best evidence of a date for the structure is the musket ball. Its weight at 19.99g is in the range of shot suitable for a carbine, according to the British Museum's Portable

Figure 13: The north wall of the shieling hut showing the interleaved layers of earth and stone suggesting a turf and stone construction. Copyright Joyce Durham.

Antiquities Scheme, but it cannot be dated more closely than the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries when carbines were in use.[5]

The shieling hut

The whole of the mound that was found in the evaluation trench was deturfed and the earth removed revealing a wall on the north and tumbled stones on the south and west. The excavation was then extended through the east edge of the original depression to a tree, which the Forestry Commission very kindly cut down, and beyond. The material removed at this end was a light brown, humus-rich soil with many stones, interpreted as tumble from a wall. At this point, enough had been uncovered to show that the structure was a stone-walled building and it was decided to excavate the whole structure to confirm its date and function, since it was thought at first to be related to the use of the still.

At the west end of the north wall there were four courses of stone interleaved with soil, interpreted as the remains of turf (Figure 13). Two flat stones were set on end against the base of the inner face of the south wall (Figure 14, hached on plan). The west wall formed an obtuse angle with the south wall and the east wall had largely been eroded by the action of the burn.

Since there was no evidence of an entrance in the other relatively more intact walls, it was

5 Portable Antiquities Scheme, Finds Recording Guides, Shot

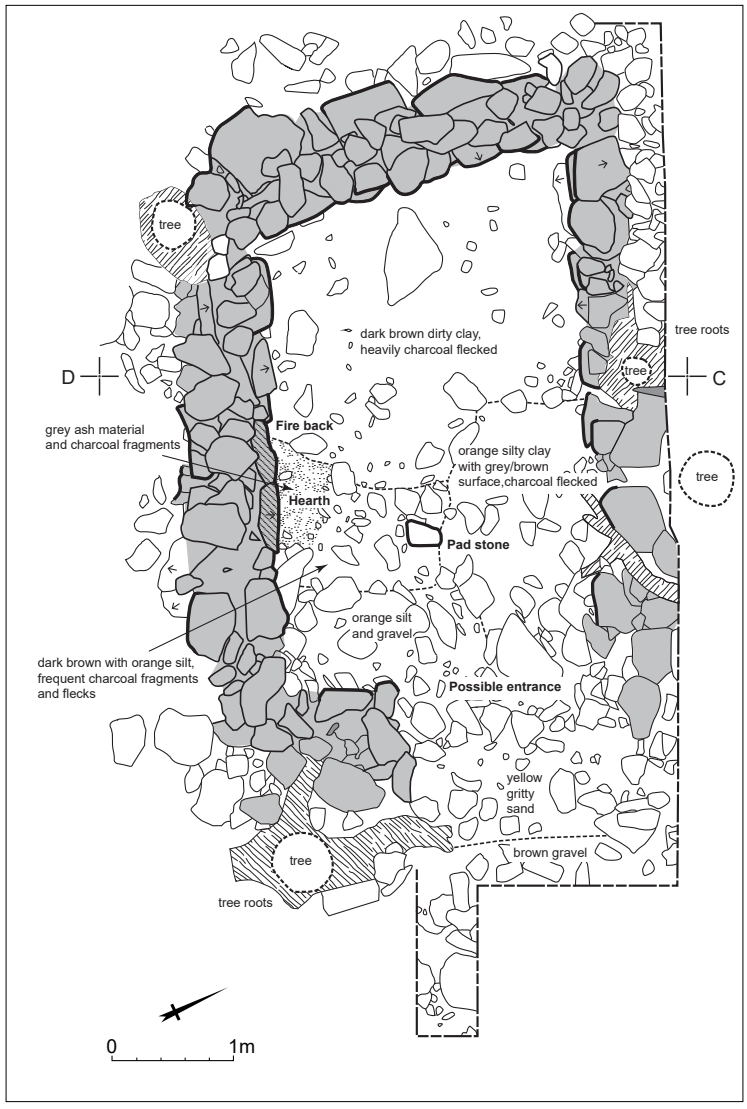

Figure 14: Excavation plan of Camp Shiel shieling hut.
Copyright Danny Dutton.

assumed it had been in the eroded east wall. This wall was on the upstream side of the building, and comprised plenty of tumbled stones but little evidence of placed stones which could be interpreted as part of the wall, except one or two possible facing stones on the inside of the wall at its south end (Figure 14). Nor, indeed, was there any paving or threshold that might have covered the floor of the entrance. However, a difference in the colour and texture of the soil indicated the division between eroded remains of the wall and hill-wash beyond, the wall material having a matrix of yellowish gritty sandy-silt and the hill-wash deposit a darker, brown gravelly

Figure 15: The shieling hut from the east during excavation. The upright flat-topped pad stone is visible in the middle of the floor and the possible entrance in the foreground. Copyright Joyce Durham.

silt. The only finds from the structure were two small pieces of corroded metal found within the remains of wall at the east end.

Inside the building a prominent feature near the centre of the floor space was a flat-topped squarish stone, embedded upright in the natural ground surface and secured in place by packing-stones (Figures 14 and 15). It was thought that this square stone provided the base of a partition, the upright stone being a pad to support the base and upright timbers. However, no other stone was located that might have supported the other end.

Between the pad stone and the two flat slabs set on end against the south wall there was a 100-150mm thick layer of charcoal-rich grey ashy material on top of a bed of packed medium-sized stones in a matrix of dark brown-orange silt (Figure 14). The charcoal-rich feature was interpreted as a hearth, the upright flat stones perhaps providing a fire-back, although there were no visibly heat-affected stones.

The area to the east of the hearth and possible partition was very stony with a matrix of orange sandy gravel, with no evidence of any occupation in this area. To the west, however, there was charcoal-rich, grey-brown clay-silt, between 150-250mm thick, which was thought to be either cabers and turf that had collapsed from the roof, or a floor layer (Figure 16). This deposit was compacted in the centre, perhaps caused by the

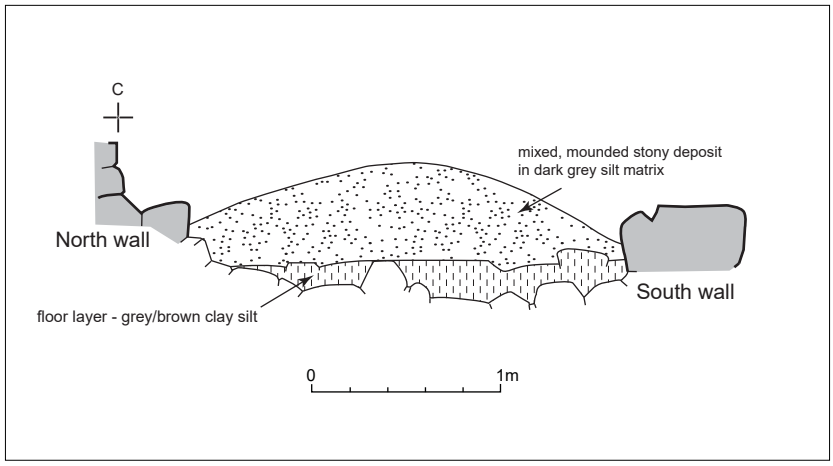

Figure 16: Section through the Camp Shiel shieling hut. Copyright Danny Dutton.

weight of the mound above it or by the effects of occupation, but less so round the edges. Here there were also substantial amounts of charcoal. Beneath this deposit there was compacted pale grey clay and stones with occasional charcoal fragments, probably redeposited natural.

A narrow section was excavated through the east end of the south wall and another at the north end of the west wall, which established that at these points the walls were built on the old ground surface. Another break was made through the south end of the west wall. The material below the wall here was the same as the lowest layer within the building, namely packed stones in a matrix of pale grey clay and flecks of charcoal. This charcoal-flecked deposit ran under the wall and indicates that it was present when the building was constructed and constitutes the subsoil at the time.

Discussion

The size of this building at approximately 4m x 2m internally indicates that it was a small building interpreted as a shieling hut for seasonal use, as it is too small for a permanent habitation. Its dimensions compare with the norm for shieling huts recorded by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (Dixon 2018: 63) while its location high in the hills beside a burn with the associated place name Camp Shiel are strongly indicative of it being a shieling. There is also at least one other possible small stone building (Figure 2, No. 4 on plan) that may be another shieling hut nearby.

From what was uncovered during excavation of the shieling only a few events can be interpreted with any certainty. What we can say is the walls of the hut were built of stone, possibly interleaved with turf. It had an entrance in one end, but there is no trace of any support for the roof. The interior was divided into three parts, a lobby, a central living area by the hearth and an interior private space for sleeping. The pad stone suggests a partition, but in the absence of any other evidence it was most likely to be anchored at its other end to the walls and its top to the roof timbers, dividing the

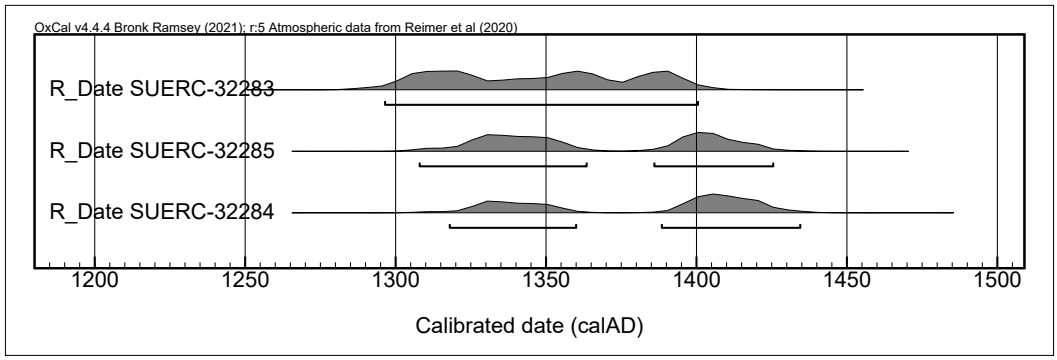

Figure 17: Calibrated dates from the shieling hut. Dates calibrated using OxCal v.4.4 [2021] (Bronk Ramsey 2009) and IntCal20 atmospheric curve (Reimer et al 2020).

hearth from the lobby while reducing drafts from the entrance.

A quantity of dark grey silty material was dumped into the rectangular depression left by the abandoned shieling hut, which may have occurred when the still, some 20m away, was cleared out, probably by forestry workers in the 1960s. The alternative, that floodwater wrought the damage to the east wall of the structure and deposited the mound of silt, does not explain the sharpness of the edges of the mound within the hut, which are better explained by the robbing of the upper courses of the walls by the builders of the nearby still.

It was fortunate, however, to find plenty good quality charcoal during the excavation, and analysis of three samples added a great deal to our understanding of the site. Charcoal from the hearth has been identified as birch (betula), while samples from below the west wall and the floor deposit at the west end of the shieling have been identified as alder (alnus) (Dr Jennifer Miller, University of Glasgow, unpublished report). The birch sample from the hearth was dated to between 1290 and 1400 cal AD (95.4% probability; SUERC-32283; 620±30 BP); the alder sample from under the west wall to between 1310 and 1440 cal AD (95.4% probability; SUERC-32284; 550 ±30 BP) and that from the floor to between 1300 and 1430 cal AD (95.4% probability; SUERC-32285; 565±30 BP)[6]. The group of dates are consistent with activity at the site during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (Figure 17).

DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

The Stills

Exhaustive archival research failed to find any evidence to substantiate the story described in the March 1933 issue of *The Border Magazine*, which referred to the death of a smuggler called Armstrong having been recorded in an old chapbook of the early nineteenth century, but this could not be confirmed (NRS: CE2/29-32). Although there were many similar incidents in these volumes, the events recorded in this story were not among them. Traquair Parish Records

6 The samples were submitted to the Radiocarbon Laboratory at the Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre (SUERC).

revealed that the tenant farmer of Traquair Knowe at the time was a William Laidlaw (NRS: CH2/470/13/33). Under the law he could have been prosecuted for allowing illegal distillation of whisky to be carried out on his land, as happened in other cases (NRS: E503/105), but no evidence was found to say he was. He was however being sued for non-payment of rent and other debts (NRS: SC42/31/1; SC42/1/16 and 17). The Parochial Registers of the early nineteenth century for Traquair are patchy, and between 1815 and 1817 there was no record of the death of anyone named Armstrong, or anything relevant in the Militia Records (NRS: GD293/3/2 and 4). It was as if the event never happened.

A general prohibition on the distilling of whisky was imposed by the Scottish Government in March 1757, after which the extent of illicit distilling depended in a great measure on the amount of duty payable and the nature of the excise regulations. It was in the remote Highlands and Islands where illicit distillers were most active but it did occur elsewhere in urban situations and in the Lowlands (Maclean, MacCannell and Ellington 2017). In the Scottish Borders, apart from the two Camp Shiel stills, there is one recorded still at Staneygill Burn, Roxburgh (Canmore: NY48NE 141) and another one on the Newholm Hope Burn up the Manor Valley near Peebles at NT 17723 29219 (Cowie 2000: 45). To date only a handful of illicit stills have been excavated: Garenin on the Isle of Lewis (Canmore: NB14SE 9), Carnasserie, Argyle and Bute (Canmore: NM80SW 124), Carn Bhithir (Canmore: NO08NE 19) and Bynack (Canmore: NN98NE 4) on the Mar Lodge Estate, Allt An Tuill Bhain (Canmore: NG95NW 39) and Lagaidh Dhubh (Canmore: NG85NW 139) in Torridon: the latter four all excavated as part of the National Trust for Scotland's Pioneering Spirit project that has focused on illicit distilling. The best-documented illicit still, Wholehope Burn, is south of the Border in Upper Coquetdale, Northumberland (Philipson 1991).

Recent field observation has led to the conclusion that the design of illicit distilling sites around Scotland was highly variable both between and sometimes within regions, with still locations prioritising hiddenness and the expedient use of natural features and topography, just as they do at Camp Shiel (Bratt 2022: 172-176). Furthermore the semi-subterranean character of Camp Shiel is also a common feature of illicit distilling sites elsewhere: two impressive partly subterranean stills have been recorded in the Cabrach in Moray and Inverlael in Wester Ross, for instance (Bratt 2022: 190; McKeggie 2021: 23).

The Retting Ponds

Where the flax was grown is not known; there are enclosed fields on Damhead Rig on the hillside opposite, while the slopes of White Rig offer another possibility, but if so no field evidence is now evident. A far more likely place is on Trevana Knowe (Figure 3), which would have been close to a former road between Minch Moor and Campshiel, and shows signs of a large rectilinear enclosure centred at NT 33834 33262 which is visible on aerial photographs (Bing Aerial), possibly of eighteenth-century date since

it is not depicted on the first edition OS map of Peeblesshire (1859: sheet xviii; see also HLAmap). Traces of an old track connecting Camp Shiel to the Minchmoor Road south-east of Traquair can be seen both on the ground and on vertical aerial photographs dating to 15 April 1946 (NCAP: 106G/Scot/UK/0018_5155).

The harvested flax was rotted, or retted (the second part of the linen-production process) in a nearby pond, which required access to running water from a convenient stream, such as the Camp Shiel Burn. After retting the flax was dried, 'scutched', 'heckled' with a comb and spun before being woven into linen. In the absence of any datable finds the date range of these features remains uncertain; however, the preparation of flax for the making of linen has been practised widely in rural communities since the medieval period, if not before, and was an important component of the rural economy until the nineteenth century when cheaper cotton took its place (Shaw 1983: 198).

The most likely time when the retting ponds of Camp Shiel Burn were in use is in the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, but possibly earlier. This was a time when linen production was actively being encouraged (Shaw 1983: 171) and, according to the Statistical Account (Sinclair 1794: 374), there were six weavers living in Traquair Parish, but by the time of the first Census records in 1841 there were none (Scotlands People). Nothing remains of a row of weavers' cottages which reputedly used to be at Deanfoot behind Traquair village.

Evidence for flax has been found in prehistoric contexts at Balbridie, Kincardine and Deeside, dating to the Neolithic (Fairweather and Ralston 1993), and in Fife in the Bronze Age (Jessen and Helbaek 1944: 55). There is also medieval material recorded from Queen Street, Aberdeen (Murray 1982: 241-2), and Orkney (Bond and Hunter 1987), and it is documented as a crop, for example, at Coldingham Priory in the fourteenth century (Dixon 2011: 235).

More recently, linen production formed part of the rural subsistence economy of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries all over Scotland (Devine 1999: 105-10), but particularly in the Lowlands, where 29 retting ponds are recorded in Canmore, the National Record of the Historic Environment. As part of the Ben Lawers Historical Landscape Project carried out by Glasgow University Archaeological Department between 1996 and 2001 two retting ponds were trial trenched at Cragganester (Canmore: NN63NE 111). The trench was located across two rectilinear sunken structures. Evidence from the interior of the structures comprised water-derived silts and occupation layering (Canmore: MS725/272). On a larger scale at Carmichael Mill, South Lanarkshire, evidence for a retting pond was found beneath a jumble of stones which may represent destruction of a building associated with the retting pond by a flood at the end of the eighteenth century. Finds included a sickle, flax seeds and a wooden wedge (Canmore: NS94SW 56.00).

The Shielings

The shieling huts on the Campshiel burn appear

to be comparable in size, construction, location and date with those found elsewhere in southern Scotland and northern England. In the Lowlands south of the Forth-Clyde isthmus, 318 shieling hut sites have been recorded in Canmore, invariably in upland areas of permanent pasture, such as the Southern Uplands. These are small, turf-, or stone-walled huts, or a mixture of the two, usually found on the banks of a river or stream-course. In northern England, Ramm has firmly established the medieval antiquity of shieling and shieling huts in Cumbria and Northumberland, and has shown that they too could have the entrance in one end, although having it on one side was more common, and they were usually located beside a burn as at Camp Shiel (Ramm et al. 1970: 9-11).

In a recent article, Winchester listed 405 *shiel* and *skali* place-names, which he found on the one-inch OS map in the same area of southern Scotland and the northern counties of England. He argued that while some are evidence of transhumance, or former shieling sites that had been converted to permanent settlement, others are indicative of activities such as fishing, mining or grazing, or just plain huts or shelters (Winchester 2012). A possible example of a shieling converted to a permanent settlement is Greenshiels in Liddesdale, Roxburghshire, which appears in a rental of the Honour of Morton, dated 1376, as a forest stead (Registrum Morton 1853: App. 17), where three turf huts, possibly for shieling, were recorded outside the head-dyke of the nearby permanent settlement (Canmore: NY49SE 17).

Gilbert in his review of hunting reserves found that shieling huts were not permitted in royal hunting forests such as Ettrick until the late medieval period with the relaxation of hunting regulations (Gilbert 1979: 178), and Camp Shiel, which lies in the forest of Traquair, a part of Ettrick forest, dates to this period of relaxation. An earlier instance of a shieling in Liddesdale, Eadulf's shielings at Kershope, are referred to in a confirmation charter of Malcolm IV dating them to the second half of the twelfth century (Bain 1884: 423). Liddesdale emerges in the fourteenth century as a baronial forest, and it is possible this shieling predates the establishment of the hunting forest and its restrictions on grazing, or else they were less proscriptive under the de Soulis lords of Liddesdale.

Very few have been excavated in southern Scotland. However, a group of twelve huts at Slackshaw Burn, near Muirkirk in Ayrshire, was excavated by Fairbairn in 1927. Ten produced late-medieval pottery and eight had walls of stone and clay '2-3 ft wide' (0.6-0.9m) similar to that at Camp Shiel (Canmore: NS62SE 6). In size, the excavated Camp Shiel hut at 4m by 2m internally is at the smaller end of the range of hut sizes recorded at Slackshaw Burn, which measured '15-23ft by 8-10ft internally' (4.6-7m by 2.4-3m), but this is more normal in Scotland-wide terms where the mean is 3.98m by 2m based on RCAHMS survey data (Dixon 2018: 63).

All this provides a comparable date and context for the construction and occupation of shieling huts at Camp Shiel. It suggests that the summer grazing of upland pastures had become a feature of rural life in Traquair forest in the late-

medieval period despite the limitations to grazing in the forest. The mother settlement from whence the inhabitants came remains a mystery, but they could easily have been from Traquair village.

CONCLUSIONS

The Camp Shiel Burn project was conceived to investigate the possible connection between the 'smugglers' story from a chapbook of 1816 and a structure thought to have been an illicit still on the slopes of Minch Moor near Traquair. While this remains unproven, evidence of other activity along the burn has been located, which extends long before the whisky distilling activity of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although none of the distilling apparatus survived, the excavation of the whisky still revealed the structural intricacies of an illegal still, with its flue designed to hide the escaping smoke and neatly constructed lade designed to deliver and remove water from the interior. The carbine shot found in the floor of the still has a longer date range than the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but this does not contradict it as the likely date of the still. The dating of the shieling hut to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was particularly rewarding since few shieling sites in southern Scotland have been excavated or securely dated. The concentration of evidence for transhumance, flax processing and whisky distilling along one small minor tributary of the Quair water is quite extraordinary when compared to the monolithic land use of the present forestry plantation. It is also a reminder of the variety of activities that were once carried out in upland areas, often of a seasonal nature, leaving relatively little trace in the landscape (Dixon 2021).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A Hebridean Plough-type

Hugh Cheape

Material Culture Studies and Ethnology

Material culture studies build on primary sources, for example, in museum collections and fieldwork, and on historical data that may have been neglected in the dominant historical narrative; 'no documents, no history' might be said to have been a maxim of the academic teaching of history in the United Kingdom in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The growth of an academic interest in social and economic history in the second half of the twentieth century then widened the ambit of intellectual activity and encouraged the sharing of disciplines and methodologies. So historians have tapped into explanations and analyses of culture conventionally in the domain of the anthropologist and archaeologist. Material culture had not to the same extent earned itself the accolade of such academic labels but it can demonstrate its credentials in 'Ethnology' as a mix of social, economic and cultural history. Rooted in the work of European museums, it is a 'methodology' perhaps, rather than a discipline, while being interdisciplinary and cross-disciplinary in its competencies.

A shared and interdisciplinary approach has characterised European Ethnology with its strong impulses from Scandinavia and has supplied the intellectual working tools for museum studies, especially in late-twentieth century Scotland. This has been the basis on which social and technological collections have been amassed in the National Museums Scotland where the nature of the evidence and a dearth of conventional historical sources presupposed extending historical study beyond the boundaries of documentation to consideration of intrinsic form and function, cognate material, physical and social context, and language. Specialist knowledge and a critical framework evolved *sui generis* and, fully acclimatised to a dearth of conventional primary sources, blazed a remarkable trail in material culture studies as scholarly dimension to artefact collection and interpretation (see Mackay 2009).[1]

If museum collections and linked research procedures offer primary texts in material culture studies, what significance can we claim for them

1 Mackay identifies markers and achievements in this domain. This essay, which grew out of fieldwork initiated in 1979 and 1980 for the former National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, is offered as a tribute to the methodology and markers laid down by Professor Sandy Fenton and a demonstration of a methodology on an international scale represented by the journal *Tools & Tillage* (1968-1995).

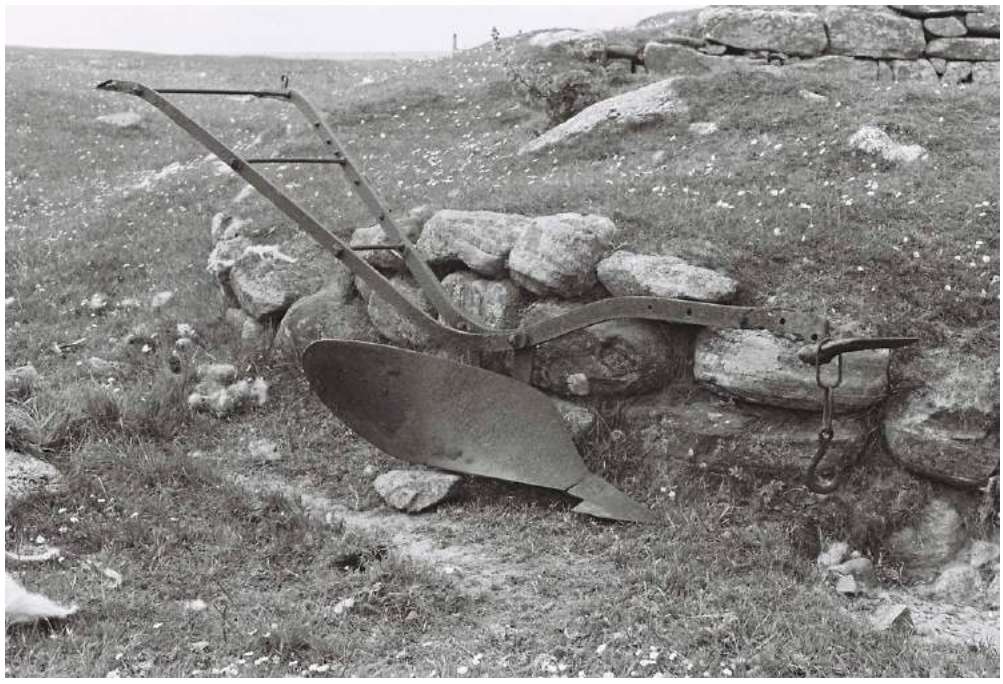

Figure 1: Horse plough of imported type in the Island of Boreray, Sound of Berneray, 1982.

in the wider historical discourse? With research into agricultural implements, for example, playing an important role in ethnological studies, can their description, classification and interpretation fulfil wider scholarly needs or expectations?

The central role of the plough in cultivation and land occupancy has made it a natural focus of European and Regional Ethnology. This has been extensively demonstrated in longstanding seminal studies such as Paul Leser's 'Origin and Distribution of the Plough' (Leser 1931). Scholarly treatment of the subject had to make sense of a diffuse mass of evidence emerging over space and time and has tended to explain technical variety, development, and distribution by systems of classification based on form, construction and function in widely differing natural contexts of topography, soil conditions and climate. Further refinement may then be offered by more localised studies (see Jirlow 1970; Dosedla 1984; Lerche 1994; Smerdel 2008). Typologies offer generalisations which may then serve as premises or guides for more localised empirical investigation. But conventional typologies may be inherently rigid for specific case studies or suggest predetermined conclusions; furthermore, they may prompt assumptions to answer a positivist need to reduce large and complex phenomena to manageable facts.

Generalisations may also encourage *a priori* assumptions which specific or narrowly-focused research and fieldwork may corroborate and reinforce, rather than refute and deny as investigation reveals contradictory evidence. They

may assume, for example, that historical development and geographical diffusion have followed even and stereotyped patterns, and that tools and tillage implements demonstrate an evolution from the simplicity of an ancient form to the relative sophistication of a modern form, and further into industrial mass-production. Also, due to the academic influence of anthropology and the behavioural sciences, there was a tendency for regional ethnology to stop at or side-step urban culture and industrial production. Thus, the influence of industrial technologies or diffusion of the products of industry into remote or isolated communities was not always taken into account or put in context. Detailed study *ad rem* may reveal that evolutionary patterns were never so even and that the parameters of a traditional material culture were more variable and diluted than situation or appearance might suggest. This study takes cognizance of these issues.

Figure 2: North and South Uist and their places in the Hebridean archipelago.

Material and documentary evidence, when aggregated, demonstrates a remarkable variety of plough-types in Scotland, both over historical time and geographical area. Many forms have been identified in communities occupying what is a relatively small landmass in which the potential for cultivation has been severely constrained due to adverse geological and topographical conditions. Material culture research in the field suggests that the historical record is not yet complete, that more classification and annotation of plough-types require to be carried out, and that the lexical record of technical terminology is manifestly deficient (see Fenton 1969; Fenton 1976).[2]

The compilation of the material culture inventory, that is, the analysis of objects and the

2 Such a premise underlies Sandy Fenton's first detailed study of plough-types which was prompted, as he told me, by the manifest shortcomings demonstrated in an earlier article by another scholar (see Fenton 1962 – 63).

collection-associated terminology, can be the task quintessentially of the ethnologist. The broad and cross-disciplinary approach of ethnology ensures that proper account is taken of the 'words' as well as the 'things', being an autonomous role for ethnology enhanced in the past by the *Wörter und Sachen* concept (see Steensberg 1993). The mapping of material culture together with language and dialect was a concept embedded in the European Linguistic Atlas movement. The Atlas of Swedish Folk Culture (1937-1939) instigated the compilation of such 'ethnological' atlases with a systematic and thorough widening of the research and fieldwork remit from 'words' to 'things'. The ethnologist knows that a tool or piece of equipment may have a dozen or more different names within the same relatively restricted language area. The ethnologist also recognises that language is never static and that inadequate account may have been taken in the wider scholarly context of the widening of the semantic field of language in material culture (see Fenton 1974). This study examines a Hebridean plough-type to realise value in material culture studies and to suggest how a 'words and things' approach may add value to conventional methodologies in historical studies.

The Uist wooden plough

Two wooden 'swing ploughs' from Uist were acquired for the collections of the National Museums Scotland in 1962 and in 1971 respectively. They are described in the islands using the Gaelic term *crann* i.e. 'plough' and *crann fiodha*, i.e. 'wooden plough.' The *crann fiodha* is recognised as a wheel-less swing plough with a strong curving beam. In proportions, it was a light wooden plough with relatively long stilts or handles lying at a shallow angle to the sole and the line of draught. These long stilts allowed better control of the plough. It was always 'economical' in ironwork, comparing in this respect with ploughs and other implements and tools of the pre-improvement period. Examples known are from Uist and Benbecula, and the majority are from South Uist, which is the source of much of the information on which this study is based.

Figure 3: Plough made in Grimsay and Benbecula, NMS Acc. No. W.PAA 66.

Figure 4: Plough made in Peninerine and Stoneybridge, NMS Acc. No. [PAA] W.1971.21.1.

The examples in the National Museums are approximately 3m in length and have strips of zinc on the mouldboard and landside to protect the wooden frame and plough body from wear. Two wrought iron rods or stays originally passed from the stilts to the beam, though only one has survived where the fixings are still evident. The coulters are made from lengths of cartwheel rim and the plough socks are made in a distinctive and possibly unique pattern.

The first example to be acquired[3] was made in 1919 by Charles Stewart, Joiner and Boatbuilder, Grimsay (*Griomasaigh*), North Uist, and was mounted up with 'iron strappings' by Lachlan MacRury (1886-1969), Blacksmith, Aird, Benbecula. The boatbuilder had a reputation for being able to turn his hand to anything and, besides boats, built carts and roofed houses (see Lawson 2001).[4] The second plough, for all its older features and materials, was also made in the twentieth century.[5] It was made in the mid-1930s by Neil MacDonald of the township of Peninerine (*Peighinn-an-Aoireann*) in South Uist and had been used by the donor on poor land lying on the boundaries of the adjacent crofting townships of Daliburgh and Kilpheder. It is argued that the interpretation of these two ploughs should not be separated from the economic and cultural context to which they belonged.

The Uist agricultural economy

The islands of Uist are part of the 'Long Island' chain which lies between the north-west mainland of the British Isles and the Atlantic. In detail, they comprise North Uist, Benbecula and South Uist, and a number of satellite islands. Virtually, they form one island from the Sound of Eriskay in the south to the Sound of Berneray in the north. The straits which separate the main islands are left almost dry by the running tide and were historically crossed by ferry-boat or horse and cart before the construction of causeways with metalled roads. The 'South Ford' causeway between Benbecula and South Uist was built in 1942 and 'North Ford' causeway between Benbecula and North Uist in 1963. Uist is fully exposed to the North Atlantic climate. Prevailing south-west winds bring sometimes abnormally mild winters and cool summers, maintaining a high atmospheric humidity which, in turn, has fostered the extensive development of wet, acidic peat. Cultivation is favoured neither by the climate nor by the soil (see Boyd 1979).

South Uist, with an area of 141 square miles, can be divided longitudinally into three zones: a mountainous eastern zone and seaboard rising in places to over 600m, a sparsely populated middle, low-lying, region, mainly covered by peat, unsuitable for cultivation because of its wetness, acidity and marked deficiency in mineral salts, and finally, a flat, sandy, western (Atlantic) zone where the population is today concentrated in crofting townships. Patterns of settlement are demonstrably influenced by the nature of the soil. All three zones offer a high proportion of rough grazing.

3 National Museums Scotland [NMS] Accession No. W.PAA 66. From Grimsay, North Uist, where it was used until 1955.

4 Information from Mary Norton, Grimsay, North Uist, 2017.

5 NMS Accession No. [PAA] W.1971.21.1. From Daliburgh, South Uist.

Figure 5: Angus Morrison, Aonghas Dhùghaill Bhàin, ploughing, West Kilbride.

South Uist has been an area of relatively intensive land-use in West Highland terms and therefore tillage implements have played a significant and continuous role in the island economy. Together with its neighbours to the north, Benbecula and North Uist, it contains the western *Machair*, an extensive coastal strip of light, easily cultivated, calcareous soil. Drainage was good but there was also a tendency for the soil to dry out too much; ploughing was therefore never deep. The poetic by-name, *Uibhist an Eòrna* ('Uist of the Barley'), serves as reflection of the perceived virtues of a cultivable and productive soil and this asset is celebrated in song where such fruitfulness was attributed to the rule of the just ruler of tradition (see Shaw 1999: 78-79). Barley stands as a metaphor for the extent of the shell-sand *machair* agriculture of South Uist, being a crop with a short growing season which preferred the calcareous soils of the west-coast *Machair*. By contrast, other Hebridean by-names describe landscapes of rock, water and inhospitable and unresponsive soils.

The basic resources of the island's economy drew on grazing and fishing, though fishing was never exploited as a source of income in Uist in spite of an abundance of fish in recent historical times. The islanders had customarily turned to cultivation, rather than to fishing which in Uist was considered a hazardous occupation involving great hardship. The dangerous conditions on the

stormy coasts, especially of the Outer Isles with notoriously strong tides, would not be faced by choice unless a man were descended from generations of fishermen. A natural antipathy to fishing is reflected in proverbial wisdom such as *Beatha an iasgair dhachaidh, rud aige no bhuaithe* ('the fisherman is welcome home, whether he has a catch or not').[6]

Typically and historically, resources and effort were concentrated on the cultivation of crops as a means of support though there was generally difficulty and uncertainty in achieving a good harvest. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the main grain crops were rye (predominating), 'bere' or barley, and 'small' or grey oats. Oats tended to be the crop of the peatland and higher east coast since they were more tolerant of acidity. Certainly at this time and subsequently, the crofter in South Uist was probably ploughing a much greater acreage than the average crofter elsewhere in the Highlands and Islands.

The Uist folk were criticised, especially in the nineteenth century, for allowing so much of their grazing to be given over to horses. There was always a strong tradition of horse-breeding in South Uist, and trading in horses, including their export, remained popular until the Second World War. The average croft wintered two horses – typically a mare and a gelding – and a foal, and the horse population still exceeded a thousand in the early-twentieth century. With mechanisation in the post-war period, the number of horses fell rapidly until the South Uist breed itself had virtually disappeared by the 1970s. The older generation then recalled how every boy had grown up with the technical vocabulary for every aspect of horses and working them and how great was the change in this respect when horses went out of use.[7]

There was now in the late-twentieth century a palpable difference in the Uist landscape; it was said that in earlier years the countryside all around appeared to be moving and full of people – men, women, children and horses going about their daily activities. Many horses meant that there were many blacksmiths. Some blacksmiths moved around the islands for some months and would put up a smithy (*ceàrdach*), especially to service the ploughing and spring work on the crofts. It was said that January and February were often the busiest times of the year when orders came in as preparation for the ploughing season.[8]

Methods of cultivation evolved in Uist under the influence of the varying qualities of soils and terrain, and of economic circumstances and estate and latterly government policies. Thus, the comment of one agricultural writer in 1794 to the newly formed Board of Agriculture about tillage in South Uist reflects a situation which had

6 Information from John MacInnes MBE (1907-1984), Daliburgh, South Uist, August 1982. See also *Report &c* (1905).

7 Information from Donald John MacDonald, *Dòmhnall Iain Dhonnchaidh* (1919-1986), Peninerine, South Uist, 1982-1983. The same informant made substantial donations of South Uist written material to the School of Scottish Studies. The pagination of the D J MacDonald Notebooks continues in sequence through all the notebooks to a total of 6,523 numbered pages (see MacDonald nd).

8 Information from John A Smith, Glasgow, 22.03.82; Donald John MacDonald makes the same point about the joiner: '*cha bhiodh fois mhionaid aig an t-saor*' ('the joiner wouldn't have a minute's rest from making and repairing ploughs') (see MacDonald nd: Notebook 52, No 2, 4846).

probably subsisted throughout the eighteenth century. He described the plough as being used on the coastal *machair* and the 'crooked spade' (*cas chrom*) or the ordinary spade (*cas dhìreach*) being used in the 'declivities and narrow summits' (see Heron 1794: 26).

An estate map of 1805 shows that the main cultivated area was then, as later, along the west coast, but that there was also settlement and cultivation inland and away from the *machair* areas (see Bald 1805). Given the high number of tenants on small areas of land in Uist, spade cultivation was likely to account for more of the tillage than plough cultivation at the turn of the century. Until drainage and enclosure were carried out to any extent, the opportunities to use ploughs, even on *machair* lands, was restricted. The employment of a large proportion of the population in the kelp industry on the coast and the consequent loss of the seaweed as an essential fertiliser for cropping also militated against a general use of ploughs.

Some reorganisation of joint-tenancy townships into crofting townships took place in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, giving some tenants larger and fixed strips of land to cultivate, which, together with the persistence of some larger farms directly controlled by tacksmen, must account for the comment that improved ploughs were generally in use in South Uist by the 1840s (see Maclean 1845: 191).[9] Without statistics to substantiate this, such a statement can only be considered as less than meticulous and any conclusion conjectural; at the least it could be accepted that contemporary improved tillage implements of the James Small swing plough-type were known and used in part of the Hebrides by this time.

Clearance and the re-organisation of the Uist economy

Most historical studies of the Highlands and Islands in recent times are dominated by the politicised and emotional subject of the 'Clearances', conventionally describing the creation of the sheep farms and introduction of commercial rents with a consequent large-scale displacement of people. Not surprisingly, historiography is characterised by strongly partisan and bitter accounts of social and economic movements and their chronology. The scale of human tragedy is still being explained and absorbed. An apparent viability in the late-eighteenth century for a rapidly increasing population was based on the temporary success of the kelp industry and high cattle prices which largely collapsed in the 1820s. The destruction of Hebridean society and its communities following the early-nineteenth century stay of execution was paralleled in its ravages and intensity only by the extreme case of Ireland in the same period.

The sale of South Uist in 1837 and 1838 by its longstanding traditional owners, the MacDonalds of Clanranald, instigated a process seen coldly in contemporary terms as the rationalisation of an agricultural estate. Such rationalisation included progressively the manipulation of the

9 The minister traded on a measure of unequivocal Enlightenment optimism with: 'The work formerly done by five men and five horses at the plough, is now performed by one man and two horses.'

island population and then enforced emigration in 1849 and 1851.[10] The human dilemma was exacerbated by widespread destitution in the 1840s which demonstrated the devastating effects of landlord pressure and attrition and extinction of the resources for subsistence. Crofters and cottars forming nine-tenths of the population were concentrated on less than one-third of the land, including the agriculturally marginal areas. A crofter delegate, Donald MacLellan, Garrynamonie, South Uist, giving evidence to the Royal (or 'Napier') Commission of 1883, expressed forcefully the agony of the situation: 'I wish the Royal Commissioners to understand that the whole people of the country have been blocked up like sheep in a fank, huddled together so that it is impossible for them to live' (see MacKinnon and McNeill 1884: 742).

The population of South Uist which had grown to 7,237 recorded in the census of 1841 from an estimated 2,200 in 1775, then lost nearly 2,000 in the ensuing two decades (see MacDhòmhnaill 1981: 16 – 17). A declining population, higher cattle prices and cash earnings from external sources such as the fisheries and seasonal work in South and East Scotland must have eased the situation slightly from the grim misery and congestion of the years preceding 1850. Government belatedly brought some relief in a settlement achieved in the Crofters Holding Act of 1886 which protected existing holdings but denied the demand for more land and excluded the cottar population from its provisions.

Witnesses before the Napier Commission in 1883 on the conditions of crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands described the vicious circle of landholding circumstances in the mid-nineteenth century. Sowing of crops tended to be late and tillage often continued well into June. The animals of the townships roamed over the tilled land because the ground was unfenced and the crops had no time to ripen. Most witnesses before the Commission commented on the severely restricted opportunities for tillage and crops as well as loss of pasture in Uist. Land was taken at will on a large scale by the proprietors to create sheep farms, and evicted tenantry were squeezed into smaller and smaller crofting townships or were forced to emigrate. Some were put onto marginal hill land which in some instances was added to larger tacks after they had been reclaimed (see MacLellan 1962; Campbell 1972).

By the late-nineteenth century most crofters used spade cultivation in Uist and Barra, and even those who knew the Hebrides well considered that there was more 'lazy-bed' cultivation in South Uist than elsewhere. In the 1880s, the main crops on the island were potatoes, bere and small oats and the reason given for the extent of spade cultivation was that potatoes had become a staple, in spite of the potato blight of 1846 (*Bliadhna na Gaise*). They were said to grow best by this method, although the people were not raising enough to live on and had to buy in meal in most

10 For example, the clearance of Bornish in South Uist was described by Neil MacDonald of Peninerine in 1953, including the tying up and removal of a man to an emigrant ship in Loch Eynort. *Seo nuair a bha lagh na maor ann, agus ni sam bith a chanadh am maor, b'e seo a lagh* ('This was when the law of the factors ruled, and anything the factor said, this was the law') (see MacDonald nd: Notebook 6, Item 2: 497-99).

Figure 6: Donald MacAskill and Ailig Iain MacDonald bringing out the plough, Kallin, Grimsay, 1982.

years, generally the notorious Indian meal (*aran innseanach*) of poor quality so vividly recalled in oral tradition.[11] The land was too wet to work with the plough on most of the inland areas of the island where the crofters were forced onto diminishing areas of hilly and boggy ground. In these circumstances, they were often too poor to purchase a plough or to keep it in working order.

The fortunes of the crofting population of South Uist did not change dramatically at this juncture following the Crofters Holding Act, nor were there significant changes in agricultural methods. Divisions of pre-existing crofts to accommodate those displaced from cleared farms meant that land available for arable was still restricted and tillage still largely a matter of spade cultivation. The attitude of the proprietors was deprecating and an opinion that the crofters were not able to manage land or stock was allowed to prevail. Crofters tended to be intimidated by the landlords and factors and remained passive until the period of the First World War. Attitudes within Hebridean communities changed sharply following the First World War and the unilateral and hitherto complete control of the land was challenged. In areas other than South Uist there

11 Information from John MacInnes MBE, Daliburgh, South Uist, August 1982.

were 'raids' to occupy and cultivate land that had been cleared.

Under pressure from the prevailing politics of land reform, a further Royal Commission of 1894 and the provisions of the Congested Districts Board created in 1897 led to land settlement schemes. The large farms which had been assembled in the 1840s were broken up into individual smallholdings (see Hunter 1976: 179 – 95). Almost all the land earlier cleared of sub-tenants and crofters in South Uist was re-settled by 1924. With the expansion of the crofting area on the newly settled townships mainly from 1906, cultivation and arable cropping began to increase. After 1912, the Board of Agriculture intervened to help the estate develop land settlement schemes and the crofts created from then on were larger holdings, though land-use continued as before. Though the opportunity to plough larger holdings led to more intensive land-use in some townships, statistical information makes it clear that cereal cropping declined by the 1960s to less than half its maximum acreage in 1909 (see Caird 1979). The amount of ground turned by spade cultivation, especially using the *cas chrom* on lazy beds, declined, and there was little or no technological change until the advent of tractor ploughing in the 1950s.

Documentary and oral evidence points to a relatively short period of dynamism between about 1906 and 1926 when crofting holdings were enlarged, homes built, and more money was available in terms of modest amounts of disposable income largely derived from 'working away' in the cities and in the merchant marine. Coincidentally this is also the period when the generation whose knowledge and reminiscences form the main element of this account were in their thirties and evidently active and innovative (see, for instance, MacDonald nd: Book 52, Item 5).

The making and use of the Uist ploughs

This archetypal wooden plough or *crann fiodha* belonged intimately to this Uist landscape, the recent pressures brought to bear on it and fundamental changes in the patterns of land tenure. The makers of such ploughs recorded here were people very well known in their communities, leaving their mark on the landscape and on community memory. They were, as has been mentioned, Charles Stewart, joiner and boat-builder, Grimsay, and Neil MacDonald of South Uist. Neil MacDonald (1884-1955) lived in the crofting township of *Peighinn-an-Aoireann* (Peninerine). He was known in Gaelic as *Niall mac Dhòmhnaill 'ic Dhonnchaidh* or less formally as *Niall Dhonnchaidh*, i.e. Neil son of Duncan. He was a brother of Duncan MacDonald (1882–1954), the stonemason, known familiarly in Gaelic as *Donnchadh Clachair*; the latter was the celebrated storyteller and *seanchaidh* or tradition-bearer whose traditional knowledge has been extensively recorded and published.[12] Duncan's son, Donald John, was to describe how his Uncle Neil had influenced him and his sister: *'S e Niall a thog sinne. Bhitheadh m' athair an còmhnaidh a' siubhal ri sgeulachdan agus togail thaighean .... bha a*

12 This outstanding contribution is summarized by William Matheson (Matheson 1977) with recordings available in *Tobar an Dualchais*.

cheart uibhir do sgeulachdan is beul-aithris aig Niall 's a bha aig Donnchadh, ach gun robh Niall car diùid dhe fhèin. [13]

It is not without significance in the present context of material culture that these two brothers were representatives of a family of tradition-bearers whose ancestry could be traced back to a distant past. They were related to the MacRurys who are on record in Skye in the early-sixteenth century, and were, in the one branch, a family of hereditary armourers and blacksmiths under the patronage of the MacDonalds of Clanranald and, in another branch as *Clann a' Bhàird*, hereditary bards and historians to the MacDonalds in Skye. As such, they belonged in the noble and privileged stratum of medieval society.[14] The interests of Celtic scholarship in the past rarely extended beyond the literary and the higher registers of language. But it is evident that Duncan and Neil MacDonald, with their great command of the Gaelic language, were ready and able to describe their crafts and trades and possessed an extensive vocabulary and glossary of technical terms associated with their work. Such terminology was not derived from published texts, since literacy in Gaelic was then rare. It is only recently that this species of knowledge has been tapped for the terminology of material culture.[15]

As a joiner, *Niall Dhonnchaidh* made ploughs in South Uist and they were used, as the National Museums' example demonstrates, all over the south end of the island. His reputation and skill were such that he was known beyond his own township as *Athair nan Crann* or *Athair Cruinn*, *i.e.* 'The Father of Ploughs'.[16] His ploughs were distinguished by the shape of the beam (*druim*) which was 'more arching' than other locally made ploughs and by a 'wedge' set in between the two stilts. Usually this fixing on a wooden plough was made with a nail or a large wooden dowel (*crann tarraing*), but Neil MacDonald regarded the wedge as stronger while the nail or dowel might work loose with use. The beam (*druim*) was sawn out of a slab of wood using a frame-saw (*sàbh-beairteadh*) and working the big saw in the saw-pit (*an t-sloc sàbhaidh*) (MacDonald nd: Notebook 52, Item 1, 4836).[17] The preferred timber was elm (*leamhan*) which was imported into the island from sawmills outside Glasgow in baulks about 4ft (122cm) wide by 9in (23cm) deep. They were sawn in such a way as to produce four plough beams from one baulk, each beam being about 2 ½ in (6.5cm) thick. The stilts or handles (*làmh mhòr* and *làmh bheag*) were cut from battens of timber which were approximately the same dimensions as the finished stilts; they were finished with a chamfer to round off the edge.

13 'It was Neil who raised us. My father would always be on the move for storytelling and building houses', and Neil's modesty was recalled: 'Neil had equally as much of stories and oral tradition as Duncan though he was somewhat shy'. Personal communication from Bill Innes, 10.01.19.

14 Information from Rev William Matheson, October 1982; see also Matheson (Matheson 1980 – 1982) and MacLean (MacLean 1994: 82, 207).

15 See, for example, Duncan MacDonald's recorded account of housebuilding (MacDonald 1957).

16 Information from John MacInnes MBE, Daliburgh, and Donald John MacDonald, Peninerine, 1982.

17 Here there is a detailed account of the joinery and blacksmith work in making ploughs.

The wooden frame of the plough was formed with the beam (*druim*), the sole (*bonn*) and sheath (*geadha*), to which the mouldboard (*bord uiridh*) was fixed; this was plated to reduce abrasion of the wood. A temporary modification would be made to the plough for earthing up potatoes in the drill; a block of wood described as the *cranc* was fixed on the landside of the frame. Where money was scarce and implements few, such as in the Hebrides, ordinary ploughs typically were converted for use as drill ploughs for potato work by fitting the *cranc* on the landside. Elsewhere, in Mainland Scotland, this was sometimes termed the 'false reest'. This block on the Uist ploughs was relatively small and did not match the dimensions or profile of the mouldboard. The plough itself was held tilted to one side when working in the drill, thus keeping the ridges symmetrical or even. Ridging up the earth for potatoes was described as *a' togail suas* ('lifting up' or 'raising up').

The plough was then taken to the blacksmith for mounting up with ironwork; in this case it went to the smithy (*ceàrdach*) at Stoneybridge (*Staoinibric*), little more than a mile and a half from Peninerine. The blacksmith was then Murdo MacRury, *Murchadh a' Ghobha*. Iron plates were bolted on each side of the muzzle or front end of the beam (*sròn a' chruinn*) to provide strength to the point of draught (*an smuiseal*). The plates were known locally as 'the cheeks' (*na teics*). A stay (or bar) from the stilts to the beam was fitted. The sole plate (*bonn*) was made from bar iron used for making cartwheel rims. Another term for the sole plate was *an t-sàileag*, being fitted to *sàil a' chruinn* or the 'heel of the plough'. When the blacksmith made 'cart rings' from the bar iron, lengths of 2–3 ft (60–90cm) might be left over and these were regarded as ideal for making the *bonn* or sole plate for a wooden plough. The sock and coulter (*coltar*) were also made from cartwheel iron.

Tinplate or strips of zinc sheeting were nailed over the wooden mouldboard. This sheeting was obtained from shipments into the islands of materials for roofing. Towards the middle years of the twentieth century, crofters in the Uists began to buy wrought iron or chilled steel mouldboards from Glasgow. When mounting the plough with these the joiners helped the blacksmith to fit the mouldboard onto the *geadha* or sheath.

A diagnostic and distinctive feature of the South Uist plough is the wrought iron share or sock. Made by the local blacksmiths such as Murdo MacRury, Stoneybridge, it demonstrates adaptation to local conditions and a modification to technical circumstances specific to the wooden Uist plough. It was an asymmetrical share, about 25–30cm in length, socketed to fit over the point of the sole. The wing is described as *sgiath an t-suic*, *sgiath* being the standard Gaelic word for a 'wing', but this specific meaning is not recorded in the standard dictionaries. The socket is locally described as *crò* or *còdha an t-suic*, a gloss also not recorded by the dictionaries. As Donald John has described: 'The sock is fitted onto the iron *bonn* of the plough by inserting the tapered end of the *bonn* into the *crò*; it is a push-fit, and the sock stays put by the pressure of the soil as the plough moves forward' (MacDonald 1957).

A short bar is riveted onto approximately the middle of the top surface of the sock using a bolt

Figure 7: Surviving sections of plough with imported iron mouldboard fixed onto the sheath or geadha, West Kilbride, South Uist.

that goes right through the sock to be clenched on the under surface. The bar is upstanding at an angle of about 45° to the *crò* or socket. Thus it bends away from the direction of forward movement. This is known as the *aparan* or *aparan an t-suic*, this meaning of 'apron' not otherwise being recorded. The *aparan* was usually made of the bar iron for cartwheels and rims, thus giving it a convex top surface. When the sock was pushed home onto the point of the plough, the *aparan* was designed to lie against the sheath of the frame or the *geadha*. This was not specifically to protect the wooden frame of the plough but rather to help to throw the furrow as it cleared the land. The experience of iron ploughs demonstrated the advantage of achieving a fine edge where the mouldboard and landside meet. The wooden frame could not be shaped to such a fine edge without weakening the sheath of the plough frame. The wooden sheath had to remain 'wedge-shaped' and the term *geadha*, not recorded in this sense in the standard sources, is locally glossed as 'wedge'.

A good example of a plough sock of this type from South Uist, probably of late-nineteenth century manufacture, is in Hamburg's 'Museum of Cultural History', in the collections of the *Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und*

Vorgeschichte.[18] The sock is 29cm long and 14cm across the wing. It is fitted with a riveted 'apron' of 23cm length. A further example was excavated from Drimore Machair in 1955 in advance of the Rocket Range construction; it came from the site known as *A' Cheàrdach Bheag* (or 'The Wee Smiddy') and in its unconserved state, was described as 'the earliest specimen of its type [of Romano-British ironwork] found north of the Forth'.[19] As a distinctive type of wrought-iron Uist plough sock, it is more likely to have been made by the MacRurys in the late-nineteenth or even early-twentieth centuries, although, arguably, may have been a pre-existing local adaptation which was carried forward in the 'modern' ploughs.[20]

Figure 8: Uist plough share with riveted 'apron' and (front) plough share recovered from A' Cheàrdach Bheag, NMS Acc. No. W.2012.19.

The sock needed re-laying frequently, especially while working on the *Machair* where the friction and abrasion of the sandy soil wore down the point and the wing. It was said that when working on the *geàrraidh* or croftland, the sock was two or three times as long-wearing. Although coal was normally used for the forge work, peat charcoal might also be used and the process was described by Murdo MacRury. A hollow or pit was dug and peat was put into it, lit and allowed to burn. The pit was then smothered with turfs, the fire dampened and allowed to burn out. The resulting charcoal formed from the peat might be used in the forge fire and was used for steel which, being brittle, could break more easily in the intense heat of a coal fire.

Words and things

The fieldwork to place the plough in context was predicated on an assumption that terminology should be collected and interpreted if possible (see *Appendix*). This purpose assumed that the terminology had not been recorded before and that, where it might be recorded in the dictionaries, its definition and interpretation might be incomplete or at fault. The term *crann fiodha* is a Gaelic compound noun meaning 'plough of wood', i.e. wooden plough, qualifying the common

18 Since 2018, *Das Museum am Rothenbaum – Kulturen und Künste der Welt (MARKK)*. Museum catalogue number 13.233.175.

19 NMS Accession No. W.2012.19; (Young and Richardson 1960).

20 See the *Stornoway Gazette* of 1985's correspondence on 'Plough Sock' where an alternative interpretation and chronology was offered for the ironwork (*Stornoway Gazette* 1985).

substantive *crann* which has a range of meanings besides 'plough', including 'beam', 'shaft', 'mast' and also a measure for fish. *Crann treabhaidh* is another colloquial term for the plough, in this case qualifying the noun by the verbal-noun form of *treabhadh* for 'ploughing'. *Crann fiodha* does not appear in the older (nineteenth-century) dictionaries and, significantly, is first noticed in the notable lexicon of Edward Dwelly, prepared and published in parts between 1902 and 1911 and still remarkable for its depth and range. The term is attributed to a correspondent, Alexander Henderson of Ardnamurchan. It probably represented a comparatively recent compound, used for convenience to distinguish the wooden plough from the iron plough of imported type while both wooden and metal ploughs were in use contemporaneously.

As Dwelly's word-lists show, *crann fiodha* was one of many compounds in Gaelic used to qualify or to describe different plough-types. His work represented at the time a significant expansion of published lexical explanations and included regional and local usages not previously noticed. His lists and glosses were in some respects expanded in later work on collecting words and meanings. These were gathered in manuscript and deposited in the National Library of Scotland and have been published (see Clyne and Thomson 1991 and Dwelly 1967: 260 – 64).[21] Some of the terminology under the headword *crann*, plough, attributed to the same Alexander Henderson is expanded in a later manuscript by Dwelly, MS 14958, although here no discrimination is made over sources or regional usages.

In spite of some significant advances in lexicography, material culture is still served remarkably unevenly and the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland are particularly poorly represented in this respect. A symptom of this is detectable in the number of contrived words introduced into Gaelic dictionaries, often ignoring detailed and diverse local vocabularies. The terminology of specific subjects or themes is generally well represented in traditional dialects, as the example of the Uist plough shows (see *Appendix*).

Little work has been achieved in the compilation of regional dialect glossaries which would tend to throw up technical and material culture terminology as well as throwing considerable light on the social, economic and cultural life of the people. There is one exception to this which has not been seriously challenged. Father Allan McDonald's *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay* were collected by him as the parish priest between 1886 and 1905, preserved in manuscript in Edinburgh University, and edited and published in 1958 by Dr John Lorne Campbell.[22]

Dictionaries have drawn largely on literary sources and this has been very true in the case of the Gaelic language, where the literary language was adopted as the standard and dialects and dialect variation neglected. The dictionary makers were for the most part ministers, priests, schoolmasters and men of the learned and upper classes of Gaelic

21 NLS MSS 14957 and 14958.

22 There, the term *geadha* is included but misleadingly defined (Campbell 1991 137); see too Diesckhoff 1932.

society. Many were first and foremost theologians with philosophical interests. They rarely strayed from the texts and conventional sources and had little extended contact with the mediators of tradition. The point also has been made that lexicography has tended to ignore the Outer Hebrides where dialects have been demonstrably more vigorous than any contemporary literary language. Other areas previously denied notice have been *Bàrdachd Baile* or 'Village Poetry' where frequently songs of praise or satire were rich in idiom and terminology (see NicDhòmhnaill agus Chaimbeul 2015: 36). Besides dialect and idiomatic range, the dictionaries of Scottish Gaelic have been poor lexicons of material culture. Unfortunately, the practical could not often be reconciled with the literary. The dictionary makers consistently neglected to record technical and mundane vocabulary, or subtleties of meaning; this ignored the very obvious appropriation of ordinary words for specialist usage, the changes and expansion of terminology to meet changing circumstances, and the widening of semantic fields to accommodate new needs.

Conclusions

It is evident from information by word of mouth that the Uist *crann fiodha* is a modern rather than archaic or anachronistic plough-type, belonging to the period of the 1890s–1950s. Resettlement schemes following the Crofters Holding Act of 1886 provided some new enlarged holdings and coincided with the introduction of new plough-types into Scotland. The Oliver Plow Works of America's Mid-West let their agency contract to the Glasgow firm of John Wallace and Sons Ltd, Agricultural Engineers, in 1885. The first batch of their ploughs was imported in 1886 and their use spread rapidly over the whole country. The size and profile of the Uist *crann fiodha* is reminiscent of the Oliver 10A or 110A general purpose, lea and stubble plough; it had long handles and a beam with a more pronounced curve than the one-horse ploughs such as the Oliver 140. Imported plough types such as the Oliver and their local copies have been in common use in the Islands, and ploughs imported by P and R Fleming, Argyll Street, Glasgow, have been seen in different parts of the Hebrides. Other sought-after ploughs were the Gray of Uddingston swing plough, referred to occasionally (and fondly) as 'the old Gray plough'. There was clearly a long-standing trade in the provision of goods from Clyde to the Outer Isles.

The *crann fiodha* therefore seems to be a type of plough made from the mid-1880s in Uist, modelled on imported plough-types and made occasionally by the crofters themselves, or more usually by joiners, boatbuilders and cartwrights in the islands. Details of the plough's construction were worked out to suit local conditions. From information by word of mouth, it seems too that the ploughs were shod with their ironwork by local blacksmiths. Completing the historical record by means of fieldwork therefore, the *crann fiodha* represents a dynamic rather than a relict process and a ready and resourceful response to the particular exigencies of the time, and a time frequently represented as one of unremitting social, economic and cultural decline.

The Uist plough offers an example of material culture studies helping to complete the

historical record of cultivation and settlement and challenging assumptions of cultural and technological development. It can stand as an ethnological exemplar in its detailed description of an object as cultural and social signifier in a material culture past that is often difficult to 'read'. With the more recent (and welcome) material turn in historical and cultural studies, it fulfils a need for more detailed research into settlement and the tools of cultivation and adds to the lexical record of technical terminology which has been recognised as too often sparse for Scottish Gaelic.

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig
Am Foghar 2023.

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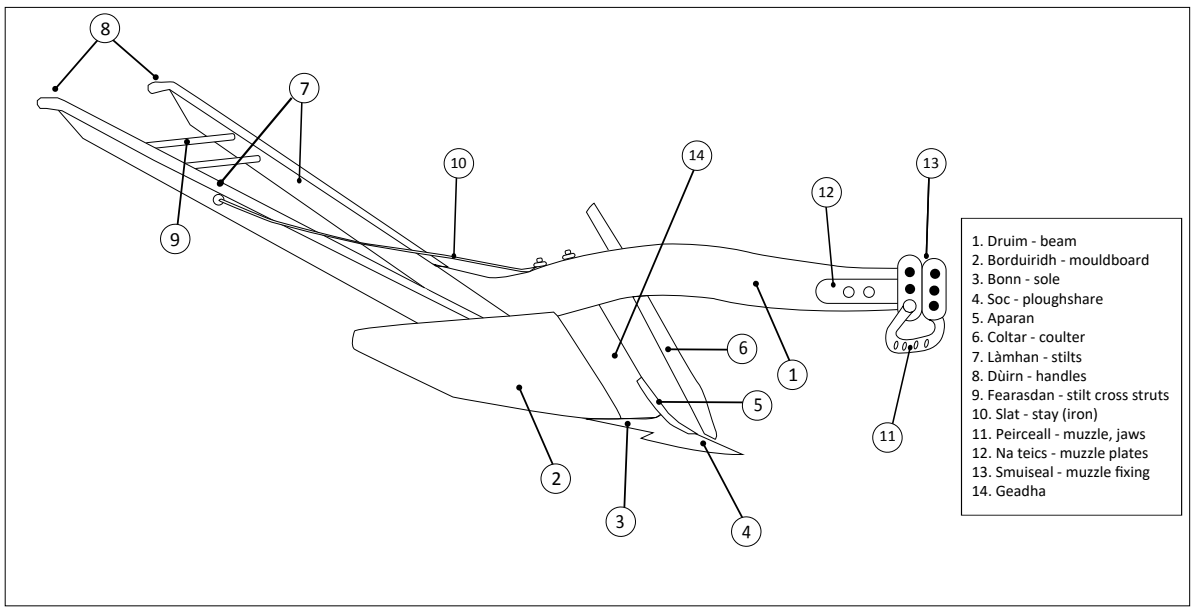

Figure 9: Diagram of a Uist plough with typical naming of parts.

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Appendix

Terminology of the wooden swing-plough (*crann fiodha*), gathered on fieldwork in Uist, 1979-1982, from Donald John MacDonald, Peninerine, Murdo MacRury, Stoneybridge, Alick Iain MacDonald, Kallin, Grimsay and Patrick Morrison, West Kilbride.

Crann fiodha – wooden plough
Crann-treabhaidh – plough
Druim – beam
Bòrd uiridh – mouldboard
An coltair – coulter
Cranc – landside block added for ridging (*a' togail suas*) for potatoes
Bonn – sole plate made from length of cartwheel rim
An t-sàileag – sole plate
Sàil a' chruinn – the heel of the plough
Geadha – 'sheath' of frame i.e. meeting of mouldboard and landside
Crann-tarruing – spacer/support where stilts meet plough frame
Làmhan – stilts
An làmh mhòr – stilt on the right-hand side
An làmh bheag – stilt on the left-hand side
Fearsadan – stilt cross struts
Dùirn – handles
Spàg, spàgan – handle, handles
Bàr – stay, from stilts to beam
Slat – stay (iron)
Peirceal – muzzle
Sròn a' chruinn, an t-sròn – the 'nose' of the plough or front point of the beam
Na teics – muzzle plates
Na busan – (literally) the lips, being the two iron plates fixed on the nose of the plough *Smuiseal* – muzzle fixing
Amal, an t-amal – swingletree
Grealag – swingletree or 'small tree'
An soc – ploughshare
Sgiath an t-suic – ploughshare 'wing'
Còdha an t-suic – ploughshare socket
Aparan an t-suic – Ploughshare bar or protective 'apron'

Figure 10: Wooden plough in the township of Kallin, probably made by Charles Stewart, Boatbuilder, Grimsay, with iron 'strappings' or mountings by Lachlan MacRury, Aird, Benbecula

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Romancing Stirling: a case study on the cumulative impacts of local tradition, popular literature and tourism on archaeological interpretation.

Murray Cook

Introduction

'To pass in reasonable safety and comfort from southern to northern Scotland a man must cross the Forth within a mile or two of Stirling. "Stirling is the brooch that holds together the two parts of the country"' (Mitchison 1970: 1- 2, quoting Smith 1856). The name Stirling is argued to derive from its location as the upper most navigable point of the Forth (Clancy 2017: 13). Stirling's location on the Forth means that it was perhaps one of the most strategic points in Scottish history (Royal Commission on the Ancient Monuments of Scotland RCAHMS 1963: 4). Control of this upper navigation point (pers comm Andrew Tibbs) along with the farmland of Fife and the mineral resources of the Ochils formed an objective of the first two Roman occupations (Crawford 1948: 18; Breeze, 2006). Stirling also formed the central point of the late/post-Roman region/entity Manau (Taylor et al 2020: 54-60), which was the location of several early medieval battles (Clancy & Crawford 2001:49). Stirling lay on the boundary between Pictland (and its successor polity Alba) and the northern English kingdoms between c 700 and 1100 (Broun 2018) and indeed the area south of the Forth does not appear to have been fully integrated into Scotland 'proper' until the reign of Alexander III (1249-86) (Broun 1998: 9; 2017:32-37). From 1180 Stirling Bridge was the location for a court held every six weeks for disputes between parties north and south of the Forth (Taylor 2009: 281).

Later, Stirling witnessed the two most critical battles of the Wars of Independence (Stirling Bridge and Bannockburn) as well as sitting between the two major post-medieval Scottish cattle markets at Crieff and Falkirk (Matthews 1974: 180-2), ie it sat on the main artery southwards for trade and exchange. Finally the strategic importance of crossing at Stirling is eloquently made by both the Matthew Paris and Gough[1] maps (respectively dating to c 1250 and the 1370s) both of which show a narrow land passage at Stirling. Famously the only bridge in the whole of Britain depicted by Paris was at Stirling which crosses a body of water called the 'Sea of Scotland'. This point was also made by Sir John Cope's northern pursuit of the Jacobites in 1745 when he simply could've waited at Stirling for

them to come to him (Johnstone 1821: 12). The 'Sea of Scotland' appears to be a conflation of the rivers Forth, Teith and Clyde along with the low lying boggy ground to the west of Stirling called now the Western Carselands of Stirling (Harrison & Tipping 2007). The geomorphological background and changing sea levels of the Western Carselands are explored by Smith (et al 2010; see also Neville 1974). Explicitly this article focuses on the first millennium AD as following detailed analyses of soil cores the current water level within the Forth Valley is considered to be roughly the same as c 2000 years ago (Smith et al 2010: 2407; Davies 2020: 39). However, Hannon (2018: 425-8) proposed that the locations of the Roman forts at Camelon and Inveravon on the Antonine Wall made more sense with higher sea levels. Prior to this time the water level was higher and more of the valley was flooded and in effect a sea loch (Smith et al 2010: 2406) and therefore movement across the valley was even more restricted. However, despite its significance, the actual nature of the crossing point(s) prior to the construction of a bridge at Stirling has been little studied.

In the absence of facts attention has focussed on the on the area commonly known as the 'Fords of Frew' near Kippen, Stirlingshire. This is described by Professor Dauvit Broun (2007: 54) 'as a striking site: for a stretch of eighty yards in summer the river's depth becomes no more than that of a paddling pool, but for a small channel near the north bank where the water comes up to an adult's knees.' Site visits by the author confirm the general shallowness of the area, although Broun's description appears to relate to a very dry summer. Watson (1926: 350) considered 'frew' related to shallow fordable points and McNiven (2011: 196) links it to the 'Welsh frwd 'current' or the British equivalents of Welsh ffrau 'stream, flow, flood' or Welsh ffraw 'swift, lively, brisk". As will be shown references to the 'Fords of Frew' are littered across academic volumes: from accounts of Bronze Age swords, the Roman incursions, the Pictish period and even the invasion of Scotland by William The Conqueror in 1072. In turn this academic groupthink also colours popular accounts where the 'Fords of Frew' are linked to William Wallace, Rob Roy, the Battle of Sauchieburn and the Battle of Falkirk Muir (Old Weird Scotland undated). You will struggle however, to find the 'Fords of Frew' on any map as the location does not exist and it is certainly not the only path through the Western Carsleands. This article explores both the reality of the Forth valley crossing and how Sir Walter Scott may have come to colour its interpretation.

Historiography of the Fords of Frew

As noted above Romanists (eg Maxwell 1989: 113; Woolliscroft & Hoffmann 2006: 81), early medieval historians (eg Woolf 2007: 165; Broun 2007: 54; Clarkson 2014: 2436; McGuigan 2021: 16[2],) and archaeologists (eg Mackie 1982: 60: 2017: 31; Morrison 1979; O'Connor & Cowie 1995; Cook et al 2019; Davies 2020: 41; and Maldonado 2021: 179-80) tend to use the phrase 'the Fords of Frew' while post-medieval historians use 'the ford of Frew' , 'the ford at Frew' or 'the Ford of Frew' (eg Mair 1990: 137; Haldane

Figure 1: An extract of Roy's mid-18th Century *Military Survey of Scotland* on Drip, © British Library Board, CC.5.a.441, Strip 16/2d and Strip 15 Section 4F.

1997: 83; Harrison 2005: 107) or 'the Frew route' (Harrison & Tipping 2007), though there are exceptions (eg Duffy 2020: 108).

A review of 18th- and 19th-century documents including military memoirs and newspaper accounts from the Jacobite Risings 1745 (Douglas 1755; Bell 1898; and Buchanan 1841), The Old and New Statistical Accounts (Tait 1793; Campbell 1796; Robertson 1796; MacGibbon 1798; Laurie 1845; and Anderson 1845), poetry (MacGregor 1883), history (Nimmo 1777; and Randall 1812), Roy's map (Strip 15, Section 4F) and Stirling Burgh Records (Renwick 1889) demonstrate a variety of forms: 'the passage of the Frew', 'the Frew', 'the Frew ford', 'the Frews', 'the Ford of Frew', 'the ford of Frew' and 'the Ford of Frews' (there are four farms in the area named Frew (Harrison and Tipping 2007: 468)) but never 'the Fords of Frew' or 'the fords of Frew'.

As far as the author can tell the phrase 'the Fords of Frew' was popularised, if not coined by Sir Walter Scott in his novel Rob Roy (Scott 1817: 441). Scott's later Tales of a Grandfather (1828: 240) features 'the fords of Frew' and 'The Fords of Frew'[3]. By contrast it should be noted that Stevenson's David Balfour, the hero of Kidnapped tries Stirling Bridge, although the island that they spent the night on before attempting the bridge is also a likely inspiration for the one in Treasure Island! Local tradition has his inspiration as a small island near the confluence of the Allan Water and the Forth at Bridge of Allan where the Stevenson's went for family holidays (Mair 2018: 237). It is of course impossible to confirm if the erroneous capitalisation was a mistake or if Scott deliberately replaced the duller Ford of Frew with the slightly more rhythmic Fords of Frew.

If we examine the reality on the ground our

key source is Roy's Great Map (Strips 15 Section 4F and 162d, Figure 1) which shows two fording points over the Forth near Kippen either side of the Goodie Water and its confluence with the Forth. The Goodie Water was navigable in the 18th century (albeit by small, probably specialist boats) and used to transport lime (Harrison 2005: 106). It's 'valley' is up to c 4m wide and up to 2m deep and while it was later canalised (ibid) it still represents a significant barrier to land transport. The fording point to the west is called the Ford of Frew which is repeated by the 1st and 2nd edition Ordnance Surveys (Stirlingshire Sheet IX 1865; 1899) but is not associated with a road or track, although a 'bad' road to it is recorded but not mapped by Edgar (1746) and significantly the location is associated with a milestone which is marked by the 1st edition Ordnance Survey (Stirlingshire Sheet IX 1865) and which is located to the east of the two surviving bridges at this location.

The second fording point lies some 3.3km as the crow flies to the east and is unnamed but lies next to a farm called Carse. This was mapped on Roy and associated with a track but neither are recorded on either Stobie (1783) or the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey, (Stirlingshire Sheet IX 1865). Given the above, from this point on the article will use the Ford of Frew when discussing the western fording point at Kippen, Carse to describe the eastern point and the fords at Frew when discussing the general area.

The Carse fording point led to a crossing over the Teith at Doune and the Ford of Frew to Thornhill aided by the Bridge of Goodie built in 1647 (Harrison & Tipping 2007: 464). The Old Statistical Account for Gargunnock, (Robertson 1796: 94) records the 'recent' (without a precise date) construction of a road south from the Ford of Frew with no reference to an older road. The Kippen Old Statistical Account (Campbell 1796: 328) records (presumably at a later date than the road) a bridge replacing the Ford of Frew in 1783.

The RCAHMS (1963: 424, 430) notes that 'the Fords of Frew' was used by two post-medieval armies: Montrose's force once ahead of the Battle of Kilsyth and by Bonnie Prince Charlie and his army during the 1745. The Scots Magazine's account of the 1745 suggests that the Ford of Frew was used at least four times across the duration of the campaign from September 1745 to February 1746: once on the march south to Derby, twice from the north in advance of the siege of first Stirling and then Stirling Castle, and finally during the retreat (quoted by Renwick 1889: 274-6; but see also the original Douglas 1755).

Looking in detail at both sets of crossings the RCAHMS (1963: 424) quote Nimmo's 18th century account (1880: 220) for Montrose's campaign. However, Nimmo does not quote his source. It is worth here expanding on the nature of Nimmo's two volume 1777 history of Stirlingshire: the first major account of the area and one which appears to record every tradition of the area. It is therefore difficult to distinguish fact from fiction in his account and often his is the only or earliest source for a specific incident (see Savakis et al 2018).

George Wishart's contemporary memoir

of Montrose (1819) does not mention Frew. Another source, Bishop Guthrie (Napier 1838: 435-6), whose son Andrew fought with Montrose, mentions that the Teith and the Forth were both crossed, which could be either of the fords at Frew. With regard to the 1745 this was clearly a recent event and of course is the subject of his third novel Waverly. The Scots Magazine notes that Government troops had 'destroyed boats' and that floats were needed to get cannons across at Frew (Renwick 1889: 275) implying that boats were normally used to cross here. During the retreat an eyewitness, Maxwell of Kirkconnell (Buchanan 1841: 132) notes that the heaviest pieces of artillery had to be abandoned as it 'would have been impossible to get them over the Frews, where an eight pounder was left after some fruitless labour to get it out of the mud'. The cannons were transported in December and the retreat was undertaken in early February so one would expect conditions to be worse than in the Summer, however, this does suggest the crossing was not as easy as is generally believed. Both sets of crossings were undertaken during civil wars and the need for secrecy about troop movements was paramount, although Dougal Graham, a Jacobite eyewitness to the '45 crossing suggests that it was watched by locals (Rorke 2017: 97).

A review of the available map evidence and a canoe trip down the Forth (Cook forthcoming) indicates a variety of crossing points across the Forth of which the most documented is at Drip which is mentioned first named in 1303/4 (Bain 1884: 382-4) and also features on Gough's 1370s map. Drip has also been described as one of the most important fords in Scotland (Stell 1988: 32). The mid-15th century traveller and English spy John Hardying mentions 'foorde of Tirps' (Brown 1891: 18) which is taken to be Drip ford (pers comm Peter McNiven). Drip is also recorded as the main ford for travel west from Stirling across the published extracts of Stirling Burgh records from 1519 to 1752 (Renwick 1887; 1889) as well as those of the Stirling Guildry between 1592 and 1846 (Cook & Morris 1916).

There is no question that crossings at Drip could be easily monitored from the Castle (pers obs Murray Cook). Edgar (1746) goes further and states that Drip was within the range of the Castle's cannons. The secret approach of both armies does appear to have been successful and certainly in 1745 Sir John Cope had no idea where the Jacobites were and marched from Stirling to Inverness while the Jacobites were marching to Stirling (Riding 2016: 100). Another consideration in 1745/6 was that the western arch of Stirling Bridge was cut by the British military in late December 1745 preventing its use (Renwick 1889: 272).

Given this is it worth considering whether the Jacobites really used the Ford of Frew each time or if perhaps they also used the fording point at Carse and did not realise, or perhaps the name applied to both fording points[4]. As noted above only the Carse fording point had a road viewed by Roy as worth marking. To have used the Ford of Frew would also have meant marching large bodies of men and equipment either along a poor road or across muddy fields (in December, January and February). In addition any use of the

Ford of Frew would require crossing the Goodie Water and it is more likely that the Carse fording point was used if the objective was efficient travel (Figure 1). However, such a circuitous route made sense on the Jacobite's original invasion southwards on march to Derby in 1745 as secrecy was paramount. In addition, the march south took place in September when presumably the weather was better. However, it certainly did not make sense during the sieges of Stirling and Stirling Castle, let alone the panicked retreat where time was surely of the essence. This raises the possibility that contemporary accounts may have confused the two fords at Frew, certainly Duffy (2020: 362-3) notes that Government dragoons ordered to sow caltrops at the main fording points were confused as to which they were. The only other reference to the use of the Ford of Frew in contemporary accounts is by cattle drovers (Haldane 1997: 83), though Renwick asserts that this appears to be an attempt to avoid fees at Stirling rather than a routine action (1889: 123).

Watson's original sin?

For archaeologists, Romanists and Early Medievalists one of the foundational, near canonical texts in understanding the very earliest history of Scotland is Watson's magisterial 1926 History of The Celtic Place-names of Scotland. Watson (1926: 349-50) explicitly writes of 'the fords of Frew' (although he also later writes 'The Fords of Frew') and is clearly describing a stretch of water where fording was possible. Presumably he means from the Ford of Frew to the ford at Carse. However, he also describes the stretch of water as one of the 'seven wonders of Scotland' which has helped to aggrandise their reputation. Watson's view of the crossing was clearly informed by an assumption still being made today (eg Woolliscroft & Hoffman 2006: 81; Clarkson 2014:2436) that in the past that Stirling's Western Carsleands were an extensive and impassable body of bog. That the Western Carselands were not an impenetrable morass has been established by John Harrison in two key papers (Harrison 2003; Harrison & Tipping 2007). As noted above Watson also uses the term 'the Fords of Frew' (ibid 52-3), however, he does not explain his use of the two variants (although it may simply be an error) and presents his assertions (ibid 52-3) as facts and well before his discussion (ibid 349-50).

Watson linked the 'Fords of Frew' to a key event in Kenneth II's reign (c971–97), described in the Chronicles of the Kings of Alba (Anderson 1922: 512). After a raid south of the Forth into then Northumbria, fearing a retaliation 'Kenneth fortified the banks of the Fords of Forthin' (Watson (1926: 52-53). It is also worth noting that Watson (1926: 52-53) also uses 'the Fords of Forthin' while others such as Anderson (1922: 512), Hudson (1998: 161), and Taylor (et al 2020: 94) write of 'the fords of Forthin'. While 'Forthin' is assumed to be the Forth, it is not clear if the 'fords of Forthin' is a single place or a description of multiple fording points.

While Watson's intention is unknown it appears that in capitalising both the 'Fords of Frew' and the 'Fords of Forthin' he creates a rhetorical drive for a single location that that given his assumptions about the Western Carselands must

Figure 2: The Beheading Stone.

have been the same unchanging location across millennia. Watson's position in academia in turn means his assumptions were never challenged and carried forward over the next century. This assumption was not the case with post-medieval historians (eg Mair 1990: 137; Haldane 1997: 83; Harrison 2005: 107) who had far more primary documents to review and no need to refer to Watson.

Scott's Impact on Watson?

It is now impossible to determine if Watson's view was coloured by reading Scott or indeed Buchan, though it can be surely assumed that he was likely to have read them given their then popularity (certainly even the current author has read lots of Scott and Buchan…though he prefers Hogg!). Certainly, if one looks across the rest of Stirling and its environs Scott looms large. It is widely acknowledged that Scott stimulated the Trossachs tourist industry with his monumentally popular poem Lady of the Lake (1810). However, this poem also helped create another myth: that of the beheading of Murdoch Duke of Albany at the orders of his nephew James I. Local tradition has that the execution took place on the northern tip of the Gowan Hills (also known as the Gowling Hills, or the Hill of Lamentations or The Hills of Weeping) which is called today Mote Hill but was also known as Murdoch's Knowe, Heiding Hill and Hurley Haky (Drew 1887). The latter name referencing a tradition that James Vth used to sledge down it in a cattle skull. The earliest source that links the hill to the execution is Nimmo's 1777 account (1880: 84). Scott weaves Mote Hill into his tale and recounts:

'and thou, O sad and fatal mound
That oft hast herd the death-axe sound,
As on the noblest of the land
Fell the stern headsman's bloody hand'

In turn The Stirling Natural History and Antiquarian Society repositioned a stone with incised marks on it under a handsome monument with a domed cage and called it The Beheading Stone (Figure 2). The account of the meeting in which this was first mooted reveals no clear 'chain of custody' for the stone (Drew 1887). People remembered a stone on Mote Hill from their childhood which they called the beheading stone. This stone was then rolled down the hill and ended up at Stirling Old Bridge where a local butcher Tam Dawson 'who did a large trade in sheeps' heads…and ..used it as a block for chopping sheeps' horns'. This and the apparent difficulty of using a stone block as a base of chopping anything did not deter the Society. This created a tourist attraction and a subject for the sale of postcards that combined an image of the site with Scott's verse. The site is still advertised by Stirling Council today and its story is well known by locals.

Another of Scott's poem The Lord of the Isles (1815) mined the landscape and history of the Battle of Bannockburn. At the assumed site of Day 1 of the Battle of Bannockburn, Burns was in part inspired by thoughts of Bruce raising his standard at Bore Stone (which is now acknowledged to be a dropped post-medieval mill stone (RCAHMS 1963: 113-4) and wrote his magnificent Scots wa hae, which purports to be Bruce's speech at the Bore Stone (Figure 3).

The poem was never published in Burn's name in his lifetime and Crawford note's its final stanza (2014: 92-5) appears to tie the Wars of Independence to the Jacobite, The French Revolution and The American Revolution with a call to arms.

'Lay the proud usurpers low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
Liberty's in every blow!—
Let us do or die!'

These were very dangerous sentiments as it must be remembered that in 1820 The Radical War provoked unrest across the country and resulted in several executions. If there were any doubt of the radical nature of Burns' poem one of the Cato Street plotters,(a related Radical War conspiracy to murder the entire British Cabinet in 1820), William Davidson was singing Scots wa hae as he was arrested (Alston 2021: 297).

Scott again built on (and sanitised?) local traditions and connects the local Gillies Hill, which he links ghillie (Gaelic for servant) to the Barbour's The Sma' Folk (they become Scott's 'the serf and page') who played such a key role in the decisive victory of Day 2 of the Battle of Bannockburn (Barbour 1999: 427) and has them stationed on it.

'On Gillie's -hill, whose height commands
The battle-field, fair Edith stands,
With serf and page unfit for war,
To eye the conflict from afar.'

It is perhaps more likely that the gillies in question relate to drovers using the former common grazing of the hill (Cook 2021: 55-56). However, this has not stopped Gillies Hill

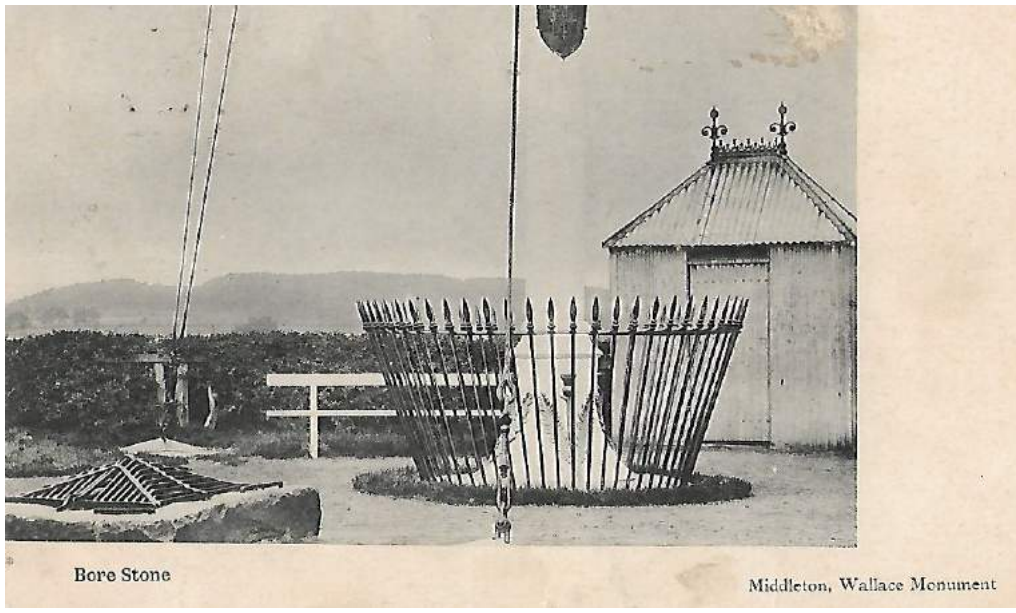

Figure 3: The Victorian Bore Stone Complex (erroneously named the Wallace Monument in the postcard).

being included in the revised Bannockburn entry of Historic Environment Scotland's Inventory of Historic Battlefields in Scotland (HES 2012), even though the document describes the connection as 'unlikely'. The subsequent inclusion of Gillies Hills appears to have derived from local pressure. The Inventory provides protection for historic battlefields from development. Even after over 200 years Scott is influencing Scotland's understanding of its history even affecting planning policy!

However, I am clearly being unfair to Scott and as we have seen he was in part following Burns with specific regard to the Bore Stone and Bannockburn but it is likely that both Burns and Scott (and indeed the RCAHMS) drew upon Nimmo's 1777 two volume account of Stirlingshire's history, geography, geology and industries. The volumes stand as a multi-parish equivalent of the Statistical Accounts compiled by Church of Scotland Minister in every Parish in Scotland in the late 18th century. However, like the Statistical Accounts the volumes capture a variety of oral traditions, presented as fact and all without listing their original sources or assessing their reliability. That they are written down gives them an authenticity that they do not always deserve which is surely the biggest irony of Enlightenment Scotland?

Conclusion

The article has demonstrated a clear line of influence from oral traditions to literature to archaeological and historical interpretation and on occasion to state policy and designation. This seems particularly egregious with regard the Ford of Frew which has demonstrated that an

accumulation of nearly 100 years of assumptions has created a near mythical reputation for the fords at Frew that has impacted both academic and popular accounts. This location has never been called the Fords of Frew and is absolutely not the only path across the Western Carsleands to the west of Stirling and appears to have only been used in extremis. The earliest erroneous description of the location can be traced to Scott's Rob Roy. However, the author feels that perhaps the case against the accused, Sir Walter Scott remains unproven, he is clearly guilty of shaping the perception of Scotland and its history for good or ill (Mark Twain's damming judgment comes to mind) and he drew straight, clear bold lines where only blurs can be seen. Such was his genius that his version of our history crowded all others out. This may of course have been part of a wider deliberate policy to strengthen the Union (eg Pittock 2009). It is also clear that he drew upon older sources who were also interested in bold clear narratives. However, it is not clear if he (or indeed his publisher) made a mistake in erroneously capitalising the first 'f' of the fords at Frew. Equally it is not clear if Watson made the same mistake. So let us conclude with another Scottish tradition that the case is not proven.

Cartographic Resources

Matthew Paris Map of Britain, c 1250. https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/magna-carta/map-by-matthew-paris/. Accessed 01/03/2022.

The Gough Map of Great Britain c1360. http://www.goughmap.org/. Accessed 01/03/2022.

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Endnotes

1 It is worth noting that despite the apparent fame and inevitability of the crossing at Stirling Inglis (1913: 303) reports that guides could be provided for journeys north.

2 However see Clarkson (2012:192) for a notable exception, though this may be an error.

3 The phrase also also appears in John Buchan's 1913 novel of the Battle of Kilsyth *The Marquis of Montrose* (quoted by Stott 1993:15).

4 Duffy (2020:108) 'solves' this problem by ignoring the Ford of Frew as mapped by Roy and relocating the '*Fords of Frew*' to the east of the Goodie Water's confluence with the Forth and marking them as the Carse and Bridge of Offers fording points.

Robert Burns's Friend Robert Cleghorn in his Cultural Context

Katherine Campbell and Emily Lyle

Robert Burns's correspondence shows him in a variety of relationships which bring out a number of facets of his character and give insight into various aspects of contemporary society. The relationship with Robert Cleghorn caught in the letters illuminates the song culture of Scotland, and especially of Edinburgh, at a time when vocal music was both widely performed and highly regarded. Since performance is intangible and ephemeral, vocal music is often elusive and the references to it, and discussion of it, in this correspondence are valuable in giving glimpses of this activity focussed on a musical member of the Midlothian farming community.

Although Robert Cleghorn (1748–96) is familiar as one of Burns's friends, there has not previously been a full study of him and even his dates of birth and death had not previously been determined (Lindsay 2013: 87). He is placed here in relation to members of his extended family and their lands in the adjacent parishes of Corstorphine and Colinton in the county of Midlothian.

When Burns, while living in Dumfries, said in a letter to William Lorimer of August 1795, 'I have two honest Midlothian Farmers with me, who have travelled threescore miles to renew old friendship with the poet' (Roy 1985: 2; 365), he was referring to Robert Cleghorn and Robert Wight. They were accompanied on their visit by John Allen, a medical doctor, and these three travellers are linked together by a woman who had remained at home in Midlothian: Beatrix Wight, who was the sister of Robert Wight, the mother of John Allen, and the wife of Robert Cleghorn.

Burns's friendship with Cleghorn involved him in associations with his whole family network and he would have been familiar with the Cleghorn and Wight farms of Saughton Mills and Kingsknows and also with Allen's father's estate of Redford. This article first treats the families and their lands and then places Cleghorn in the musical milieu that he shared with Burns so far as is discoverable through their correspondence.[1]

THE FAMILIES AND THEIR LANDS

The Wights at Kingsknows

Robert Cleghorn's wife, Beatrix, and her brother, Robert, were the children of Robert Wight, 'Tennant in Kingsknow', and of Elizabeth Simson whose marriage was proclaimed on 20 October 1748.[2] The couple had two sons and four daughters whose births are registered in the parish of Colinton: Agnes 1749, Beatrix 1751,

Elizabeth 1753, David 1754, Janet 1756 and Robert 1758. Beatrix was born on 13 February 1751 and Robert on 27 August 1758. Robert was a close contemporary of Burns, being just five months older.

An advertisement placed by Robert Wight, senior, in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 30 April 1750 demonstrates his high standards and indicates the ready market in the city for the produce of the farms in the vicinity.

> ROBERT WIGHT Farmer at Kingsknows, near Colington, being to open a very large DAIRY against Whitsunday next, proposes to sell his SWEET MILK in the City.
>
> The Inhabitants may rest assured, that Mr. Wight will use all possible Precautions that his Milk be delivered unmixed and genuine as it comes from the Cows; for which Purpose he is to send it in on Horse-back in proper Vessels locked up, he himself keeping the Key, and the Milk will be drawn out by Brass Cocks, that there may remain no Opportunity of mixing it with Water or otherwise out of his Presence.
>
> Till such Time as this Scheme be brought to such a Bearing that he can serve Families at their Houses, the Milk will be sold for ready Money only at several Stations in Town, beginning at the Corn-market; proceeding from thence, up the West-bow, and down the High-street, and returning by the Cowgate: And the Inhabitants will have Notice when his Milk comes to the several Stations, by the blowing of a Horn.

In an account of this farm in 1778 in a report on the *Present State of Husbandry in Scotland*, Andrew Wight gives details of the farming practice, which included the breeding of sheep and the planting of hoop willows in swampy ground, and he mentions the point that Robert Wight preferred oxen to horses for ploughing. Wight sketches the history of the farm in this way:

> *Robert Wight*, forty-four years ago, took the farm of Kingsknow, naturally a thin and poor soil upon rock, a high ground, and rendered still worse by mismanagement. For the first ten or twelve years, it was a hard struggle between him and the land which should get the better. The first thing that turned the balance in his favour was the being employed to carry building stone to Edinburgh from a quarry in his farm, which gave him the opportunity of bringing home his carts loaded with Edinburgh dung. He was the first in that part of the country who attempted levelling the surface, straighting the ridges, raising potatoes and turnip in the drill husbandry, sowing red clover for summer food, and grass-seeds for hay and pasture, inclosing with ditch and hedge, &c. All these, particularly the smothering crops, have turned to great account; and now, by skill and perseverance, his returns from his farm are sufficient for comfortable living, and for rearing up his children to gain their bread in a way suitable to their station; and lastly, so many years remain of his lease, as, in all probability, will equal his life, by which he has the prospect of enjoying in his old age, a pleasant spot, made so by his own labour and industry. It is at the same time no small comfort to him, that, having finished all the rough and laborious work in his younger years, it will be a pleasure, rather than a toil,

> even for an old man to preserve his farm in perfect good order. (Wight 1778–84, vol. 3, part 2, 454–6)

The long lease had ended when the farm of Kingsknows 'as presently possessed by Robert Wight' was advertised in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 27 July 1805 to be let for nineteen years from Martinmas 1806. The advertisement mentions that the farm 'consists of about 150 acres of good arable land'. It is not known when Robert Wight, senior, died, but he was dead before 25 May 1809 when there is a record of a discharge by Robert Wight, tenant in Kingsknows, as the executor of his deceased father, Robert Wight.[3] The death and burial record of the son in the parish of Colinton runs: 'Robert Wight died at Damhead on the 27th of October 1826 and was interred in the Churchyard here on the 31st of October 1826 aged 68 years.'[4] As noted below, the farm of Damhead was in the possession of Robert's nephew, James Cleghorn, at this time.

The Allens at Redford

Robert's sister, Beatrix, moved only a short distance from Kingsknows to Redford when she married James Allen. Redford House, which is now a listed building at 133, 135 and 137 Redford Road,[5] was probably built by George Haliburton who had acquired the Redford estate in 1712. He sold Redford to John Young, brewer, in 1740–1, and it passed first to Young's daughter, Mrs Allen, and then to her son, James (Murray 1863: 93–4). James was a writer and banker in Edinburgh, but he fell into financial difficulties and, when he died in May 1778, he had become bankrupt.[6] Redford Estate was advertised for sale in 1777 but was withdrawn and was re-advertised in June 1778 and was then purchased by John Home, coachbuilder.[7] The description of this fine property runs as follows in the advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 2 July 1777:

> The Lands and Estate of Redford, Gallowlee, and Little Fordell, with the teinds, parsonage, and vicarage of the said lands, lying in the parish of Collington, and shire of Edinburgh, about four English miles south west from the city of Edinburgh.
>
> These lands, according to an accurate plan and survey lately made, consist of about 100 acres Scots measure; are all inclosed, and properly subdivided into fourteen different inclosures, with stripes of planting in a thriving condition, a great part of which is ready for cutting.
>
> There is on the premises a very good dwelling-house, with convenient offices of all kinds, a well-stocked pigeon-house, a good garden laid out with taste, and well supplied with fruit-trees of the best sorts. There is also upon the lands of Little Fordel a good steading for the accommodation of a tenant. The burn of Braid runs through the garden and part of the grounds, at the side of which there is a convenient washing-house and green. The situation of the house, and of the policy, is very pleasant and romantic.

James and Beatrix Allen had three sons, of whom, John, born on 3 February 1771 and baptised on 5 February, was the oldest.[8] The births of his brothers, Robert Eveleigh 1773, and Andrew Simpson 1776, are recorded under

Colinton parish but no further mention has been found of them. After the loss of Redford, the widowed Beatrix Allen moved to a house called Linthill in the village of Colinton (Murray 1863: 94). When she later married Robert Cleghorn, her son John was part of their household at Saughton Mills farm.

John Allen had a great love of learning and a fine intellect (Courtney 2004). He began medical studies at Edinburgh University in 1786 and received his MD in 1791, and he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1799.[9] Later in life he was engaged mainly in historical and political studies. He left Scotland in 1802 and became secretary to Henry Vassall-Fox, 3rd Baron Holland (1773–1840), and was one of the Holland House set which was at the core of Whig politics. He published two books: *Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England* in 1830 and *Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland* in 1833. He became Master of God's Gift College Surrey in 1820 and died on 10 April 1843 at Lady Holland's home at 33 South Street, Grosvenor Square.

Lord Byron called Allen 'the best informed and one of the ablest' men that he knew (Lansdown 2015: 156), and he also commented memorably on the letters from Burns to Cleghorn that Allen showed to him (see below). As a young man, Allen held revolutionary convictions. He was one of a party who celebrated Bastille Day in Edinburgh and was in some danger from the government (Craig 1849: xii–xvi). His lifelong friend, John Thomson, Professor of Military Surgery at Edinburgh, referred to this situation and also spoke warmly of Robert Cleghorn's hospitality when he recalled that Allen avoided notice on one occasion by saying that 'he was to dine that day at Stenhouse Mills, the house of Mr Allen's stepfather, where all Mr Allen's friends at that time experienced the comforts of a kind home' (Thomson, Thomson and Craigie 1832–59: 1, 31).

Allen bequeathed to Thomson his family keepsakes consisting of 'the portrait of my mother which hangs in my bedroom at Holland House and also a small miniature of my father a mourning ring for my uncle who died in 1760 and a small locket containing some of the late M^{r} Cleghorns hair'.[10] Nothing is known of the later history of these mementos.

The Cleghorns at Saughton Mills

Robert Cleghorn, unlike Robert Wight, was not brought up on a farm but started out life in the city. On 21 September 1786, 'Robert Cleghorn, farmer at Saughton', was made a burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh in right of his father, James Cleghorn, who was a brewer at Gairnshall, which was located in or near Buccleuch Street (Watson 1933: 35). Robert's mother was Jane, or Jean, Gelletry, or Gellately. The couple had eleven children whose births are listed in the records of St Cuthbert's parish: William 1747, Robert 1748, Allison 1750, James 1751, Jane 1752, Helen 1754, David (who is female despite the male name) 1755, Clementina 1756, Mary 1758, Christian 1759 and James 1761. The entry for Robert's birth under December 1748 runs: 'James Cleghorn Brewar at Gairnshall & his spouse Jane Gelletry a Son Robert born 5th inst Witt: William Gelletry

& John Moir Merchants in Edinburgh'.[11]

The death records of three of Robert's sisters, Allison in 1817, Clementina in 1824 and Jane in 1834, name the place of death as Buccleuch Street and, in the case of Jane, the address is given specifically as 60 Buccleuch Street.[12] This is the postal address for Miss Cleghorn in the *Edinburgh Directory* from 1812–13 onwards but prior to this, from 1784–5, the address appears as 'opposite Archers' hall' (the hall being located at 66 Buccleuch Street) and Burns's letter to Cleghorn dated 31 March 1788 was addressed care of Miss Cleghorn 'opposite Archer's-hall' (Roy 1985: 1; 269). It seems likely that the sisters shared a home here at the time of Burns's residence in Edinburgh. Burns sent his compliments to 'the Miss Cleghorns' in his letter of 29 August 1790 (Roy 1985: 2; 48). Not all of Robert's siblings have been found in the records apart from their birth notices but we learn that his sister David married William Dick, merchant, in 1778,[13] and that Christian died in 1784 before Burns met the family.[14] William became a merchant at Fig Tree Court, Inner Temple, City of London, and provided an annuity for his sister Janet (that is, the Jane mentioned above) on his death in 1827.[15]

A family-history listing called 'The Cleghorn Saga' gives the date of the marriage of Robert Cleghorn and Beatrix Wight as c. 1783 and that of the birth of their daughter Elizabeth as 1784.[16] Precise dates are not known since regular marriage and birth records are not available for Corstorphine parish for this period.[17] However, there is a precise date for the birth of the Cleghorns' son, James, since it appears in a list of irregular birth entries which does survive. The entry runs: 'James son of M^{r} Robert Cleghorn Farmer in Saughten Mills and his spouse B— Wight was born 14th Sept^{r} 1787 – Witnesses of his baptism Messr^{s} Robert Wight Kings Knows and David Wight Chemist Collington.'[18] It seems to have been this entry that led Charles Rogers to make the unwarranted assumption that the Cleghorns were Episcopalian.[19] Clearly, they were Presbyterian as the many records noted here demonstrate. Possibly James's baptism was performed by the minister of Colinton where the witnesses resided rather than by his own parish minister and was reckoned irregular on that account.

Burns was acquainted not just with Robert Cleghorn but with the Cleghorn family as a whole and his letters sometimes contain greetings to family members. Of course, one point of contact between Burns and Cleghorn was their shared concern with farming and Burns would have been able to look over Saughton Mills farm and observe Cleghorn's practice. Cleghorn opens his first letter dated 27 April 1788 (Currie 1800: 2; 144–6): 'My dear brother farmer' and he offers to pass on to him the fruits of his experience, saying: 'Any skill I have in country business you may truly command. Situation, soil, customs of countries may vary from each other, but *Farmer Attention* is a good farmer in every place.'

After Burns was settled at Ellisland, he wrote to Cleghorn in January 1789 (Roy 1985: 1; 361–2) saying 'My farming scheme too, particularly one, the management of one inclosure of Holming land, is to be decided by your superior judgement.' and Cleghorn gave him practical assistance by

sending him '2 Bolls of seed Tares' on 11 March (Roy 1985: 2; 406). As regards politics, Cleghorn was apparently in sympathy with Burns's views, as is suggested by his reference to Burns's anonymously published song 'A Man's a Man for A' That' in the broken fragment of the letter he sent to Burns on 9 October 1795: 'Dined with a party where they sung wi … –quests leave to send "a' that & a' that".'[20]

Cleghorn became ill in the spring of 1796, and Burns wrote to George Thomson in April (Roy 1985: 2, 37) saying: 'Poor Cleghorn! I sincerely sympathise with him! Happy I am to think that he yet has a well-grounded hope of health & enjoyment in this world. As for me – but that is a damning subject!' Burns again expressed his concern in a letter to Thomson in May (Roy 1985: 2; 380) where he says: 'Do, let me know how Cleghorn is, & remember me to him.' Cleghorn was evidently already gravely ill and he died on 11 November 1796 as noted in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 18 November. The burial of 'Robert Cleghorn in Stenhouse' was recorded on 15 November under Colinton parish.[21]

Cleghorn had outlived Burns by less than four months. One of his last acts was donating to the fund being raised on behalf of Burns's family. The subscription list published in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* on 23 August records donations of two guineas each from Robert Cleghorn, John Allan and Robert Wight and of a guinea from Mrs Cleghorn.

After Cleghorn's death, the farm was re-let from November 1797, and the tenant who entered then was William Stevenson who later edited the *Scots Magazine*. The advertisement in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 18 February 1797 gives a good impression of the property as it was during Cleghorn's lifetime:

> FARMS IN THE COUNTY OF MID-LOTHIAN
>
> To be let,
> For 19 Years, and entered to at
> Martinmas 1797,
>
> THE FARMS OF SAUGHTON MILLS and PARKHEAD, the property of Charles Watson, Esq,[22] in the barony of Saughton and shire of Edinburgh. These Farms are situated on the Glasgow road, by Livingston, about three miles to the west of Edinburgh, and contain above 144 Scots acres, of which about eight are in pasture and the rest arable.
>
> The lands are in excellent condition, and are inclosed with hedge and ditch, and properly subdivided. There is a large and excellent House, with a suitable Garden on the farm of Saughton Mills, together with proper barns, stables, threshing machines, &c.
>
> The Lands will be shown on applying to the house at Saughton Mills; and proposals in writing for the farms may be addressed to Mrs Cleghorn at Saughton Mills, or to Mr Inglis, writer to the signet, any time between and the 1st of April.

Stevenson did not stay long in the farm, and it is interesting to find that, when it was re-advertised to let in the *Caledonian Mercury* on 12 July 1800, proposals could still be sent to Mrs Cleghorn, whose address was now Surgeon's Square where she appears in the *Edinburgh Directory* from 1800–1 to 1805–6.

The Cleghorns' daughter Elizabeth died on

24 July 1804.[23] Beatrix had become a friend of William Stevenson's wife Elizabeth and when Mrs Stevenson, now living in Chelsea, had a daughter on 29 September 1810, the Stevensons commemorated Elizabeth by giving the name of 'Elizabeth Cleghorn' to their baby girl who grew up to become famous as the novelist Mrs Gaskell.[24] Since Elizabeth's place of death is given as Kinleith in Currie parish, a little over a mile from Colinton village, Mrs Cleghorn was perhaps living there also with or near her son James, who had the Kinleith connection noted below. She died on 8 January 1823 and the death notice runs: 'At Edinburgh, Mrs Cleghorn, Collington'.[25]

James married Clementina Moir 'daughter of the late William Moir Physician at Bombay, resident in Meadow place' on 20 July 1812.[26] The births of their first five children were registered in the parish of Colinton: Clementina 1813, Robert 1815, William 1816, Elizabeth 1818 and Allen 1819, and the births of the next three in the parish of Lasswade: James 1821, Beatrix 1823 and Jane Gellatly 1825. The births of two further daughters were registered in the parish of St Cuthbert's: Alison 1828 and Janet 1830. Not found registered in Scotland are a son, Andrew, born in 1832 (Gilbert 1991), and a daughter, Margaret, who is listed after Alison and Janet in John Allen's will.[27]

James was a farmer and cattle-dealer at Pentland Damhead in Colinton parish and also a paper-maker at Kinleith Paper Mill but was declared bankrupt in 1827.[28] In the *Caledonian Mercury* of 5 May 1827, the farm of Pentland Damhead 'at present possessed by Mr James Cleghorn' was advertised to be let, and the family moved to Edinburgh where James appears in the *Directory* at 17 Archibald Place in 1827–30 and at 4 Gardner's Crescent in 1830–1. At some point that was after the birth of Janet in May 1830 and was probably before the birth of Andrew in 1832, the Cleghorns emigrated to Canada and Allen, in his will signed on 29 October 1842, was able to make a bequest to 'the family of my half-brother the late James Cleghorn now established at La Praerie near Montreal'.[29] James's widow, Clementina, died at St Phillippe, district of Montreal, Quebec, on 26 February 1873, and a document relating to her estate was signed in the following year by her sons Allen and James residing at Brantford, Ontario, and Andrew residing at London, Ontario, all merchants.[30]

THE MUSICAL MILIEU

Burns was in contact with Cleghorn through the Crochallan Fencibles which met for convivial purposes in Anchor's Close, off the High Street. After he left Edinburgh, he depended on the continuing association with the three friends in the club that he names in a letter to Peter Hill of February 1794 (Roy 1985: 2; 278) – William Dunbar, Robert Cleghorn and Alexander Cunningham.

> If you meet with my much-valued old friend, Colon[l] Dunbar of the Crochallan Fencibles, remember me most affection[ately] to him. – Alas! Not infrequently, when my heart is in a wand[e]ring humor, I live past scenes over again – to my mind's eye, you, Dunbar, Cleghorn, Cunningham, &c – present their friendly phiz; my bosom achs with tender recollections!

In this letter to Hill, he includes Hill among the friends he recollects, but it was the other three that he was particularly close to as he indicates in his letter to Cunningham of 4 May 1789:

> Cleghorn is a glorious production of the Author of Man. – You, He, & the noble Colonel of the Crochallan Fencibles are to me
> Dear as the ruddy drops that warm my heart –
> I have a good mind to make verses on you all, to the tune of, Three guid fellows ayont yon glen. –[31]

Burns liked to commemorate his friends in verse but unfortunately his intention of mentioning Cleghorn in this projected song was not carried out. He did compose a song to this tune that refers to his three close companions in the Crochallan Fencibles, but it was a brief and unfinished piece that named only 'Willie' (William Dunbar). The song as it appears in Burns's hand is given below.[32] The line of crosses is an indication that it is incomplete.

There's three gude fellows ayont yon glen

Chorus

There's three true gude fellows,
There's three true gude fellows,
There's three true gude fellows
Down ayont yon glen.

Its now the day is dawin,
But or night tofa'in,
Whase cock's best at crawin,
Willie, thou sall ken. –

There's three &c.

\+ + + + + + +

See this tune in M^{c}gibbon

The tune Burns mentions, 'There's three gude fellows ayont yon glen', appears in McGibbon's *Second Collection of Scots Tunes* (McGibbon 1746: 50). Burns and Cleghorn were both immersed in a song culture where reference to tunes could be made by names which were often the titles of associated songs. Burns sent the following songs to Cleghorn, and he indicated that they were all composed to named tunes.[33]

1 'Bonie Dundee' to the tune of the same name;

2 'Song' beginning 'The small birds rejoice' to 'Captain O'Kane';

3 'Three wives' to something like 'Tak your auld cloak about ye';

4 'When Princes and Prelates' to 'The Campbells are comin'';

5 'Come cowe me, Minnie' to 'Minnie's ay glowerin o'er me';

6 'Act Sederunt' to 'O'er the muir amang the heather';

7 'Wat ye wha that loves me' to 'Morag'.

The last tune, 'Morag', was published with Burns's song 'The young Highland Rover' in *The Scots Musical Museum* in 1788 and had been supplied by Burns.[34] The other tunes appear in a number of instrumental collections including those of Oswald, McGibbon, Bremner and McGlashan.[35]

The songs of his that Burns sent to Cleghorn fall into two categories. Three were intended for open publication, with 'Bonie Dundee' appearing in *The Scots Musical Museum* 1787, no. 99 (Pittock 2018: 2; 146), and 'The small birds rejoice', and 'Wat ye wha that loves me' in Thomson's *Select*

Collection, 1799 (McCue 2021: 130-31; ST71: 80-1; ST44). The others are bawdy items intended for the Crochallan Fencibles, and all but one of them were published in *The Merry Muses of Caledonia.*[36] It was partly the bawdy element in the songs in Burns's letters to Cleghorn that inspired Byron's much-quoted general observation on Burns:

> Allen … has lent me a quantity of Burns's unpublished and never-to-be-published Letters. They are full of oaths and obscene songs. What an antithetical mind – tenderness, roughness – delicacy, coarseness – sentiment, sensuality – soaring and grovelling, dirt and deity – all mixed up in that one compound of inspired clay.[37]

The first two songs included in Burns's letters are of particular interest since Burns was in the process of composition while he was corresponding with Cleghorn. In the case of 'Bonie Dundee', Burns had a traditional song as his starting point while in the second case he related to tradition through a tune, 'Captain O'Kane'.

'Bonie Dundee', Burns's revision of the folksong, was published in *The Scots Musical Museum* to the folksong tune that he knew as no. 99. Burns composed it at a turning-point in his career when his association with this publication had just been established (Pittock 2018: 2; 15), and it is one of the few songs of his to be included in the first volume, the preface to which is dated 27 May 1787. Burns's other songs in this volume are 'Green grows the Rashes' (no. 77) and 'Young Peggy' (no. 78b), both of which had been composed earlier, and the words of 'Loch Eroch Side' (no. 78a) may also be his.[38]

As regards Burns's traditional source of 'Bonie Dundee', Robert Chambers in his *Songs of Scotland Prior to Burns* speaks of it as 'a simple ditty which still retains a certain degree of popularity in Scotland' (Chambers 1862: 133). He prints its opening eight lines which are shown in Figure 1 with the tune published in *The Scots Musical Museum* (to which minor modifications have been made here in order to accommodate the words) to give an approximation of the song Burns had as his base.

It was this tune that Walter Scott had running in his head when he composed his own 'Bonnie Dundee' beginning 'To the Lords of Convention, twas Claver'se who spoke' in 1825 and he mentions that it was the tune of 'a common song' from which he quotes the lines:

> Oh where gat ye that haver-meal Bannock
> Ye silly blind body and dinna ye see
> I gat it out of the Scots laddie's wallet
> Atween Saint Johnstoun and bonnie Dundee.[39]

The first three of these lines are also found much earlier at the opening of Thomas D'Urfey's broadside ballad 'Bonny Dundee, or, Jockey's Deliverence' of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century which was also sung to this 'Bonnie Dundee' tune:

> Where got'st thou the Haver-mill Bonack,
> blind booby canst thou not see,
> Ise got it out of the Scotchman's wallet, …[40]

In all these versions, the woman is visibly pregnant with the 'bannock' and has not yet given birth. Burns made a radical change when he revised the last two lines of the stanza equivalent to that quoted by Chambers to include mention

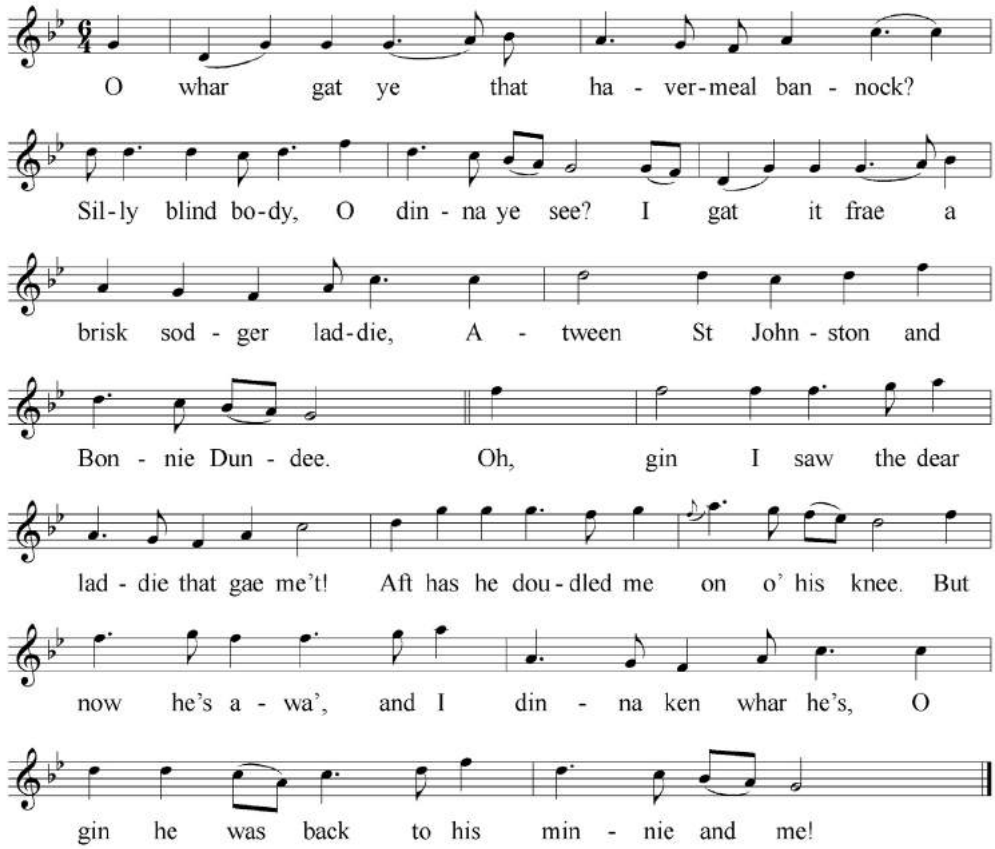


Figure 1: 'Bonie Dundee'. (Source: Katherine Campbell).

of the baby, thus creating a contradiction with the traditional opening line which he retained. He had already made the change when he jotted down his opening stanza on a blank page in a letter from the Earl of Buchan dated 1 February 1787.[41] The stanza is untitled and runs:

> Whare gat ye that happer meal bannock
> O silly blind body O do ye na see
> I gat it frae a Sodger laddie
> Between S^t^ Johnston's & bony Dundee
> O gin I saw the laddie that gie me't
> Aft has he doodl'd me on his knee
> May Heav'n protect my bony Scotch laddie
> And send him safe back to his babie and me

The word 'protect' has been altered from 'preserve'.

It was at this stage, probably about March 1787, that Burns wrote to Cleghorn the undated letter given below. It seems, from Burns's remarks in it, that Cleghorn already knew this much of Burns's song and perhaps also knew that Burns had aimed to develop it.

> Bony Dundee
>
> "O whare gat ye that hauver-meal bannock?"
> O silly blind body, O dinna ye see;
> I gat it frae a Sodger laddie
> Between Saint Johnston's and bony Dundee;
> O gin I saw the laddie that gae me't!
> Aft has he doodl'd me on his knee;

May Heav'n preserve my bony Scotch laddie,
And send him safe hame to his babie an' me!

My blessins on thy sweet, wee lips!
My blessins on thy bony e'e-brie!
Thou smiles sae like my Sodger laddie,
Thou's dearer, dearer ay to me!
But I'll big a bow'r on yon bony banks
Whare Tay rins wimplan by sae clear,
An' I'll cleed thee in the tartan fine,
An' mak thee a man like thy Dadie dear.

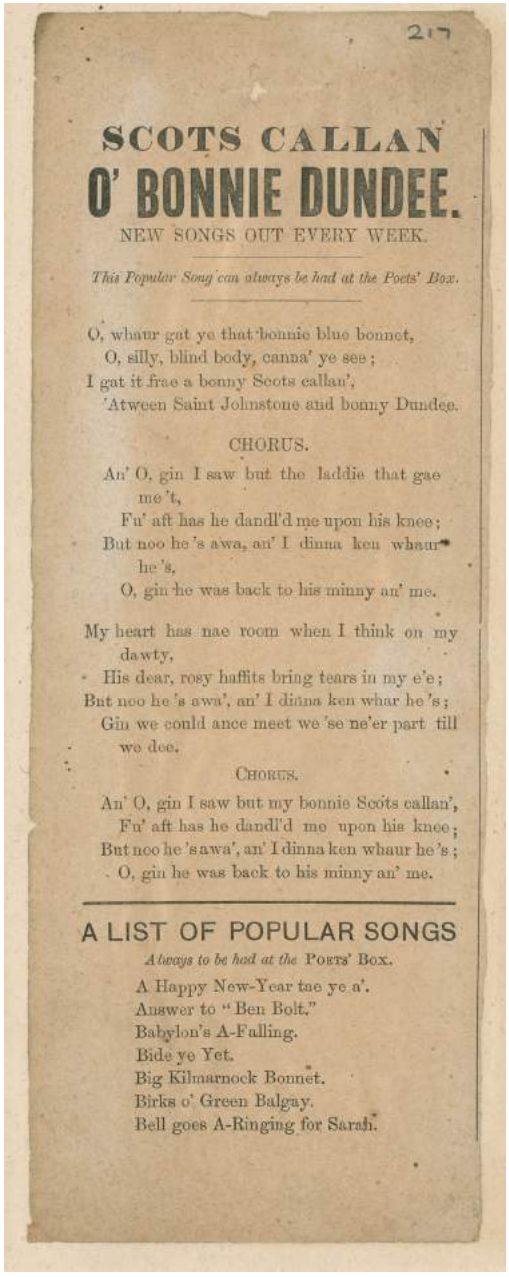
D[r] Cleghorn,
you will see by the above that I have added a Stanza to bony Dundee. – If you think it will do, you may set it a going
"Upon a ten-string Instrument"
"And on the Psaltery" –
R. B.[42]

As can be seen, Burns used the traditional base extensively for his first stanza but the possible relationship of his second stanza to the traditional song has still to be explored. Since Chambers calls the words he gives the beginning of the song, he evidently knew that there was more of it than he prints. A starting point in discovering the rest of the song is provided by a footnote in Chambers where he quotes two eight-line stanzas (printed in quatrains) beginning 'O whar got ye that auld crooked penny?' from *Notes and Queries*. It appeared in the issue for 20 August 1859 where a correspondent signed 'Yemen' and writing from Arabia asked for information about it. This elicited a response when it was republished in the (Glasgow) *Morning Journal* and the *Notes and Queries* issue for 24 September reprinted the response dated 9 September 1859 which had been communicated to the *Morning Journal* by David McQuater Inglis, the minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Stockbridge in Berwickshire. Inglis wrote:

> I am not aware that the ballad has found a place in any published collection; but I heard it sung in Glasgow more than sixty years ago. I was then a mere child, and I have not heard it since – yet it is fresh in my memory; and I recollect an additional stanza with which the song commenced. It was:–
>
> 'O! whar got ye that bonnie blue bonnet? –
> Silly, blind body, canna ye see?
> I got it frae a braw Scotch callan,
> Between St. Johnstone and bonnie Dundee.
>
> O! gin I saw the dear laddie that gied me't;
> Fu aft has he dandled me on o' his knee:
> But noo he's awa, and I dinna ken whar he's –
> O! gin he were back to his minnie and me!'

Inglis's dating of when he heard the song takes it back to the end of the eighteenth century. As he indicated, he acquired the song when he was a young boy, and he was born in Paisley on 23 December 1790.[43] In Inglis's recollection, the stanza he gave was succeeded by the stanzas of 'O whar got ye that auld crooked penny?', but it does not occur in other versions of this song, which is called 'The Crookit Bawbee',[44] and it belongs instead to the song entitled 'Scots Callan o' Bonnie Dundee' found on a broadside dated c. 1880–1900.[45] Apart from small differences, Inglis's words are the same as those on the broadside, as can be seen in Figure 2.

Clearly the opening of this song with its mention of the gift of a 'bonnie blue bonnet' has been modified to remove the metaphorical reference to the young woman's pregnancy found in the



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SCOTS CALLAN
O' BONNIE DUNDEE.

NEW SONGS OUT EVERY WEEK.

This Popular Song can always be had at the Poets' Box.

O, whaur gat ye that bonnie blue bonnet,
O, silly, blind body, canna' ye see;
I gat it frae a bonny Scots callan',
'Atween Saint Johnstone and bonny Dundee.

CHORUS.

An' O, gin I saw but the laddie that gae me 't,
Fu' aft has he dandl'd me upon his knee;
But noo he 's awa, an' I dinna ken whaur he 's,
O, gin he was back to his minny an' me.

My heart has nae room when I think on my dawty,
His dear, rosy haffits bring tears in my e'e;
But noo he 's awa', an' I dinna ken whar he 's;
Gin we could ance meet we 'se ne'er part till we dee.

CHORUS.

An' O, gin I saw but my bonnie Scots callan',
Fu' aft has he dandl'd me upon his knee;
But noo he 's awa', an' I dinna ken whaur he 's;
O, gin he was back to his minny an' me.

A LIST OF POPULAR SONGS

Always to be had at the POETS' BOX.

A Happy New-Year tae ye a'.
Answer to "Ben Bolt."
Babylon's A-Falling.
Bide ye Yet.
Big Kilmarnock Bonnet.
Birks o' Green Balgay.
Bell goes A-Ringing for Sarah.

Figure 2: 'Scots Callan o' Bonnie Dundee'. (Source: NLS broadside L.C.Fol.70[119b]).

'havermeal bannock' form. Apart from that change, however, it seems likely that the broadside gives the pattern and words of the song much as Burns knew it. As can be seen strongly indicated on the broadside, the song consists of two four-line verses plus a chorus which has slightly different wording in its first line when it is repeated. The second of the broadside verses beginning 'My heart has nae room' which was not quoted by Inglis occurs in a hybrid song called 'Bonnie Dundee' published in 1843 which incorporates Burns's lines (Whitelaw 1843: 574–5).

The first verse and the chorus were taken over by Burns with the main change in the last two lines already noted of the baby's having been born. Burns was probably motivated by a sense that the mention of the mother was inappropriate to a romantic song. It could be thought that the young man's return to his mother and his sweetheart was a homely touch giving a sense of neighbourhood, but it is certainly surprising to have the mother named in this context. The change is sharply marked by the replacement at the end of the chorus lines of 'his minnie and me' by 'his babie an me'. Another change made by Burns is the introduction of religious language, when the girl calls on Heaven to protect her laddie and this use of religious language is continued into the second verse where the girl calls down blessings on her son.

In the second verse of the broadside song, the girl expresses deep affection for the love-object (the young man) and is particularly moved when she sees in imagination a feature of his face (the rosy cheeks), and she ends by looking to a hoped-for future when they will be together until death.

My heart has nae room when I think on my dawty,
His dear, rosy haffits bring tears to my e'e;
But noo he's awa', an I dinna ken whar he's;

> Gin we could ance meet we'se ne'er part till we dee.

Similarly, in the Burns song the girl expresses deep affection for the love-object (the baby) and especially calls down blessings on two features of his face (the smiling lips and an eye-brow).

> My blessins on thy sweet, wee lips!
> My blessins on thy bony e'e-brie!
> Thou smiles sae like my Sodger laddie,
> Thou's dearer, dearer ay to me!

Since Burns apparently decided not to have a chorus, he has four lines to add unsupported by his source except that the idea of a future together, as in the traditional song, is expressed in his idyllic closing lines.

When Burns invited Cleghorn to try out the song that he had just completed, he employed a slightly modified quotation from Psalm 92 verse 3 in which the Psalmist praises the Lord:

> On a ten-stringed instrument,
> upon the psaltery,
> And on the harp with solemn sound,
> and grave sweet melody.

Burns elsewhere equates the harp of the Old Testament with the fiddle[46] and it seems quite likely that he is alluding here to Cleghorn's accompanying himself on the contemporary many-stringed instrument, the harpsichord. There is no indication that a harpsichord was available in the tavern where the Crochallan Fencibles met and probably we should see Cleghorn as performing on it in his domestic setting. When Cleghorn paid the visit to Dumfries mentioned at the beginning of this article, Burns gave him a copy of Stephen Clarke's *Two sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord* and inscribed it 'To Miss Cleghorn the daughter of the friend of Rob^{t} Burns. Dumfries August 12th 1795' (NLS L.C.Fol. 171). By this date, Elizabeth was aged about eleven and Burns evidently thought that she would have an interest in the sonatas and would one day be able to play them.

In the case of the next song sent to Cleghorn, Burns is again in the situation of having a single stanza in hand, and this time Cleghorn had an active involvement in the creation of a second stanza. Burns discussed the stanza he had just composed in a letter written at Mauchline on 31 March 1788:

> Yesterday, my dear Sir, as I was riding thro' a parcel of damn'd melancholy, joyless muirs, between Galloway and Ayrshire, it being Sunday, I turned my thoughts to "Psalms, and hymns, and spiritual Songs;" and your favourite air, Captn Okean, coming in my head, I tried these words to it. – You will see that the first part of the tune must be repeated –
>
> Song – tune – Captn Okean –
>
> [Eight lines of verse are omitted here and are given with the tune in Figure 3.]
>
> I am tolerably pleased with these verses, but as I have only a sketch of the tune, I leave it with you to try if they suit the measure of the music. –[47]

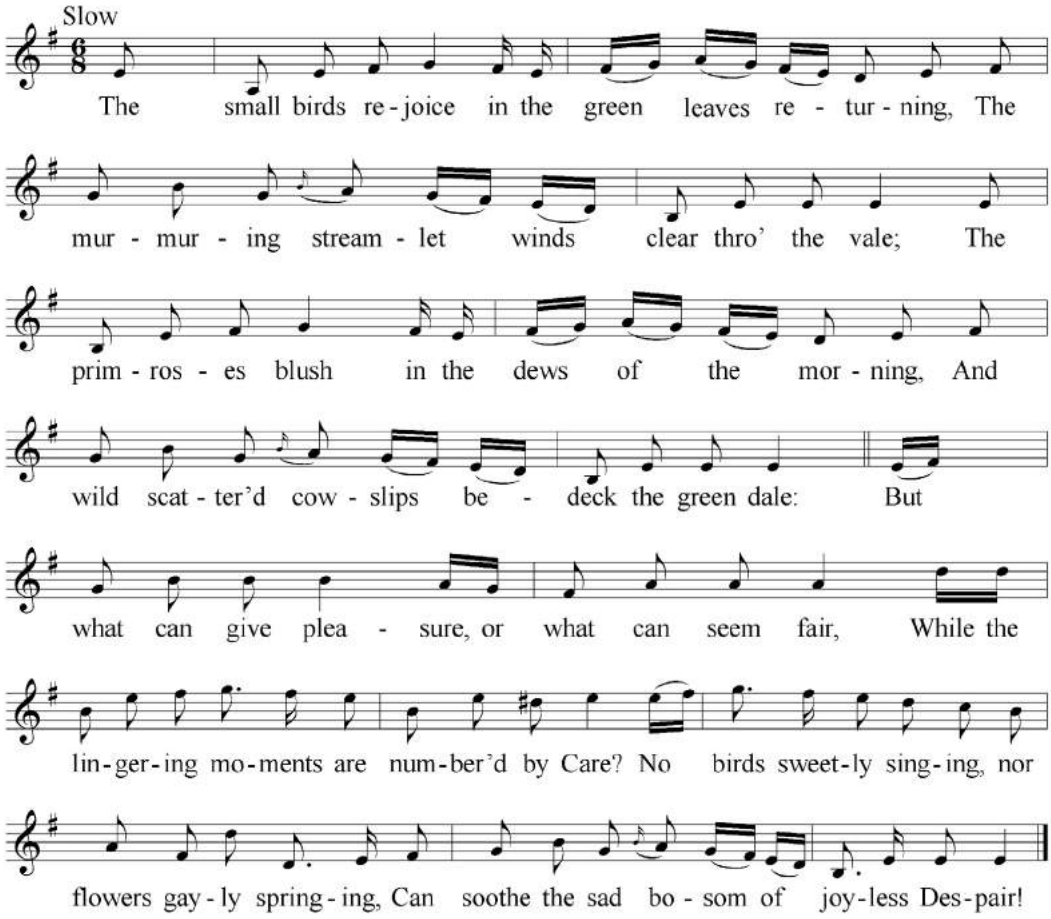

Figure 3: 'Captain O'Kane'. (Source: Katherine Campbell).

Burns defers to Cleghorn in speaking of the music and Cleghorn in his reply of 27 April (Currie 1800: 2, 144) confirms the matching of words to tune, saying:

> I was favored with your very kind letter of the 31st ult. and consider myself greatly obliged to you, for your attention in sending me the song to my favorite air, *Captain Okean*. The words delight me much, they fit the tune to a hair.

Burns's verse as sent to Cleghorn is given in Figure 3 with the tune that was published in *The Scots Musical Museum* in 1803 with the words of an elegy for 'Captain O'Kaine' called 'Row saftly, thou stream' that was composed to this air by Richard Gall (1776–1801).[48] Minor modifications have been made to the melody to fit the words.

The air 'Captain O'Kane' was one of the many compositions of the famous Irish blind harper, Turlough O'Carolan (O'Sullivan 2001: 173). Both Burns and Cleghorn speak of the tune as Cleghorn's favourite air, and, according to Mrs Burns, it was also a favourite with Burns. In notes

she made for John M'Diarmid, she refers to it by its later name, 'The Chevalier's Lament', and says: 'Burns was remarkably fond of the air of the "Chevalier's Lament," "The Sutor's Daughter," "Coolen" (an Irish air), &c., &c.'.[49]

Cleghorn goes on in his letter of 27 April to suggest how Burns might develop the song, saying (Currie 1800: 2; 144-45):

> I wish you would send me a verse or two more; and if you have no objection, I would have it in the Jacobite stile. Suppose it should be sung after the fatal field of Culloden by the unfortunate Charles. Tenducci personates the lovely Mary Stewart in the song *Queen Mary's Lamentation*. Why may not I sing in the person of her great-great-great grandson.

Burns did follow up on this suggestion and the version of the song he wrote out in his 'Second Commonplace Book' included a second verse where Prince Charles mourns the plight of his followers (Leask 2014: 98–9). The second verse is given here from the broadside copy recently acquired by the National Library of Scotland, which is headed 'THE CHEVALIER'S LAMENT, / After the battle of Culloden':

> The deed that I dar'd, could it merit their malice,
> A king and a father to place on his throne!
> His right are these hills, and his right are these vallies,
> Where the wild beasts find shelter, but I can find none.
> But 'tis not my suff'rings, thus wretched, forlorn,
> My brave gallant friends, 'tis your ruin I mourn;
> Your faith prov'd so loyal in hot bloody trial,
> Alas! can I make it no better return.[50]

Cleghorn inspired the composition of this second stanza, and his comment on Prince Charles in relation to Mary Queen of Scots may also have been one of the influences that led Burns to compose his own 'Mary Queen of Scots Lament' beginning 'Now nature hangs her mantle green' which was completed in June 1790.[51] The seasonal placement of Mary's sorrow in the spring with its associated greenery, flowers and birdsong makes the opening of this song a parallel to the first stanza of 'The Chevalier's Lament'. The contrast between the joyous season of spring and the queen's sorrow is not made in Anne Hunter's 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' beginning 'I sigh and lament me in vain' that Cleghorn alluded to as one of the songs with which the castrato singer

Figure 4: Title page of the score of 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' published by J. Preston, 1782. (Source: NLS Mus.E.I.273[15]).

Giusto Fernando Tenducci moved his audience.

Anne Hunter (née Home) composed these words to a pre-existing tune as she records in a manuscript list of her poems and songs: 'The Ballad of Queen Mary's Lamentation written for and adapted to a very ancient Scottish Air; Verses by Mary Queen of Scots composed during her confinement in Fotheringay Castle'.[52] When the words of Hunter's song were published anonymously with music in 1782 the probability is that the air was the one to which she had composed the song. The instrumental parts were the work of Giuseppe or Tommaso Giordani (see Figure 4).[53]

The name of Tenducci as the singer was associated with this song in the London context as the publication shows by its references to his performances at the Pantheon and in a concert organized by Carl Friedrich Abel. In the Edinburgh context, the plan books of the Edinburgh Musical Society record a performance of 'I sigh and lament me' in Saint Cecilia's Hall on 9 May 1783 and, although the performer is not named, it is likely that it was Tenducci.[54]

George Thomson, in his memoir of the St Cecilia's Hall concerts, names several singers but Tenducci is the only one he treats at length saying:

> Tenducci, though not one of the band, nor resident among us, made his appearance occasionally when he came to visit the Hopetoun family, his liberal and steady patrons; and while he remained, he generally gave some concerts at the hall, which made quite a sensation among the musicals. I considered it a jubilee year whenever Tenducci arrived, as no singer I ever heard sung with more expressive simplicity, or was more efficient, whether he sung the classical songs of Metestasio, or those of Arne's Artaxerxes, or the simple melodies of Scotland. To the latter he gave such intensity of interest by his impassioned manner, and by his clear enunciation of the words, as equally surprised and delighted us. I never can forget the pathos and touching effect of his 'Gilderoy,' 'Lochaber no more,' 'The Braes of Ballenden,' 'I'll never leave thee,' 'Roslin Castle,' &c. These, with the 'Verdi prati' of Handel, 'Fair Aurora' from Arne's Artaxerxes, and Gluck's 'Che faro,' were above all praise.[55]

In his discussion of the 'instrumental department' Thomson commends: 'Signor Puppo, from Rome or Naples, as leader and violin concerto player, a most capital artist; Mr Schetky, from Germany, the principal violoncellist, and a fine solo concerto player; Joseph Reinagle, a very clever violoncello and viola player; Mr Barnard, a very elegant violinist; Stephen Clarke, an excellent organist and harpsichord player'. Three of these instrumentalists accompanied Tenducci's singing when he performed during a celebration at Hopetoun House, the palatial home near South Queensferry of James Hope-Johnstone, 3rd Earl of Hopetoun, and on this occasion 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' is named as one of the songs Tenducci sang. The following extracts from an account of the celebration are from the *Caledonian Mercury* for Saturday, 24 August 1782.

> Wednesday last, the 21st, being the seventeenth marriage-day of the Earl and Countess of Hopetoun, was celebrated at Hopetoun-house, the seat of the family, with unusual festivity, by a select company of friends, who assembled in honour of the day. …

> [T]he company were delighted by Mr Tenducci's enchanting voice, who sung with heart and soul to render this little *Fête*, truly *Champêtre*, more pleasing; accompanied by those excellent musicians, Mess. Clerk, Rainaigle, and Schetky…
>
> Friday morning, Mr Tenducci favoured them with his celebrated air called the Aurora never sung but at Bach's Concert, for which it was composed by that great Master of Music; Queen Mary's Lamentation, wrote by Whitehead to an original tune of David Rizzio; and Banar's Banks, for which his predeliction is well known.

'Banar's Banks' is evidently a reporting error for 'The Braes of Ballenden' (Pittock 2018: 2, 139) which was one of Tenducci's favourites, and 'Aurora' is the 'Fair Aurora' from Thomas Arne's opera *Artaxerxes* mentioned by Thomson. The words of Hunter's 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' are here being erroneously ascribed to William Whitehead, who was the Poet Laureate. The ascription of the tune to David Rizzio, lutanist at the court of Mary Queen of Scots, is in keeping with a fashion for ascribing anonymous old Scottish tunes to him,[56] and is an indication that the audience would have regarded it as a Scottish air.

The melody line of Tenducci's singing of 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' (not including the instrumental introduction and the instrumental interlude which occurs at the double bar line mid-way through the piece) is shown in Figure 5.

The same air to this song was included in Thomson's *Select Collection of Scottish Songs*, this time with a setting by Haydn.[57] Thomson's whole enterprise of producing this ambitious publication of songs and their settings over many years was inspired, as he says, by hearing Tenducci and Signora Corri 'sing a number of our songs so charmingly'.[58] Thomson must have been one of Cleghorn's circle of acquaintances but there is little information about this. It was Thomson who told Burns about Cleghorn's final illness, as Burns's reply to Thomson shows, but no mention of Cleghorn has survived in the revised version of his letters that Thomson allowed Currie to publish. Burns, writing to Cleghorn on 21 August 1795 (Roy 1985: 2; 366), has the question and comment: 'Did Thomson meet you on Sunday? If so, you would have a world of conversation.' It can be assumed that the conversation would have been about songs.

Vocal music had pride of place in Scotland at this period (Edwards 1999; 2021) and vocal music was accessible to all. This study of a small cross-section of material that relates to Burns's contact with Cleghorn ranges from a memory of a song heard in boyhood, to home performance accompanied by the harpsichord, to singing in the male company of a convivial club, and to peak performances by a professional singer in the concert hall and at the residence of a nobleman. The tunes were available in print and were also internalised, and it was accepted practice for those who knew them to create fresh words for them as Burns, Scott and Hunter did in the instances discussed. Cleghorn did not compose songs himself, so far as is known, but he clearly took pleasure in the song culture that flourished around him and was one of the companions who offered support to Burns in his creative endeavours.

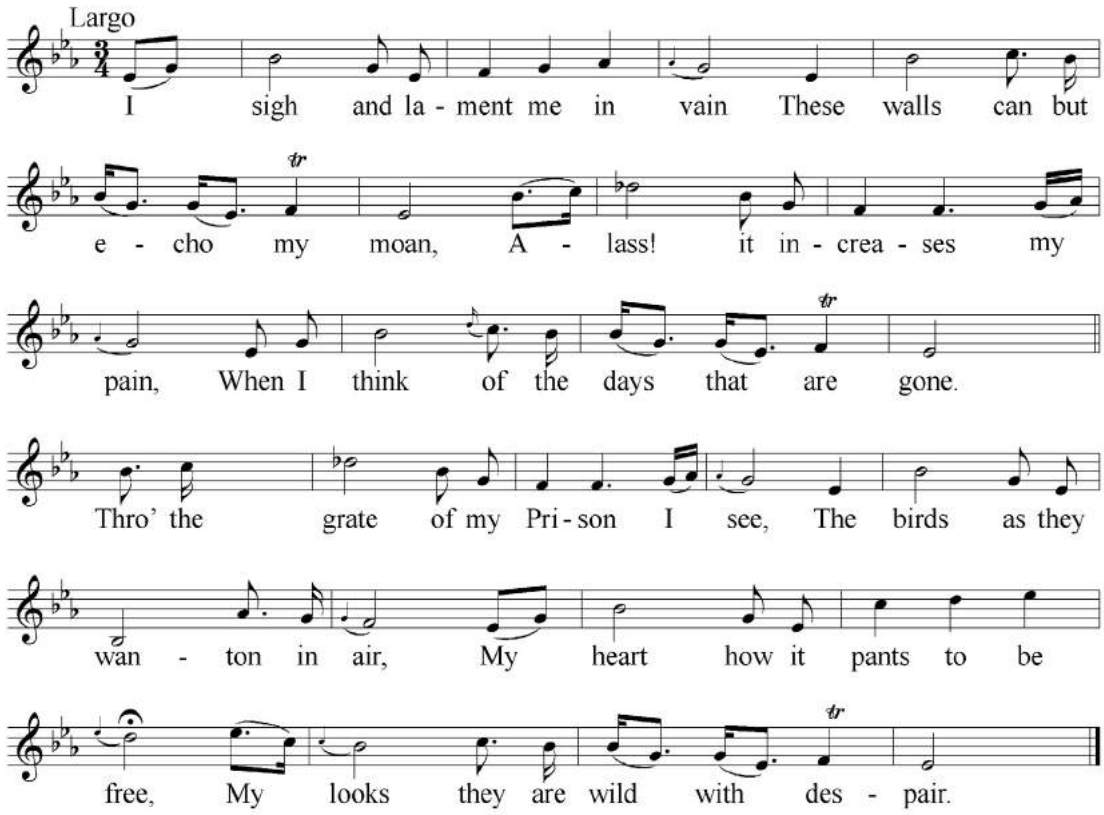

Figure 5: Melody line of 'Queen Mary's Lamentation' as published by J. Preston, 1782. (Source: Katherine Campbell).

Conclusion

The friendship between Burns and Cleghorn was a deep and lasting one which can be understood in a more rounded way when their correspondence is put in the framework of Cleghorn's life and family network as has been done in this article. Cleghorn's role in the Edinburgh scene into which Burns made his meteoric entry after the publication of his *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* in 1786 is a hitherto largely unexplored aspect of that overall context which can now be more fully appreciated.

Acknowledgements

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the Writers' Museum, Edinburgh. Figures 2 and 4 appear by courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland and we are appreciative of the help of the librarians. Lastly, we are grateful to the staff of the Corstorphine Heritage Centre for their help in searching for biographical information on Cleghorn.

Abbreviations

K	Song number in Kinsley 1968
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
OPR	Old Parish Registers

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Endnotes

1 There are eleven known letters from Burns to Cleghorn (see Roy 1985) and James Currie had in his possession six letters from Cleghorn to Burns and published the first of them in Currie 1800: 2, 144–6. The mutilated abstracts of all six are given at Roy 2, 395–435 in Appendix I 'Currie's List of Letters to Burns'.

2 NRS OPR Marriages 677/ 30 109 Colinton.

3 NRS GD1/675/31 'Discharge by Robert Wight, tenant in Kingsknows, executor nominate and general disponee of his deceased father, Robert Wight in Kingsknows, in favour of Robert Pitcairn, planter in Jamaica, 25 May 1809.'

4 NRS OPR Deaths 677/ 60 59 Colinton.

5 British Listed Buildings. Listed Buildings in Colinton/Fairmilehead Ward, City of Edinburgh: 252B Redford House, Redford Road, Edinburgh. https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/scotland/colintonfairmilehead-ward-city-of-edinburgh#.Yi9rqjWnyUk [accessed 14 March 2022].

6 Burial record NRS OPR Deaths 677/ 30 284 Colinton, 11 May 1771. On the bankruptcy of James Allan/Allen, see *Caledonian Mercury* 19 May 1773, 8 January 1774, 25 March 1775 and 15 June 1778.

7 *Caledonian Mercury*, 15 June 1778; Murray 1863: 94.

8 NRS OPR Births 677/ 20 127 Colinton. The surname is spelt 'Allan'.

9 For Allen's admission as a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh on 1 August 1799 (roll number 296), see https://archiveandlibrary.rcsed.ac.uk/surgeons-database [accessed 14 March 2022].

10 Will of John Allen, National Archives PROB 11/1978/333, 4 May 1843.

11 NRS OPR Births 685/ 2 70 216 St Cuthbert's.

12 The death records, which are under Edinburgh parish, are NRS OPR: 685/ 1 99 257 Allison, 1 February 1817; 685/ 1 990 415 Clementina, 22 November 1824; and 685/ 1 1000 533 Jane, 25 December 1834.

13 OPR Marriages 685/ 1 510 107 Edinburgh.

14 OPR Deaths 685/ 1 970 333 Edinburgh.

15 Will of William Cleghorn, National Archives PROB 11/1731/444, 31 October 1827.

16 These dates are according to the Edinburgh Cleghorns section in Gilbert 1991.

17 See https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/Corstorphine,_Midlothian,_Scotland_Genealogy [accessed 14 March 2022].

18 NRS OPR Births 678/ 20 477 Corstorphine. This birth record is included in a seven-page appendix of irregular entries 1787–1812 that comes after December 1815.

19 Rogers 1889–91: 1, 125 and 128 n. 1. The statement that Robert Cleghorn was Episcopalian is repeated at Roy 1985: 2, 446 and Lindsay 2013: 87.

20 Roy 1985: 2, 429. The song was published anonymously in the *Glasgow Magazine* in August 1795; see Kinsley 1968: 2, 762 and Irvine 2013: 369. See also A. Benchimol in Benchimol, Brown and Shuttleton 2015.

21 OPR 677/ 30 297. Stenhouse Mills was an alternative name for Saughton Mills. The entry that appears, under Midlothian, in the *Edinburgh Directory* for 1786–8 runs: 'Rob. Cleghorn Stonehouse mills Corstorphin' and Burns's letter of 31 March 1788 (Roy 1985: 1, 269–70) has Stenhouse-mills in the address.

22 The farm is included in an estate map of 'Saughton the property of Charles Watson Esq[r] Surveyed by John Johnstone 1795' (NRS RHP 11151).

23 Anonymous August 1804: 646: 'At Kenleith, Miss Elizabeth Cleghorn, daughter of Mr Robert Cleghorn of Saughton Mills, deceased.'

24 Wiltshire 2011: 105, letter of 5 July 1866 from Mrs Gaskell's daughter Meta to Charles Eliot Norton. The biographer A. W. Ward was told by daughters of Mrs Gaskell that Mrs Cleghorn was 'a kind Edinburgh lady friend of her parents' (Chapple 1997: 85).

25 Anonymous February 1823: 256.

26 NRS OPR Marriages 685/2 180 381 St Cuthbert's.

27 Will of John Allen; see note 10.

28 Anonymous August 1827: 262, and NRS CS96/695 'James Cleghorn, farmer and cattle dealer, Pentland Damhead, sederunt book, 1827–8.'

29 Will of John Allen; see note 10. There is a mention of James Cleghorn's 'will of 15.01.1836' in Gilbert 1991. The section on Canadian Cleghorns prepared by Gilbert is missing from the typescript.

30 National Archives J 121/2519 Court of Probate, Mrs Clementina Moir Cleghorn, 2 October 1874.

31 Roy 1985: 1 405. The quotation is from stanza 3 of Thomas Gray's 'The Bard'.

32 Robert Burns Birthplace Museum MS 3.6251. The end of the second line in the verse appears in Pittock 2018: 2, 528 as 'to fain' or possibly 'to fa in' and Kinsley, with a view to making sense of this, had emended to 'do fa' in' (Kinsley 1968: 2, 854). However, the characters in Burns's holograph form a single word, 'tofa'in' which, in extended form, is 'tofalling' and this word may be compared with 'to-fall' in the expression 'the to-fall of the night' under *Oxford English Dictionary* 'to-fall', noun 3 (Scottish), of which there is an illustration in William Hamilton's '*Braes of Yarrow*': 'But e're the toofall of the night / He lay a corps on the Braes of Yarrow'. The words 'or night tofa'in' can be glossed 'before nightfall'.

33 1 Roy 1985: 1, 103, K157; 2 Roy 1985: 1, 269, K220; 3 Roy 1985: 2, 113, K338; 4 Roy 1985: 2, 126–7 and 2, 308, K395; 5 Roy 1985: 2, 255, K435; 6 Roy 1985: 2, 255, K436; 7 Roy 1985: 2, 374, K509.

34 Pittock 2018: 2, 202, no. 143. This tune for the song 'Morag' with the first verse beginning *'S tu Mhòrag rinn mo bhuaireadh* ('Morag, you're the one who has haunted me') was taken down on Burns's behalf by the singer Anna Munro Ross following his Highland tour; see Campbell and Lyle 2020: 93–100.

35 Oswald 1745: 29 (3); Oswald 1760: 12 (4); McGibbon 1746: 39 (1); McGibbon 1762: 62–3 (5); Bremner 1757: 77 (6); McGlashan 1786: 36 (2).

36 Burns, R., *Merry Muses* 1799 introduced by G. Ross Roy (1999), 80–2, 121–2, 94. 'Three Wives' was first published in Barke and Smith 1964: 72.

37 Lansdown 2015: 156. The passage is quoted as an epigraph to McIntyre 1995.

38 The four songs and the related notes appear at Pittock 2018: 2, 124–5, 146, and 3, 20–2, 26–7. For Burns's contributions to this volume, see Pittock 2018: 2, 16; the verse of 'Here awa, there awa' (2, 104) mentioned there was not added until the edition of 1803 as noted at Pittock 2018: 3, 15–16.

39 Anderson 1972: 45 and Scott's letter to Mrs Walter Scott of Lochore dated 29 December 1825 in Grierson 1932–7: 9, 356. Scott's song subsequently became popularly sung to the tune known as 'The Band at a Distance' with which it appears in Graham rev. Wood 1887: 372–3.

40 English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) 34062, dated 1683–1716? https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ [accessed 14 March 2022]. See also NLS Crawford.EB.1334 and online.

41 Manuscript in The Writers' Museum, Edinburgh, accession number LSH 696/92. In a letter written to William Tytler in August 1787, Burns noted that 'happer-meal' was an error and should be altered to 'hauver-meal'. See Campbell and Lyle 2020: 71.

42 The song text is in NLS MS 15957, f. 13r, and 'To Mr Cleghorn' is written on the verso which also includes four lines of 'Simmer's a pleasant time' (Pittock 2018: 3, 71). The bottom of the sheet of paper has been torn off but the prose section of the letter that it contained can be seen in the facsimile published in Gebbie and Hunter 1886: 2, 251 from the original that was then in the possession of Mr James Raymond Cleghorn of Philadelphia. The wording 'To Mr. Cleghorn, farmer. God bless the trade!' is given after the signature in Stenhouse 1839: 1, 103 and this could have been written on the verso. The letter as published at Roy 1985: 1, 103 does not include the song.

43 NRS OPR Births 559/ 30 140 Abbey.

44 Roud 2281 'Crookit Bawbee'. In Roud Folk Song Index, Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, https://www.vwml.org/ [accessed 14 March 2022].

45 NLS 'Scots callan o' bonnie Dundee' [Dundee?]: Poet's Box, [1880-1900?], L.C.Fol.70(119b) and online in 'The Word on the Street'.

46 Campbell and Lyle 2020: 49, quoting lines 55–8 of 'The Ordination' (K85).

47 Roy 1985: 269–70. The song text is not included in Roy and is given from Ferguson 1931: 1, 213.

48 For the tune 'Captain O'Kane' and Burns's words to it, see McCue 2021, ST71 'The Small Birds Rejoice'. On 'Row saftly, thou stream', see also Gall 1819: 111–12.

49 M'Diarmid 1867. 'The Sutor's Dochter' is the air to which Burns composed 'Wilt thou be my dearie' (Pittock 2018: 2, 558) and the air 'Coolun' is discussed by McCue with Burns's song ST73 'Now in her green mantle' to which it was matched by Thomson.

50 NLS AP.6.217.01. The broadside is reproduced and discussed online in Betteridge 2017 and Scott 2016.

51 See Pittock 2018: 2, 490 'Now nature hangs her mantle green' and note 3, 151–2. The text was first published in Burns 1793: 2, 177–80 with the title 'Lament of Mary Queen of Scots'.

52 Aberdeen University Library, Special Collections MS 2206/22/11 'Gregory family: notes, lectures and essays: Odes, ballads, songs, sonnets and other poems by Mrs Hunter of Leicester Square, London', *https://www.abdn.ac.uk* › special-collections [accessed 14 March 2022]. See also Hunter 1802: 75–6.

53 NLS Mus.E.I.273(15) *Queen Mary's Lamentation. Sung by Sigr. Tenducci at the Pantheon & Mr Abel's concert &c, the instrumental parts by Sigr. Giordani.* London, J. Preston, 1782. The catalogue entry names Giuseppe or Tommaso Giordani.

54 Macleod 2001: 135 and Edwards 2015: 98. For discussion of Tenducci in the Edinburgh context, see Baxter 1999: 1, 120–39.

55 Chambers 1847: 243–4. The memoir in this edition is signed only with the initials 'G. T.' (p. 245), and Chambers in his 1868 edition (p. 278) expands to: 'G. T., it may now be explained, was George Thomson'.

56 Baxter 1999: 1, 45–8 gives an account of how Scottish traditional songs came to be ascribed to Rizzio.

57 Thomson 1826: 118. See also Grigson 2009.

58 Wilson and Chambers 1840: 1, 39, quoted and discussed in McCue 2021: xxxvi.

The Waterston Manuscripts: The Accumulation of Traditional and Popular Melodies in an Edinburgh Mercantile Family from Enlightenment to Empire. A Preliminary Survey

James Porter

The music manuscripts of the Waterston family of Edinburgh comprise five volumes compiled from c.1715 to c.1850.[1] The present whereabouts of the original manuscripts is unknown. Fortunately the National Library of Scotland, to which the volumes were transferred in 1966 from the National Register of Archives for Scotland—now the National Records of Scotland— made a microfilm of the manuscripts in 1967 (returning them thereafter to the family) and this article outlines the contents of this source as they display the development of a particular Edinburgh family's musical taste over several generations. In this respect the volumes reflect in some detail changing fashions in popular, middle-class 'music for use' from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the first decades of the nineteenth, when antiquarian interest in Britain increased with the accumulation of foreign as well as native airs. While lack of the original manuscripts prevents scrutiny of paper type, watermarks and so on—a distinct handicap to modern methods of research—the contents are of such historical interest that they are worth sustained study. The picture these manuscripts offer is of a wide range of genres, from psalm tunes and folk airs to marches and dance melodies, British and foreign, all spanning a period of roughly a century and a half.

The last that was heard of the material volumes by the family was relatively recently (1980s) when Leonora Waterston, the owner, sold an item of furniture that held the books.[2] Since then, the Manuscripts Division of the National Library has received a deposit of papers relating to the family firm, George Waterston and Sons, Ltd, from Geoffrey S. Waterston (Leonora was a cousin of Geoffrey's father), and these include business records from 1752; this deposit, however,

1 The Waterston volumes' accession number is Acc.4292 [Mf MSS 111]; printed copies of the microfilm are on deposit in the Scottish Music Centre, Glasgow. A Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship generously made possible research for the present essay.

2 Despite efforts I have been unable to trace the precise date of the sale, or to whom the item was sold.

contains no mention of the music manuscripts.[3] Leonora's papers, likewise deposited recently at the Library, have no sign of the original manuscripts.[4] Nevertheless, the significance of these manuscripts, even in a microfilm copy, is undeniable. This essay sets forth a preliminary overview of the volumes in a context of growing awareness of music beyond Europe's borders as a result of imperial and mercantile expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century. Inevitably, 'foreign' (non-British) melodies are represented in the form of standard Western notation, adjusted in this way so as to be comprehensible to European antiquarians and collectors. The accumulation of such data, while limited in terms of understanding, marks a consciousness of musical difference.

The Waterston family

The Waterston family was deeply involved in the commercial life of Edinburgh for over two and a half centuries. In 1752 William Waterston (1729-80), an East Lothian schoolmaster turned merchant took over the business of James Lorimer, a dealer in flambeaux (wax torches) to whom he had been apprenticed, and founded the family firm.[5] Waterston set up a small workshop in Edinburgh making sealing wax and flambeaux, and in the original sales ledger the first sale records flambeaux being sold to the Duke of Hamilton on 6 December 1752. In 1753 William expanded into the production of sealing wax and wafers, and later in the century the firm began the production of ink. Having established a reputation for quality and built a wide customer base all over Scotland, William was awarded a silver medal by the Edinburgh Society in 1756. He soon moved to premises in Dunbar's Close, but these were later demolished to build the Head Office of the Bank of Scotland; the Bank, indeed, remained one of Waterston's oldest customers.[6]

After William's sudden death in 1780 his widow, Catherine Sandeman (1755-1831), his second wife with whom he had three sons, took over the business, opening Waterston's first shop in Edinburgh's Lawnmarket in 1782 where she sold wax, flambeaux, Japan ink, and candles bought in from London.[7] In 1786 Catherine remarried and her husband, Robert Ferrier, joined the business which then traded as Ferrier and Waterston until 1831. In 1788 the family moved to a larger house

3 NLS Acc. 12330: Papers of Robert Waterston concerning the Waterston family and the firm of George Waterston & Sons Ltd. See also NLS Acc.12235: Business records of George Waterston and Sons, Ltd. (Edinburgh), 1768-2002. In addition, the National Register of Archives for Scotland holds papers relating to the Waterston family firm, NRAS2337 (GRH.9 [2337], published in 1981). *A Bi-Centenary History: George Waterston & Sons, Ltd. 1752-1952* was also published earlier, in 1953. Further, see *Two Hundred and Twenty Five Years: A History of George Waterston & Sons Ltd 1751-1979* (Edinburgh, 1977). For a wider British context, see Spicer 1907.

4 Leonora's papers were added to the Waterston Papers (Acc.12330) in 2004.

5 The history of the family business is recounted in Watson 2002.

6 The Bank of Scotland Head Office, now owned by Lloyds Banking Group, was built between 1802 and 1806, with wings added by the architect David Bryce after 1862.

7 The *Caledonian Mercury* for Monday, July 1, 1782, describes Catherine as 'wax chandler, in Galloway's Close.' She was from a prominent Perth family. Her father had broken with the Church of Scotland to found the idealistic Glasite community that refused to accept the supremacy of the state and believed that true faith showed itself in good works. George Simson (1791-1862) painted her portrait. Catherine's brother George was to found the famous wine shipping company (Waterson [sic] 2008).

near Holyrood, where they built a workshop for the making of sealing wax. Catherine's youngest son, George (1781-1850), who joined the business in 1796, is the central figure of the family in relation to the Waterston Music Manuscripts.[8]

As gas lighting emerged in the early nineteenth century the use of torches eventually declined, and the second George Waterston (1808-1893), more enthusiastic in business than his father, expanded the manufacture of sealing wax. In 1828 the family opened a retail stationery shop. Despite the advent of the gummed envelope in 1839 and Penny Post in 1840, sealing wax was still used extensively in Britain and the Empire by government, commerce, banks and the legal profession (Haldane 1971: 306). The volume of letters had risen from 75.9 million in 1839 to 196 million by 1842, soaring to 329 million by 1849. The Waterston business remained prominent in this field, winning a prize medal for their display at the Crystal Palace, London in the Great Exhibition of 1851. George Waterston I retired from the partnership on 31 March 1846 and died four years later (Watson 2002, chapter 3; Muir 1990).

Subsequently, business records document the expansion of the business under George Waterston II and his son George Waterston III, who joined the company in 1854 at the age of sixteen (see NLS Acc.12235). With growth in the late nineteenth century Waterstons opened a shop in fashionable George Street, built a new factory in 1902 and manufacturing premises in Warriston Road, Edinburgh, a site they occupied for a hundred years until moving to a new factory at Newbridge in December 2002. The twentieth century, however, had been less prosperous. The original premises on St John's Hill, bought by Catherine Sandeman, William Waterston's second wife, was relinquished in the 1960s and sealing wax production moved to premises at Craighall Road, Trinity in 1970. After the economic slump of the 1980s the firm experienced new difficulties, and following the de-merger of its centre for Security Print and Business Forms in 2003 Waterstons was bought over by Montgomery Litho of Haddington in 2004 (*The Scotsman*. 5 February 2004). On 15 January 2013, McAllister Litho Glasgow in turn bought Montgomery Litho after it went into receivership (BBC News, 15 January 2013).

Throughout the family's domicile in Edinburgh notable members included John James Waterston (b.1811), a physicist who first formulated the central features of the kinetic theory of gas (1843-45) and reformulated the temperature of the sun (1857). Born and educated in Edinburgh, he moved to London in 1833 but returned to Scotland where he died in 1883 (Haldane 1928; Johnston 2008). A prominent figure, too, was Dr Jane Waterston (1843-1932), the first female medical practitioner in South Africa (Bean and van Heyningen 1983). One more member of note, George Waterston OBE (1911-1980), ornithologist and conservationist, was the eldest of seven children of Robert Waterston (1878-

8 George is generally referred to as 'George I' and his son as 'George II.'

1969).[9] It was Robert who, on the advice of the music historian Francis Collinson, approved making microfilm of the five Waterston Music Manuscript volumes in 1966 (a task completed in 1967). He also copied, in part, the discursive preface to Volume 5 of the first George's tune collection, 'Universal Melody.'

George Waterston I

The first George Waterston (b.1781) originally trained in law, but only for one year. When his stepfather died in 1796 he joined his twice-widowed mother in the business. His heart was never wholly in it, however, and in 1798 he paid a visit to London, where he attended events at the Haymarket Theatre and Drury Lane. He was present at a service in St Paul's to celebrate the victory of the Battle of the Nile, and remarked on the 'fine singing' at the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital. He also appears to have been at Covent Garden on the occasion of a visit from King George III and his family (Watson 2002, chapter 2).

Returning to Scotland, he married Jane Blair of Dunkeld in March 1803 and they had nine children, of whom all but one reached adulthood. On 27 June of that same year George enlisted in the 1st Regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers, serving with them until they were disbanded when Napoleon was sent to Elba in 1814. In 1811 he experienced the unrest in Edinburgh and the savage punishment meted out to the rioters, noting that on New Year's Day 1812 there had been 'a dreadful riot in the street this morning.' Several youths, all of them under eighteen, were arrested. Three were tried, convicted of robbery and murder, and on 22 April they were all hanged in public on a gibbet erected in the High Street. George was one of the volunteers on duty that day: 'I was three hours on guard in the Parliament Close, during the execution of the rioters, felt very cold and uncomfortable' (Watson 2002).

George compiled a diary, presently untraced. But among the family papers is a handwritten copy of the diary for the years 1809-1819, transcribed from the original by his granddaughter.[10] In it George recorded not only his family life and personal ailments (toothache, flatulence), but also notable events of the time such as Wellington's victories and the defeat of Napoleon, who crops up in the tunes, 'Bonaparte's finale' (vol. 4, p. 11) and 'Napoleon le grand' (p. 231). George also recorded such matters as the purchase of a pianoforte (18 August 1810); the securing of a quantity of music that a George Walker in London had sent to James Ogg 'who is now bankrupt' (18 April 1811); and piano lessons for his daughter Betsey, 29 August 1814; 15 February 1815; 26 January 1816). No other mention of the family's musical life appears, however, nor are his musical interests recorded. In 1815 he recalled seeing, as a child, the renowned aeronaut Vincenzo Lunardi (1759-1806), who visited Edinburgh and crossed the Firth of Forth in his fire-balloon; the tune entitled 'Lunardi'

9 George Waterston OBE was Scottish Director of the Royal Society for the Preservation of Birds. He bought the island of Fair Isle, Shetland and founded the Bird Observatory there in 1948. A memorial to him, as a museum displaying the island's history, is in the former Fair Isle School. The National Trust for Scotland took over as landlord in 1955.

10 Included in the family papers in NLS; see n.3 above.

appears in Volume 4, no 112: 260 (Lunardi 1786, ed. Law 1976; see also Fergusson 1972).

On 24 June 1815 George recorded: 'Got the news of the Battle of Waterloo at the Bank of Scotland, came by express.' The final years of the Napoleonic Wars and their aftermath created a difficult business climate. Many businesses in Edinburgh and its port of Leith collapsed during 1814-15. In the autumn George noted, 'Business dull, perplexed how to employ our men.' A large and welcome order for flambeaux in January 1815 could not be fulfilled because it was impossible to get rosin. At the beginning of 1816 George had to put one man on half wages as demand dropped and discharged soldiers looking for jobs caused unemployment. There was no real relief until the late 1820s since the economic slump affected the whole of the United Kingdom. George himself had never been a born entrepreneur, and it was only when his son George Waterston II joined the firm in 1829 that business began to improve (Watson 2002: chapter 3).

In the meantime there had been more social unrest, and in 1819 economic depression revived the radical cause. In the aftermath of the Peterloo massacre in Manchester, Scottish radicals advocated violence to overthrow the government. On 1 April 1820 three weavers from Parkhead in Glasgow produced their *Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland*, and 60,000 workers in Glasgow downed tools. When a general insurrection did not materialize, small groups of radicals still were still determined to take action, and this culminated in the skirmish between a detachment of hussars with yeomanry and radical weavers from Glasgow on 5 April 1820. Following conflict at Bonnymuir, near Falkirk, two of the weavers, John Baird and Andrew Hardie, were captured, tried and executed in Stirling on 8 September, just two years before the visit of George IV (Berresford Ellis and Mac a' Gobhainn 2016 [1970]).

It would be useful to know, should George Waterston's original diary turn up, if he recorded events such as the Great Fire in Edinburgh's Parliament Close and High Street in the winter of 1824, when almost two hundred families were made homeless. But the surviving copy of the diary shows that he had many interests other than the family business. He had shares in the newly formed Commercial Bank and in the Edinburgh & Leith Shipping Company, selling these when he and some friends failed to depose the management at the annual general meeting in 1809. He also had shares in the London & Edinburgh Shipping Company. In 1810 he was one of a small group that founded a short-lived review, *The Edinburgh Monthly Magazine*, others including the Rector of the High School and W. Ritchie, one of the co-founders of *The Scotsman* newspaper. Dissatisfied with coach travel to London, he traveled there by sailing ship, though this could take a week from Edinburgh (Watson 2002: chapter 2).

George seems to have inherited his musical talent from his father, a violinist in Edinburgh's Society of Musicians. It is unclear how and from whom he received musical instruction, but he played the flute and violin and began to cultivate an interest in research. As a musical antiquary he

corresponded with William Dauney, advocate and author of the first work on Scottish musical manuscripts, *Ancient Scotish Music* (Edinburgh, 1838) and George Farquhar Graham, editor of John Muir Wood's *Songs of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1848-49).[11]

His chief hobby has been described as 'the jotting down of airs which he picked up here and there, and everywhere, and several volumes of these, all his own manuscript musical scores, have been handed down, comprising a collection of over 3,000 separate airs…of every kind of melody in existence, ancient and modern, British and foreign, including church music, songs, tunes, marches and dances indexed, not only by name but indeed by opening bars in miniature, all in his own hand.'[12] Allowing for some exaggeration here, it is certainly George who compiled vols 3-5, the three books that form the bulk of the collection. The scribal hand (or hands) of vols 1-2, however, are as yet unknown. They may have been partly, at least, the work of George's father (or colleagues) while he was a member of the Musical Society.

The manuscript volumes: overview

The Waterston Manuscripts, then, consist of five volumes of music compiled over a century and a half, from around 1715 to the first half of the nineteenth century, when George Waterston, who died in 1850, wrote out the final three volumes. The National Library description states it to be 'The property of Robert Waterston Esq., 27 Inverleith Terrace, Edinburgh 3,' a reference to a later member of the family (1878-1969). Its further description reads: 'Four vols. of MS music that belonged to George Waterston (1778-1850), and one volume of letters to him.' The confusion between the above-mentioned five volumes and those 'four volumes' of music in the description results from the fact that vols. 1 and 2 are bound together. The first book consists of two manuscript volumes, the first dated 1715. On folio i of the first volume is the name, 'George Waterston 14 Hanover Street Edinburgh' and on folio iii, 'this volume is made up from two Old Manuscript Music Books.' On page 1 is written, 'Book I dated 1715 and consists of 108 and contains about 79 old tunes, some of them well known yet, but others altogether forgotten tho' not without some merit in their way. The Second is dated 1762 [and] consists of 80 pages and contains about 87 tunes of a rather more modern cast than the previous, the great part are not to be met with in any of the present printed collections.'

Volume 3 is a collection of 'Two Hundred & Forty Popular Airs for the Piano Forte' and dates from the early to mid-nineteenth century. Volume 4 is described as a 'Collection of upwards of Eleven Hundred Favourite Airs Ancient & Modern adapted for the Flute, including Church Music – Long Tunes – Marches, Dances &c: Comprising

11 A note by Robert Waterston (Acc. 12330) reads, 'The National Library of Scotland took micro-films of this book of flute MSS., together with the compilers other four books and of the letters received by him from two of the famous musical antiquaries of that period, namely [from] William Dauney (2/11/1838), and [from] George Farquhar Graham (3/8/1838, 7/2/1849, 28/8/1849 and 16/11/1849). The Library carried out this transfer to microfilm at the special request and advice of Mr. Francis Collinson, author of *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (London: Routledge & Paul 1966).'

12 Acc.12330.

Specimens of National Music, English, Welsh, Scottish Lowland & Highland, Irish, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Bohemian, Polish, Russian, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Turkish, Persian, Indian, Chinese, Kamchatkan American…' (on 'non-Western music' see Zon 2007).

Volume 5, which bears the name 'G. Waterston, 29 Hanover Street Edinburgh' with a later added note ['born 1778'], is entitled 'Universal Melody – Collection of about Seventeen Hundred & Fifty Favourite Airs, Comprising, Specimens of almost every kind of Melody in existence, Ancient, Modern British & Foreign, Including Church Music Song Tunes Marches, Dances &c adapted for the German Flute or Violin Methodically arranged according to Measure, Character & Stile.' A lengthy discourse, 'Notes on this Manuscript Collection,' prefaces this volume. The complete Waterston MSS contain around 3200 tunes, some recorded from the early eighteenth century but most written down in the early to mid-nineteenth, and thus represent a substantial source not only for Scottish and British music history but also, through more specialist assessment, for ethnomusicology and the sociology of music.

The 'Notes on this MSS. Collection of Music' by George Waterston I (1778-1850) bear examination as they reflect the long-standing interest of this member of the Waterston family in both traditional tunes and social music, that is, the airs and dances cherished and practiced by families rather than the concert or 'fine art' music, especially of the Enlightenment period. This striking era of recreational life applies to Vols.1 and 2, as records of music that belong to the period 1715-1762. Even the '1715' date is misleading since it was expressly described as containing 'old tunes.' many of which can be traced in other documents of the seventeenth century. In no sense can these two volumes be understood as documenting only tunes of those particular dates. Rather, they contain airs and dance tunes, traditional or newly composed by both known and unknown composers that appealed to the compiler or his family. But in another sense they reflect a widespread interest in traditional tunes since many of them appear in contemporary music manuscripts (Johnson 2003: 209-11).

Volumes 3-5 embody a partial shift away from old Scots airs towards tunes from other parts of the United Kingdom, and indeed display a growing interest in continental and non-European melodies, more often for their curiosity and charm than for any scientific study, although the germ of such study emerges in the discussion appended to Volume 5. This marks a more extrovert concern as the British Empire expanded, creating cultural contacts not just within Europe, but in the wider world beyond as tunes derived from, for instance, Chinese or Turkish sources appear. In the last three volumes, nevertheless, Scottish, Irish, English and Welsh tunes continue to dominate the melodies from Europe and abroad.

It is to George Waterston, clearly, that credit must go for compiling the later volumes. Identification of the original scribe appears in neither of the first two volumes, nor does George specify anyone in his commentary that prefaces

Volume 5. The bulky Volumes 3-5 would appear to be mostly in his hand, and must have taken some time to compile when one considers the family's business interests. George was less of a single-minded businessman than his relatives, however, and he may well have compiled the volumes in his later years when he had more free time. But the Waterston family was, after all, a prominent and successful one in the city of Edinburgh. Their social life must have been one that brought them into contact with others at a similar level of class and business interests. The precise extent to which they shared a musical taste with those friends and acquaintances, however, is moot. This aspect of Edinburgh social life at the time—popular musical taste between 1800 and 1850—has barely been studied (see Cranmer 1991).

Volume One

The tunes of Volume 1—numbered '72' but two tunes are missed in the numbering because of faulty pagination—are arranged for keyboard in the first section and include twenty or more identifiable Scots airs and 'Scots measures,' a dozen minuets, four gavottes, and a sarabande. A couple of marches (that from Handel's *Rinaldo*, later adapted in Gay's *Beggar's Opera*) sit alongside 'All Joy to Great Caesar' ('Farinell's Ground'), Purcell's 'To Arms' and 'Britons Strike Home.' From no. 55 ('Gay kind and airie,' actually no. 56), on page 87 of the manuscript the tunes are no longer for keyboard but are written out in a single line without accompaniment. From pages 98-99 (no. 65) to the end the music is explicitly headed 'The following are tunes for the violin.'

As is evident, Scots airs dominate this volume, with song tunes popular in Lowland Scotland such as 'Through the wood laddie,' 'I wish my love were in a mire,' 'Saw ye not my Maggie,' 'Steer her up and haud her gaun,': 'Bonny Kate' and 'John Anderson my jo.' These traditional and anonymous airs stem from the previous century (or earlier), like the dance tunes, 'Cockpen's Scots measure' and 'Bonny Dundee.' A number of the airs are found in contemporary, local music manuscripts such as the Margaret Sinkler MS (1710): these include 'All Joy to Great Caesar' (14-18), the Purcell numbers noted above (22-23), 'Steer her up' (41-42), 'Saw ye not my Maggie' (79) and 'Cockpens Scots Measure' (83). The three 'Sybells' that appear derive from the movement published in the third edition of Purcell's *Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord or Spinnet* (1699). The dance forms that dominate are the gavotte, the Scots measure, and especially the minuet. In terms of tonality the airs are confined to keys such as C, D, F or G (more rarely, A). The accompaniments for the left-hand in the first part of the volume are for the most part simple, even stark, and match the style of contemporary parallels that highlight the melody. A significant background element in this style is the public dance culture—among landowners and the educated middle class, at least—that emerged in Lowland Scotland a decade or so after the turn of the century following a long period of ecclesiastical suppression (see Johnson 2003: 120-5; Porter 2003-4; Porter 2012; Spring 2010).

Volume Two

The eighty-seven tunes in Volume 2 show a similar mixture of tune types despite the book's compilation falling about half a century later at the height of the Scottish Enlightenment (1762): some 40 Scots airs and 'Scots measures,' fourteen minuets, a few gavottes, hornpipes, jigs and cotillions, and the standby march from *Rinaldo*. Surprisingly, in a book of almost entirely instrumental tunes, we find the words as well as the melody of the ballad 'Bessy Bell and Mary Gray' (no. 80). Less surprising, perhaps, is the absence in these first two volumes of the psalm tunes that appear with such regularity in Scottish manuscript books of the late seventeenth century such as those of Louis de France (c.1680) or John Squyer (1696-1701). But perhaps this absence is a further indicator of the emerging public dance culture in Edinburgh and the Lowlands after about 1710. Psalm tunes, however, do occur prominently at the outset of both Vols. 4 and 5 of the Waterston Manuscripts, and this appears to reflect a revival of interest in psalmody and newer hymn tunes (Farmer 1970 [1947]: 365-79; Anderson 1908).

An analysis of the contents reveals a similar pattern to that of Volume 1: Scots airs dominate (approaching half the total), with a slight increase in the number of minuets (15), plus a handful of hornpipes, jigs and marches, while the *cotillon* (spelled thus in the French manner) makes a single appearance, anticipating the fashionable number of items under this name in Volume 3, although it is styled 'old.' The tune itself, 'When the king enjoys his own again' (1) was of course Martin Parker's best-known ballad from the mid-seventeenth century, remaining popular as a dance tune into the eighteenth century as well as, after 1688-89, an air with Jacobite associations. The melody was first printed in John Playford's *A Musicall Banquet* (1651). Another dance tune of note is 'Jamaica – a country dance, pure Scots however' (p.46), a reflection of the booming sugar trade that was by then well developed in the Caribbean island. That trade, built on the backs of African slaves, made Jamaica one of Britain's most lucrative colonies.[13]

These examples stand out as of immediate interest. Some other items recur from Volume 1: 'Steer her up,' 'Through the wood laddie,' 'I wish my love were in a mire', and 'John Anderson my jo' (this time with variations). Others appear twice: 'Sailor laddie' (24, 64), 'Green sleeves' (32-33, 44-45 as 'Greensleeves and pudding pyes'), and 'My mother's aye glowering o'er me' (65, 72). Theatre tunes appear, such as 'The wedding day' from Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd* (2), or 'The looking glass' from *The Beggars' Opera* (5), both tunes still popular by the time of the volume's compilation. Jeremiah's Clarke's air for 'Bonny Grey-Ey'd Morning' (33) is also present, a tune originally written (1696) for *The Fond Husband* but later appearing in all editions of Thomas D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth*. Adapted by Ramsay for *The Gentle Shepherd*, it also featured in the ballad opera, *Patie and Peggie* (1731).

13 The sugar trade, however, declined in the last quarter of the eighteenth century because of wars and famine, and Jamaica became less competitive with other sugar producers such as Cuba.

Volume Three

Volume 3—some 240 tunes arranged for piano—shows a distinct change in the organization of the music. Now, the tunes are indexed in a table of contents according to time signature, as follows: in common time: slow songs (19), slow marches (13), 3/4 songs and minuets (14), slow minuets (5), 3/8-6/8 slow minuets (23); in common time, reels and similar dances (56), slow pipe marches (10), 6/8-9/8 jigs and jig tunes (32), 2/4 quadrilles, quicksteps (17), waltzes (37) and duets (5). This results in a different kind of organization, one that intermixes the tunes rather than grouping them together by generic type: the only types formed in a single group are the 'duetts' (150-56). The songs, minuets, marches, reels, quadrilles, quicksteps and waltzes are scattered individually throughout the volume, but identified by the index numbering on the first page. And while the tunes are arranged for keyboard, titles such as 'Bugle minuet' (100-01), 'Bugle hornpipe' (114), and 'Trumpet Waltz' (140) mirror the growing presence of military signals in the imperial environment (Dudgeon 2004; Farmer 1970: 411-12).[14]

The proportion of Scots tunes is lessened to about a quarter of the whole, still substantial, although what one may assume are newly composed tunes, with named patrons (e.g., 'Lady Shaftesbury's Strathspey,' 'Sir Sidney Smith's Strathspey,' 'Mr Sitwell's Strathspey') make a striking entrance as George Waterston and the family widened their circle of contacts during this period of growing business interests and imperial expansion. The issue of dating and chronology emerges in no. 105, the 'Lament for Mr Sharp of Hoddom' (i.e., Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, the noted antiquarian and friend of Sir Walter Scott). If this refers to Sharpe's death, which took place in 1851, then it leaves open the question of who wrote out the tune since George Waterston I died in 1850 (see Miller 2008: 7-17).[15] Also striking in Volume 3 is the inclusion of the newer quadrille and waltz alongside reels, jigs and minuets. At this point, namely the first decades of the nineteenth century and the looming Napoleonic Wars, the fashion is often turning towards more military forms (marches, quadrilles).

Some items are repeated from the previous volumes as perennial favourites: 'Auld Lang Syne' (4), 'Dainty Davie' (10), 'Queensberrys Scots measure' (99), 'Cockpen's Scots measure' (115), the familiar 'March' from *Rinaldo.* The origin of some tunes is not just Scottish, English Irish or Welsh but by their names often indicate a continental connection or inspiration if not actual source: 'The Fall of Paris' (12-13), 'La Belle Catherine' (21), 'Malbrouck' (22), 'German waltz' (51), 'The Brunswick' (p. 55), "Rousseau's Dream' (p. 89), 'La pipe de tabac' (110), 'La petite brune' (138), 'The Hungarian waltz' (142), 'The Battle of Prague' (143), 'Augsburg waltz' (175-6). Indeed, some dance tunes, adapted from the original composition, are specifically by Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven, as well as others by lesser luminaries such as the French-born François-

14 An Irish bandmaster, Joseph Halliday, added keys to the military bugle in 1810. In London, George Macfarlane added two more keys to facilitate shakes. The invention of the valve meant that instruments such as the cornet eventually ousted the keyed bugle.

15 It is always possible that the 'lament' is a joke concerning some misadventure in Sharpe's life, not necessarily his death, and so may have been written earlier than 1851.

Hippolyte Barthélemon (1741-1808) or the Italian composer of Austrian descent, Ferdinando Paer (1771-1839).

'The Fall of Paris,' derived from the French revolutionary song 'Ça ira,' evolved into a military march for the British Army, initially as a means of confusing the enemy on the battlefield, then became a widespread dance tune found in insular and American tune books. 'Malbrouck,' of course, refers to the campaign of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) against the French in the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13), although the popular song was composed to French words. This item reappears in Volume 4 (no. 414) as 'Air of a French Doggerel on the Duke of Marlborough – 1710.' 'Rousseau's Dream' comes from the opera, *Le devin du village* (1752), and the title was given to it in print by J.B. Cramer, while William Ball wrote English words to the air ('Now while eve's soft shadows blending'). The march, 'The Battle of Prague,' refers to the attack by Frederick of Prussia on the Austrian-held city in 1757 as part of the Seven Years' War (rather than the battle of the same name in 1648 in the Thirty Years' War). The Duke of Wellington (as 'Lord Wellington': 5) makes a prominent appearance in an eponymous march and quickstep (146, 148), indicating the period of compilation as most likely that of the Peninsular Wars (1808-14). If this is true, the arrangements may have been made for George's daughter Betsey, who had piano lessons in Edinburgh from 1814 to 1816.

Volume Four

Volume 4 bears the inscription, 'Geo Waterston/14 Hanover Street Edinburgh.' Similar in structure to Volume 5, this collection is in two books and contains about 1140 tunes adapted for the flute. The 'about' refers to the fact that a very few tunes are crossed out, or merge into other tunes; pages 120-21 are missing. An index of titles is provided at the end of the volume (265-75) as well as an index of musical incipits (276-79). The collection is not classified in the fashion of Volumes 3 and 5. The first 21 items are psalm and hymn tunes, some with composers named (e.g. 'Invocation' by R.A. Smith, 'St Gregory,' by Richard Wainwright). A number of composers are identified throughout the volume, such as Arne, Bassani, Carolan, Cesti, Corelli, Gastoldi, Giordani, Hook, Jenkins, Kelly, Henry Lawes, Legrenzi, Stamitz, Vanhal, and several others.

Following the church tunes is a section of slow marches, some British, others from operas such as *Der Freischütz* (5-16), and a group of Scottish airs (17-21), which includes the tune from the 1715 volume, 'Away with my useless scrip' (Volume 1: 93). Several gavottes from the same are also present (149 ff.). This is followed by a short section of French airs that includes 'Vive Henri Quatre' (22-23). A succession of English songs is interspersed with songs from other areas that include Chinese, Cossack, Pyreneean, Norwegian, Danish, Dutch, and Austrian examples. Scottish, English, Welsh and foreign airs, along with cotillions, minuets, jigs, quadrilles, waltzes and assorted dance tunes complete the two books of the volume.

Indeed, the preponderance of dance tunes

more than balances the number of song airs, an indication of the burgeoning importance of dance in the reign of George IV. In Part II (from 107), dances, whether English or Scottish, whether gavottes or reels, occupy the rest of the volume. In this regard, quadrilles and quicksteps (sometimes prefaced by 'cotillon' or dubbed 'French') take up a fair amount of space (155-85), at which point waltzes take over (186-208). 'The Downfall of Paris' (Volume 3: 12-13) reappears again, this time as a quickstep. The 'Waterloo Strathspey and Waterloo Reel' (117), and again, 'Lord Wellington' (237) suggest a date of compilation for many if not most items, at least, following Wellington's victory over Napoleon but before Queen Victoria's accession ('Princess Victoria Quadrille': 244).

One can also pick out, for example, 'Guy Mannering,' an air composed presumably after Scott's novel with that title published in 1815 or following the adapted semi-opera of 1817 staged at Edinburgh's Theatre Royal (256). This suggests a compilation date between 1817 and 1837, when Queen Victoria assumed the throne. Still, tunes connected with events or people a century earlier crop up, such as for instance 'Miss Cadie Scott's Minuet' (69, 71). Mary Lilias Scott, an acknowledged beauty of Edinburgh society and known as 'Cadie' because she had once gone to a fancy-dress ball in the costume of a street-porter (Fr. *cadet*) (Porter 2009: 55-80).[16]

Volume Five

Volume 5, 'Universal Melody,' also has 'G. Waterston, 29 Hanover Street, Edinburgh 1' inscribed on the title page, signifying a change of residence, probably in the early nineteenth century. The contents, consisting of 1752 tunes and brief notes on these, are prefaced by a dissertation of eleven pages on the nature of music, some of which is difficult to decipher because of the faded nature of the microfilm. The two parts of this volume are, like the previous one, arranged in a particular way, and not just according to the metrical system but also according to generic type: Part I contains 'slow and grave airs,' church tunes, slow marches, song tunes (subdivided into Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and 'English and Foreign' airs, in various metres); and minuets. Part II has Scots reels and strathspeys, Scottish songs and airs, gavottes and hornpipes (this section also includes quicksteps), waltzes, and a final section with 'country dances.' A further section, besides that designated 'foreign' in Part One, includes French, Italian and Spanish tunes.

The psalm and hymn tunes (1-20) are more numerous than those in Volume 4, and several of those are reproduced from that volume. Some have dates of composition appended, such as

16 Born around 1700 as the second daughter of John Scott of Harden, Mary Lilias was renowned as a singer of Scots songs of the drawing-room type published by Allan Ramsay in his enormously popular *Tea-Table Miscellany* (from 1723). Painted by Ramsay's eminent son Allan, the artist, she also had this minuet named after her. Although she died about 1770, memory of her beauty and her singing probably kept her eponymous minuet alive into the following century.

'Cheshire' and 'Glasgow,' with '1600 or before' added after the title. Marches follow from 21-42, and these are followed in turn by a few old Scots tunes. More remarkable is the antiquarian turn from 45-48, when George Waterston copied a number of items from the music manuscript of John Skene of Hallyards (*GB-En* Adv. 5.2.15), written for mandore in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Subsequently, Scots airs (49-75) are followed by Irish, Welsh, and other tunes that include James Hook's 'Collier's daughter,' compositions by Stephen Storace ('The poor black boy': 100), Ignaz Pleyel ('Roslin's Ruins': 111), Paradies, Paisiello, Johann A.P. Schulz (1747-1800), and others (to 121). From page 122 Scots tunes again predominate, some again from the Skene MS, along with a mixture of English, Irish and Welsh airs. Minuets form a group (from 144-56) and include 'Cadie Scott's Minuet' (from Volume 3: 146). Among the mixed contents of the following pages are mostly Scots airs (to 181), succeeded in turn by theatre tunes, airs by Paer, Pleyel, Rossini, Weber and others, and again by a section of Irish, Scots and Welsh tunes.

Halfway through this volume of 372 pages the impression one gets is of random sections of British and foreign material, both traditional and more recently composed, with segments of Scots tunes in particular recurring as George Waterston returned, time after time, to melodic material with which he was familiar: pages 201-37 are symptomatic of this recurring preference. Another return to the past occurs in the repeated appearance of items from Volume 1, such as the gavottes (261), or, in contrast, pieces taken from John Forbes's *[Cantus] Songs & Fancies* (second edition of 1666), the only secular music publication in Scotland in the entire seventeenth century (see McLucas 2007: 269-97). The group of waltzes (298-311) are again followed by Scots tunes (313-19), theatre tunes from John Gay's ballad operas, English, French, Irish airs and a mixture of hornpipes and jigs (to 372). As in Volume 4 an alphabetical index of tunes is provided, and this is occasionally helpful in identifying titles that are obscure or difficult to read in the main body of the volume. The deteriorating quality of the microfilm, however, sometimes makes titles difficult or impossible to decipher and a reader has to attempt other means of identification, such as tune concordances in contemporary collections or the context of positioning within a generic group.

Musical life in Edinburgh, 1728-1798

The Edinburgh Musical Society was central to musical life in the city. It was constituted in 1728 and by mid-century was in full swing. Its history has been detailed elsewhere, but its most brilliant period was between 1760 and 1780, when St. Cecilia's Hall was often 'crowded to excess by a splendid assemblage, including all the beauty and fashion of [the] city' (Johnson 2003; MacLeod 1991). The entrepreneur George Thomson (1757-1851), who later tempted Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, Hummel and Henry Bishop into harmonizing folk melodies for publication in lavish volumes, was a keen performer of chamber music towards the end of the century. Middle-class people with a musical hobby such as Thomson felt encouraged by the Society's

activities to take up music at home with like-minded friends even after the Society's demise. Similarly, the elite of the university held concerts in their homes. The young George Waterston, despite his move to London in 1798, must have come into contact with this phase of Edinburgh life after his return in 1803, just as his father had been part of the Musical Society's activities in the previous century.

The Musical Society's activities at that time presaged academic developments. General John Reid (1721-1807) occupies a special place as the founder of the Reid Chair of Music at the University of Edinburgh. Reid was an original member, in London, along with Oswald, Kellie, and Burney, of the close-knit Society of the Temple of Apollo, and Robert Bremner included Reid's 'Highland March' in his *Collection of Airs and Marches* (Edinburgh, c.1756), a composition now better known as 'The Garb of Old Gaul' after Sir Henry Erskine's words to the tune in *The Lark* (Edinburgh, 1765). Oswald had published Reid's *Six Solos for a German Flute* (c.1755) and another *Second Sett of Six Solos* with the composer designated as 'IR' (see Cranmer, passim).

Two other publications, *Set of [Military] Marches* (c.1770) and *Minuets and Marches* (c.1775) bring Reid into view as someone working in instrumental music slightly anterior to George Waterston, himself a keen flautist if we are to judge by Vols. 4 and 5 (on Reid, see Farmer 1970: 337-8). This takes us up to and somewhat beyond the period of the last two Waterston manuscript volumes, but the context in which George Waterston was compiling his manuscripts mirrored a growing interest, at a time of profound social change, in institutionalizing music within the academy and Reid's bequest made a huge impact nationally and internationally. It is against this background that the compilation of the two final volumes gains some added significance.

By the final decades of the eighteenth century the financial problems of the Musical Society had begun to increase, mainly as a result of salary payments to musicians, and its important source of aristocratic patronage was diminishing as musical proficiency and concert-going gradually lost their appeal. During the 1780s and 1790s the Society's income dropped, and having closed its doors in 1798 it was eventually wound up in 1801 (Johnson 2003: 41). Another critical factor in the decline of the Society was the advent of the New Town, to which the aristocracy was now moving. In 1767 the Edinburgh Town Council adopted the architect James Craig's plan for an elegant alternative to the crowded tenements of the Old Town, where gentry and servants had lived cheek-by-jowl for generations. The New Town thereafter expanded as fashionable society found in its graceful crescents and squares a desirable alternative to the grimy and malodorous Old Town, and the new Assembly Rooms in George Street were opened for concerts, balls and dance assemblies on 11 January 1787 with the Caledonian Hunt Ball.[17] George Waterston's house addresses on Volumes 1 and 4 ('14 Hanover Street'), and 5 ('29 Hanover Street'), show that

17 The Royal Caledonian Hunt began in 1777 as the Hunters' Club, becoming the Caledonian Hunt Club in 1778. Its social events included the Caledonian Hunt Ball, with the 'royal' prefix added following the visit of George IV in 1822.

the family had also found their way to the New Town.

At this time many Scots planned to emigrate, especially to North America or Jamaica (the popular dance tune 'Jamaica' appears in Volume 2). Robert Burns, notably, having been offered a position as bookkeeper on a sugar plantation had hoped to emigrate but managed to get the Kilmarnock edition of his poems published in 1786. The volume brought him fame and so he remained in Scotland to be feted in Edinburgh, where the young Walter Scott met him. The following year, in April 1787, Burns teamed up with James Johnson, publisher of the six-volume *The Scots Musical Museum* (1787-1803), a milestone to which Burns made a substantial contribution. This seminal work was the culmination of similar attempts, such as William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1725, 1733) or James Oswald's six-volume *Caledonian Pocket Companion* (1745-49), to capture and record Scots songs with their airs and, in Oswald's case, the tunes by themselves.

The Waterston volumes show a similar concern for old Scottish songs and dance tunes, not just as antiquarian objects (as the title of the *Museum* might suggest) but also as living tradition, valued for their inherent qualities of shapeliness and 'sentiment' (feeling) as much as for their longevity or family associations. The context in which these volumes were compiled was both intellectually brilliant and in social ferment. The reform movement that began with local unrest in the 1790s lasted until the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, an event stage-managed by Sir Walter Scott partly to soothe local sensibilities about the place of the monarchy in Scottish life given that no British monarch had visited since Charles II in the mid-seventeenth century. The event was also an attempt to counter the economic downturn of 1819 and the 'Radical War' skirmishes of 1820 by diverting attention to an altogether more 'heroic' (and Tory) scenario of a royal visit to the city and Scotland's picturesque past. The upheaval of these thirty years that mirror European conflict and subsequent imperial expansion forms the backdrop to Volumes 3-5.

Sources of the music

Volumes 1 and 2 probably represent, first, the repertoire of the Musical Society; second, the numerous prints of Scottish tunes by Robert Bremner, William McGibbon, James Oswald and others that appeared in Scotland before the date of 1762 that is appended to the second volume; and third, theatre pieces, operatic arias and the like that may have been secured individually, whether by print or oral transmission. Following Volumes 1 and 2 George Waterston's interest in British and continental music began to grow, just as prints of the late eighteenth century were moving into less familiar territory. Collections such as Alexander McGlashan's *Scots Measures, Hornpipes, Jigs, Allemands, Cotillons* (1781), W. Campbell's *Country Dances and Cotillions* (c.1790) caught the flavour of dance fashion. The Glasgow music publisher, James Aird (d.1795) initiated with two volumes (1782) a popular tune collection that eventually reached six volumes, the *Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs*, and these captured an expanding curiosity

about both native and non-native tunes. Despite the fashion of the *cotillon* (or cotillion) and its successor, the quadrille, Scots dances and their tunes were still wildly popular throughout Britain, as editions of the four parts of Niel and Nathaniel Gow's *Original Repository of Scots Reels and Dances* (1799-1822) make clear.

Volume 3 of the Waterston manuscripts has its contents arranged for pianoforte, the organization into groups by metre reflecting growth of the dance element: apart from some songs and military marches the great bulk of the volume consists of dance tunes. The dating of this volume can be provisionally set at the years immediately after the Battle of Waterloo, when George Waterston's daughter Betsey had piano lessons (1814-16). A few tunes are arranged for four hands, such as the 'Grand March in Lodoiska' (152-3).[18] The Regency period saw the rise of the quadrille as a popular dance form, and the waltz and polka began to enter the repertoire of polite society.

Instruction manuals had appeared, such as those by Thomas Wilson: *An Analysis of Country Dancing* (London 1808) provided diagrams of the common figures of the Country Dance. Wilson, employed as Dancing Master at the King's Theatre Opera House, brought out further publications such as *The Complete System of English Country Dancing* (London 1815) that includes a discussion of music and ten music examples, and *Treasures of Terpsichore* (London 1816), which usefully offered an alphabetical listing of Country Dances and their figures. The manual entitled *Thos. Wilson's Description of Regency Waltzing* (London 1816) was apparently the first to document the waltz as it was danced at the time it arrived from the continent. More directly relevant for the purposes of Edinburgh society was Alexander Strathy's *Elements of the Art of Dancing* (Edinburgh 1822), a manual especially important for the early nineteenth century quadrille in which four couples face one another in a square. Strathy provides combinations of steps for the most common figures of the quadrille, and concludes with directions in French and English for eleven quadrille figures.

Besides printed dance manuals and opera scores, George Waterston would have himself experienced the world of concerts, theatre and opera.

Edinburgh public life and its entertainments, clearly, was not the only opportunity for his musical pursuits: his visits to London would have given him the chance to visit the theatre or opera and to pick up prints of current tunes, individual sheets of popular arias and dance tunes in second-hand or specialist bookshops, and even to record on paper particular pieces he may have heard and liked.

Instrumentation

The instruments represented in these volumes reflect diversity of use within the family as

18 The march is from the opera *Lodoiska* by Stephen Storace (1762-96), which was first performed at Drury Lane in 1794. But Luigi Cherubini (1760-1842) had already set the fashionable story, based on a French novel, about the rescue of a Polish princess as an 'opéra héroique' (Paris 1791); Storace's opera was an 'Englished' *pasticcio* that used most of Cherubini's music. The Bavarian-born Johann Simon Mayr (1763-1845) had his opera *La Lodoiska* (with an Italian libretto) performed in Venice in 1796.

amateur musicians in different generations. The two early volumes (1715, 1762) show some basic facility on the keyboard (whether spinet, virginals, clavichord, harpsichord, or fortepiano) and violin. The violin had been in the ascendant over the viol family in Scotland since at least about 1680, and with the advent of the new dance culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century the brilliance, expressiveness and versatility of the instrument increasingly made it the natural choice for both song airs and dance tunes. The fortepiano and its successor the pianoforte began to supersede the virginals and harpsichord from about 1780, and the 240 tunes of Volume 3 are set specifically for the developed pianoforte.[19]

At present we can only surmise which member of the family, friend or musician, might have made these arrangements. It is evident, however, that where the viol and keyboard instruments had formerly been cultivated by both sexes, for reasons of propriety only men now played the violin and flute (but see Ford 2020; McAulay 2020).[20] The latter instrument in particular (the 'German' or transverse flute) had been common since about 1725 and by mid-century had pushed the recorder into the background (McAulay 2005: 99-141). Volumes 4 and 5 are entirely for German flute or violin. According to Robert Chambers Sir Gilbert Elliot, who played the German flute, was first to introduce the instrument to a Scottish audience, although this cannot be easily confirmed (Farmer 1970: 287).

The military associations and ballroom capabilities of the flute appear to have contributed to its dominance in these volumes, and it seems entirely likely that George Waterston was himself a proficient player of the instrument as well as, no doubt, the violin. Other wind instruments, such as the oboe and bassoon, were cultivated in the Musical Society. Henry Mackenzie marked the arrival in town in 1771, for example, of 'the celebrated Mr Fischer, the greatest performer on the Hautboy in Europe,' and such famous touring visitors were brought in to display their talents to local musicians. Some of them, such as members of the Corri family, stayed and became a prominent part of Edinburgh's musical life (Farmer 1970: 288).[21]

Sir Walter Scott's Edinburgh

Scott (1771-1832) deserves more than a footnote here because of his large presence in the city during this period of George Waterston's musical activities. An advocate from 1792, a staunch Tory and defender of the established social order, Scott joined the Royal Corps of Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons in 1797 to help suppress public protests. With Scott's later eminence as a novelist, poet and antiquarian in mind it may seem odd that no member of the

19 An important figure in the evolution of the instrument in Britain was John Broadwood (1732-1812), an Edinburgh cabinet-maker who moved to London in 1761 and took over the business of Burkat Shudi (1702-73), the noted harpsichord maker of Swiss origin.

20 The article by McAulay describes how, in her diary (1797-1802), Janet Playfair (1778-1864), daughter of James Playfair (1736-1819), Principal of St Andrews University, recorded her practicing on the flute.

21 Farmer cites Johann C. Fischer (d.1800) and also, particularly, Thomas Fraser (c.1760-1825) as an outstanding Scots oboist whose playing of 'Hey, tuttie taitie' according to Robert Burns, 'often filled my eyes with tears.'

Waterston family, which like him had moved away from the Old Town (where he was born), is mentioned in any of Scott's letters, his journal, or John Gibson Lockhart's classic biography of Scott (Leneman 2000: 665-82).

Lockhart (1794-1854), Scott's son-in-law, married Scott's daughter Sophia (1799-1837), and Scott, himself an avid ballad collector and adapter but un-musical, took pleasure in listening to her singing traditional ballads to the accompaniment of the harp (Munro 1976). It was in Scott's lifetime, moreover, that important music collections were published in the city: Simon Fraser's *Airs and Melodies peculiar to the Highlands* (1815), Alexander Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology* (1816-18), James Hogg's *Jacobite Relics* (1819-21), and R.A. Smith's *The Scotish Minstrel* (1821-24).

We can understand Scott's lack of interest in music even though as a young man of 15 he had met and admired Robert Burns, then newly famous, in the house of the historian and philosopher Adam Fergusson (1723-1816). But the hardening class divisions that were already set in motion by the removal of the wealthier citizens from the Old Town to the New Town after 1800 meant gradual separation of commercial and mercantile interests as well as restricted social intercourse between professionals, traders in goods, and artisans. George Waterston's diary, which covers the decade 1810-19, contains no reference to the famous author even though Scott's house in Castle Street was parallel to and not far from the Waterston's Hanover Street addresses. George's own son was apprenticed to a bookseller and stationer, John Anderson, whose shop was at the corner of the old Exchange in the High Street, opposite the law courts. The younger George later recalled how he would deliver to Anderson's customers the latest books by Scott, then in his heyday as the most popular novelist of the age (Watson 2002: chapter 5).

Conclusion

Despite the removal of organized concert life from the Old Town, a musical amateur such as George Waterston I could still continue to give the older traditional and popular material a prominent place in Volumes 3-5 of his manuscript collection, and was at pains in these to record all sorts of music: popular song airs, psalm tunes, dance tunes, theatre pieces, fragments of cantatas and symphonies, and so on in an increasingly wider arc of cultural and geographic sources. The extent to which the final three volumes reflect his personal taste, and whether they might also mirror to some extent that of his family, is open to speculation for we know little as yet about the social activities of other family members. Did they regularly attend balls, concerts, operas and theatre, for example? Did their recreation include dancing or other activity for which music was an essential part? Were they in some sense willing collaborators in or enthusiasts for George's musical enterprise?

There is no question, however, that these manuscripts constitute documents of considerable importance because of the widening compass of musical styles available for study as a result of imperial and mercantile expansion. The Waterston volumes are a major resource for

the analysis and understanding of middle-class musical taste in Edinburgh as it evolved from the early eighteenth century—the period of the Scottish Enlightenment— to the first half of the nineteenth and the era of cultural contact that the European colonial powers, including Britain, made possible.

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Albion as a role model: Scottish folk religion, humour and upbringing in works by Ferenc Baráth

Abraham Kovács

Ferenc Baráth was teacher at the Lónyay Calvinist Secondary Grammar School, and belonged to an esteemed, internationally educated and multilingual liberal Calvinist intelligentsia, which valued above all else patriotism and the liberal values of the Reformation, and especially those of Calvinism. He was greatly affected by his peregrination, studying abroad in Scotland, made possible by a scholarship of the theologically conservative branch of the *Church of Scotland*, the evangelic branch also responsible for missions to the Jews (Hörcsik 1988). He, on the other hand, sympathised more with theological liberalism. It is most important to point out that the theological differences between conservatives and liberals did not mean that their political views could not agree, and it certainly did not mean that there were no significant agreements on important questions in both Hungary and Scotland. This is especially true for the question of patriotism. The exploration of this particularity, however, would warrant whole studies of their own.

After his homecoming, Baráth joined the group of liberals in Pest, who viewed English and Scottish society as a role model and presented it to the Hungarian public as an example to be followed. One of their tools was the *Vasárnapi* Újság *[The Sunday News]*, which was an indispensable platform expressing the thoughts of the aristocratic and peasant intelligentsia as well as the views of the emerging middleclass nobility. Starting from 1867 the Calvinist Miklós Nagy from Kolozsvár succeeded Alber Pákh as editor-in-chief, and became a defining figure of the Reformed elite (Szinnyei 2016).[1]

Vasárnapi Újság played a substantial role in shaping public opinion and understanding. After the years 1871-72, during Nagy's editorship the paper started to transform into a medium that defined public cultural development (Németh 1985: 219). Owing to the chief editor's preferred role as a mediator 'the numerous and diverse authors contributing to the paper made it impossible to be oriented towards one single ideology (or political party), nevertheless authors following folk-nationalistic views and conservative intelligentsia, scholars and scientists of the opposition who idealised the nobility formed a majority' (Németh 1985: 220). It was a company where Calvinist thinkers were more than welcome.

Thanks to Nagy's familial and denominational background and to his principles, the paper had its fair share of Calvinist writers as well as those who used Protestantism and liberalism synonymously, despite themselves belonging to Catholic or Unitarian denominations or even following different religions (*Vasárnapi Újság* 1879: 170). They kept alive the practice Széchenyi had begun and continued to adapt English and Scottish developments into Hungarian society. To them the 'vast, free and hospitable Albion' was truly a model to be followed. As Géza Buzinkay points out 'the focus and mindset of *Vasárnapi* Újság was defined more than anything by the English language, which dominated worldwide communication from technology to travel guides. With regards to the path to and tools of evolution, to civilizational progress and modernity and in general to thinking and ideology it was the Anglo-Saxon world that set the guidelines for the newspaper – the United States when it came to technological curio, and England when it came to topics of academic and scientific nature or pertaining to lifestyle. Not a single issue was published without English book and article reviews, translations, travelogues or without an article or literary portrait of varying length relating to some aspects of English scientific life or English scientists (Németh 1985: 222).

In stark contrast, the news and articles about German relations had to do mostly with politics, or sometimes reported on industrial achievements. Even German literature was all but ignored by the paper. French life and culture was always presented in a sympathetic light, but mainly in the form of short news articles, or to a lesser extent in portraits and literary publications. Anglo-Saxon and Scottish themes clearly dominated the weekly paper. Many of the writers had previously studied abroad in Edinburgh. More than one of these peregrinates became permanent contributors and editors. Ferenc Baráth, teacher at the Calvinist Secondary Grammar School of Pest, first through his many letters during his two-year stay in Scotland, and then with his countless articles, was one of the paper's rapporteurs in England and Scotland, working next to Endre György, who wrote about national economy. János Dömötör, who worked as a teacher of philosophy at the Theological Academy in Pest following his years in Edinburgh, as well as Baráth's two colleagues at teaching, László Dapsy and Lajos Komáromy all made good use of their experience gained during the years in Edinburgh and London. They too wrote a number of articles about Scotland and England in the newspaper (Komáromy 1870: 73 – 74). Based on their up-to-date personal experiences and contacts they were able to introduce England and Scotland and the intellectual life of these countries to an extent and in a depth that had never been possible before in Hungary. The example of the island country was to them the technological, civilizational, intellectual and political goal to aspire to – and it also clearly showed the way and model of solving prevalent social problems (Németh 1985: 222).

The audience was drawn in not only by these scholarship students but also by Pál Liptay, who published his travelogues and his excellent writings on Hungarian relations and connections

to England and the States (1871, 1873). Károly Szász, a future Calvinist bishop, contributed to the paper's diversity with his translations and poems. Beyond the vibrant English and Scottish friendships, the paper also presented in great detail the British way of life, and the intellectual, social and political events of England and Scotland. Gaining insights into the social life of Scotland was made possible through the strong connections between the Reformed Church in Hungary and the Protestant Church of Scotland (Németh 1985: 223). The extensive activities of the Scottish Mission established with the help of Archduchess Maria Dorothea were especially to thank for this (Kovács 2001: 1 – 15). The English-Scottish ways of child grooming, education (Tabajdi 1868: 405 – 412), technological development, the establishment of social institutions and charity missions, the patronizing of literature and arts, the uplifting of the peasantry and the working classes, these were all seen as civilizational benchmarks by Hungarians.

Writing about Disraeli Ferenc Baráth noted that not only Hungarians, but all in Europe should watch England's example, because it showed a way of 'solving the working class question through discourse and peaceful means', to which the greatest of national thinkers have been preparing all segments of the English public' (Baráth 1874): 178). This modest young man of the Hungarian countryside seems to have been also very sympathetic to the plight of the working class.

Folk religion and the character of the Scottish people

The students sent to Edinburgh were impressed and touched by their experiences in Scotland. They made deliberate attempts to use the knowledge they gained for the good of Hungary. Starting with Ferenc Balogh, through László Dapsy, all the way to Baráth, and even after them for many-many decades Scottish Calvinism was presented to the Hungarian audience as a social ideal. This effect was felt in all areas of political, public and religious life. Young students, Baráth included, inhaled deep of the fresh, invigorating air of Scotland, and brought it back home in countless different ways. The ideas so close to Hungarian Protestantism: liberty, independence, equality were only reinforced by the Scottish and English model of civic society, which were based on similar traditions, and where Calvinist democratic principles had been dominant for centuries.

Liberty, independence and equality

The ideology of Protestantism is a cornerstone of Baráth's worldview. Based on James A. Froude he writes with great reverence about the effects of the Scottish Reformation, as it 'saved the freedom of not only Scotland, but of England as well' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 47). This view on the significant role of Calvinism was present both in English-Scottish and in Hungarian society. The establishment of the *Presbyterian, democratic system* was of great importance to both nations during the era of the Reformation and it was during this period that 'the issues of religion became close with the soul

of the nation'. Essaying about the Reformation, Baráth praises not only its role in creating democracy (although he only implies this), but he also declares that when it comes to public education 'Scotland has the Reformation to thank for almost everything' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 47).

He regards the Scottish as he regards the Hungarians, a people who love freedom. Rooted in Calvinism, Puritanism had the covenant between man and God as its central tenet, and this was engraved deeply into Scottish religiousness. The feeling of being chosen, the responsibility of spreading the true faith and the equality of all were built upon this spiritual foundation. Naturally, Baráth was aware that achieving equality between social classes was a gradual process, but the English and Scottish served also as prime examples of this process to Europeans. It was in England where the first democratic revolution took place, and it was Calvinism precisely which provided a democratic worldview to launch the idea of equality. Religious principles brought to life a prospering democracy in the island country long before the pseudo-religious fervour of French revolutionary atheism. To them it was not questions of dogma that were important, but the principle of independence between the state and church and between the individual churches themselves. Much like Hungarians, they too fought hard for national and religious independence.

Scotland's independence was taken away by the English 'truly, it was not a small price in blood and money England had to pay for the assimilation of three and a half million Scots'. 'Even following physical annexation, the Scotsman not only retained countless privileges and ancient traditions in the areas of law and administration, but for centuries he withstood the overwhelming English culture, and preserved the outstanding traits of his unique character' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 46-47).

The charm of language: bluntness and gentleness as well as hospitality

Baráth describes the Scottish character as *lively* and *stubbornly tough*, which has a 'certain openness and straightness to his attitude and temperament, which surprises and impresses strangers and which often reaches a level of coarseness'. After this he compares the two peoples, the Scots and Hungarians in this regard and concludes that both countries have the same outspoken men and women. Another typical trait of the people is its *gentleness*, and this appears on countless occasions of 'affectionate, cooing, gentle words' of the language. Scottish vernacular is much richer than that of the English. Baráth does not stop at praises of the spoken word. He stresses that the Scotsman dotes 'not only on persons, on the babe and the gorgeous petite wife, but on the favourite animals and birds of the land'. He is also left in awe of the Scottish language, characterized by the 'broad Scottish accent'. He makes it apparent how much the Scottish language impressed him even through English when he writes: 'The poetry of Burns requires a whole dictionary on its own, just to understand his scotticisms' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 47). Anyone who has lived in Scotland and read Burns understands this even today.

The Calvinist student took notice of the openness and curiosity his Scottish fellows at the university had towards Hungary. He emphasises the hospitable nature of the Scottish. Compared to the Netherlands, foreign students in Edinburgh truly joined social life, and were welcomed. Meanwhile on the continent, students on scholarship to the Netherlands barely got any insight into the day-to-day life of the Dutch (Baráth 1897: 393). This was related to the communal aspect of Scottish religious life, which, much to Baráth's surprise, was taken very seriously. Baráth was met with a vibrant congregational community life he had never experienced back in Hungary. Scottish piety would leave a strong and enduring mark on his later life.

The presence of Puritanism-rooted Evangelicalism in Scottish social life

Baráth emphasises the unique character of Scottish Calvinist piety in a reading he gave to the Susanna Lorantffy Society for Women, an organisation of aristocrats and the upper-middle class. 'They take the message of Christ to heart, they feel and know that our life on Earth, with all its thousand troubles, is given meaning only through this, and only because of this that it can give some measure of happiness' (Baráth 1897: 393).There is only one way to happiness – as he says: 'if we bring happiness to others'. In this argument Baráth's own Christian creed is also clear to see. He points out that Scottish generosity in acts of charity is based on their Christian faith and that it is peerless in the whole world. Indeed, Baráth was not exaggerating, as Evangelicalism, which appeared as a successor of Puritanism, resulted in a pious fervour of a magnitude and longevity which had rarely emerged throughout the history of Christianity.

The Scottish established orphanages, shelters to protect streetwalkers and kitchens to feed poor children. From the simple Scottish worker, through the clerks and to the factory owners, people from every segment of society took part in charity and donated to social and religious causes both home and abroad. Often, public and ecclesiastic life overlapped completely for Scottish Calvinists. Religion pervaded Scottish life to such an extent that Baráth was awed to find that Sundays were entirely reserved for religious activities. It was the charity of Calvinist Scots which made the Hungarian scholarship to Edinburgh possible and for this Baráth and every single student expressed gratitude countless times.

He especially praised Calvinist piety that grew from Puritanism. The positive effects of this were felt through the high level of public morals, the above mentioned generosity, and the religious education of children in Sunday schools (Kovács 2006: 997 – 1013). Baráth was surprised to encounter a practical and zealous Christianity which was in stark contrast with the barren spiritual life in Hungary. Grace prayers said every day and daily devotions were an organic element in the life of every Scot. He took heed of the latter in particular. 'The day begins at home with a devotion, and ends with a devotion, where again the family head is the priest. And it is not only the family who is present, but all the servants too. Everyone is given a psalm book and a Bible, and

the poor, orphaned maiden prays with the young lady she serves, and the family head, whether he be a humble grocer or owner of a huge domain, reads and explains the Bible to each of them. *Equality in the eyes of God* (emphasis by Baráth) is realised but for a moment, but realised every day' (Baráth 1897: 396). The observation of the holiness of Sunday also appeals to him, and although he finds its strictness to be excessive, he believes a day of rest dedicated to the Lord should also be held in Hungary. He is understanding towards the religious intolerance of the Scots, noting that all the good they give him and all the good examples they set overwrite the handicap of their obstinacy (Baráth 1897: 401).

Religion as a tool for the cultivation of morality during upbringing and education

Much like his theologian colleagues, the young Hungarian student observed that the *matters of the Church and religion* 'play an enormous role in everyday life […] The people are occupied day and night with matters of the Church. It is the dominant topic in day-to-day discourses. Their words are made up of biblical quotations, which are often employed with unexpected wit. They carefully listen to and judge preachers, they assess whether the priest is truly spreading 'healthy teachings". It is noteworthy that it is not a backward looking, joyless Christianity that Baráth sees, where he could describe a 'doctrinaire' Scottish Presbyterian religiousness, but rather he stresses the presence of humour and a healthy temper. Here, the people still look up to their priest with respect. Perhaps it is here where Baráth begins to formulate the ideal image of a priest and teacher for himself, since he writes with deep sympathy about the pastor acting as a teacher and 'master' and leading with example. 'The pastor, this good, honest man, who has nothing and yet has everything, who educates, disciplines, does good, loves, chats and jokes with his flock, doing everything when it is the time for it, and who inspired so many candid features in the temperament of the Scottish people' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 47).

The deliberate education given to students in Scotland is likely to have given Baráth the mindset of teaching which in turn affected the writer, Ferenc Neumann (Molnár) so deeply while he was Baráth's pupil. In Scotland, Baráth's teachers gifted him with many books and as a teacher he would go on to do the same to his own pupils. Stanley L. Jaki's [László Jáki] opinion seems to support the idea that Baráth's worldview was moulded by Scottish Calvinism.

> On the suggestion of Baráth, Ferenc Neumann (Molnár) had read Dante's Inferno first in Hungarian, and then in German. After this, following Ferenc Baráth's advice – writes the author – he started learning Finnish, the only language with some resemblance to Hungarian […] He became so adequate in Finnish, that with the help of a dictionary he was able to read the Kalevala, the national epic of the Finns. […] The essence of his influence – and the main message of the book -, is that spurred on by Ferenc Baráth's lectures Ferenc Molnár assembles a reading book and supposedly produces 50 copies to be distributed to his

> classmates. Based on Mihály Balogh's richly documented book there is hardly a doubt that this is another case of a difficult-to-grasp pedagogic influence. Neither Baráth, nor Ferenc Molnár was 'just anybody'. By this we mean Baráth's immense background knowledge, his studies abroad, his academic publications, his personality and character, and Molnár's familial background, the affinity his mother had for literature and theatre, etc.' (Jáki 2008: 187).

Baráth does what he himself had also experienced in Debrecen, the Calvinist Rome, and what he later saw his teachers do in Edinburgh. The young teacher found true joy in his job.

During his studies in Scotland he realised that, besides developing a school system, which Protestants emphasised all over Europe, the Scottish advanced in another aspect: 'making Bible readings a twice-a-day activity had a positive and originally unexpected effect. Without even mentioning the education of the mind and spirit, it preserved the ability of reading in simple peasant or labourer households, who after they leave school may never touch a book again, unless they own an old Bible they can joyously read while sitting around the fireplace in the evenings'. Baráth, along with the students of Debrecen and Pest, and future professors of theology, Ferenc Balogh, Lajos Csiky and Aladár Szabó believed fervently in teaching through the Bible (Balogh 1904; Szabó 1903 – 48).

He noted that there was another tool of education besides Bible reading 'which was also the work of the Church'. He emphasises the role of pastors in the fight to give the Church a self-governing form. The pastors 'elevated the issue to the pulpit, where they kept it current, educating and agitating about it. Thus the people did not only embrace the issue, did not only show heightened interest, but through introducing debates over the issue into its everyday life, its intellect was enhanced, reinforced and enriched in the art of arguing, and as it was kept busy continuously throughout generations, the public intellect underwent an astounding development, which also affected other parts of life'

Baráth was most apt in noticing Calvinism's role in forming a democracy in Scotland, which had few equals in Europe. This locally achieved *self-government* which the Presbyterian system meant had an immense influence on the Scottish love of freedom, 'which will have no peer with any European people. *It is no wonder, this people loves its Church*' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 47).

Baráth employs a socio-historical interpretation, and in his article written in 1870 he does not mention the point (perhaps as this was self-evident to him) that the Evangelical home missionaries had taken part in arduous social work in several Presbyterian denominations, and that the Puritan faith and piety had a crucial role in this. This internal urge could have in many cases naturally aligned with liberal ideals based on democratic and rational foundations. In Scotland, popular progressive conservatism often connected with liberal values, exactly because they drew greatly from the democratic traditions of Calvinism. Later, in his text from 1897 he does write about this. The reason for the change is likely the difference in topic between the two articles.

He believes healthy cunningness to be a main characteristic of the Scottish people, which prevents the Scots from being misled in either their judgement or their views. He mentions strong national pride as a positive value 'which is present in any nation worth its salt', and praises the ability to quickly adapt to changing circumstances and the tendency to instinctually avoid luxurious complacency in life. Whether they came from Hungarian or Jewish backgrounds Baráth and his contemporaries such as Ödön Kovács, Mór Ballagi, or even his predecessors like Pál Török, Károly Szász, or József Székács who was of Slovak descent naturally connected patriotism with liberalism. And Baráth quite possibly expresses what would become his principle in teaching when he writes 'every nation with any value possesses an immense richness to its well-tempered humour, which it uses as if to gild the entirety of life, lending a moment of light, liveliness and levity to even the most severe of matters, and it is so much part of its nature that it is expressed in small things the same way it is expressed in the weightiest of actions and most crucial of questions as well as on the deathbed' (Baráth, 1870-74: 47). As such, according to Baráth's description of the Scottish, their life is deeply and on a fundamental level pervaded by humour, the Calvinist love of freedom, self-determination, and the love of the Church and country.

He keenly feels the process of social transformation during which the Scottish upper class starts to turn cosmopolitan as a result of the empire's expansion, 'while the middle class still feels national dishes, clothing and traditions to be important' (Baráth, 1870-74: 47). Baráth sees positive values in both attitudes, both in preserving Scottish traditions and in becoming British cosmopolitans. This mediator role is noticeable in his thoughts on anecdotes and humour.

He was a big enthusiast for Scottish humour. During his years as a student, he was introduced to the quite popular book by Edward Bannerman Burnet Ramsay (or simply Dean Ramsay), and he very much enjoyed translating segments from it. By the time a young Baráth got his hands on it following the year 1867, the book published under the title *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* in 1858 had been reprinted more than once (Ramsay 1858). Since the book emphasised the importance of a national character, and because it was very entertaining, it fit the style of *Vasárnapi Újság* very well. Baráth introduces the work at the start of his series of articles. Ramsey's book consists of six parts. The first talks of general characteristics, the second of religious feelings and observations, the third of old Scottish conviviality, the fourth of old domestic servants, the fifth of 'humour proceeding from expressions and proverbs, and the third of miscellaneous stories of wit and humour' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 61-62, 75 – 76, 86 – 87).

Humour, aesthetics and education of the masses: the influence of English and Scottish humour on Ferenc Baráth

To Baráth, humour was not merely entertainment, but a powerful tool to broaden horizons and knowledge. The character of a nation could

best be understood through its humour. He first marks entertainment. '[Readers] will find such excellent anecdotes and lively features, each of which will, even after reading, keep the nerves in a pleasant chuckling excitement for half an hour. For us, Hungarians, who have time to read outside of travel, he would have certainly recommended it as after-lunch reading, and all we can add to this is that whoever wants to spend a few hours with truthful intellectual pleasure after or during lunch or dinner should take Dean Ramsay's book and he will have reached his goal'. Second, he underlines that 'other than pleasure, one can also grow in knowledge by way of this reading. There is hardly a better tool to know the character, thinking and temperament of a nation than the unique peculiarities of that nation's anecdotes and witty sayings, which relate to its day-to-day life and which express precisely the products of that nation's spirit. They are the things that set apart individual from individual, nation from nation' (Baráth 1870 – 74: 46). Third, the author employing humour must be a moral judge within society and must keep truth in his vision (Baráth 1874b: 397). He explores this third point in a future article he would write to criticise satirical political papers.

Scholarly literature places the heyday of political satire between 1867 and 1875. This is the very period when the young student, Baráth is introduced to the writings of Dean Ramsay in Edinburgh, and he turns his attention, among others, to humour. The underlying cause is that following the Austro-Hungarian compromise, freedom of speech and press reaches a height as never before. Public life was revitalised and satirical papers reflected the array of constantly changing political, spiritual trends, which slowly started to crystalize on differing socio-ideological platforms. The survival of satirical papers 'required the existence of a consumer base of social layers and groups that demanded and supported satirical papers. The bourgeois and intelligentsia were still underdeveloped and small in number, and it was the supporters of political parties who sustained demand for these papers' (Baráth 1874b: 397). The position of these papers also started to change after the compromise. It was no longer possible to simply produce satire defending 'the Hungarian' from 'the foreigner'. As 'the Hungarian' rose to power, it split into opposing classes, layers and groups, and it became necessary to switch from the passivity of defence, to the activity of improvement and self-government. It was, of course, still possible to write anecdotes, and so did for example Üstökös [Comet], but it became more and more the voice of the flat nostalgia of 'the good old times' (*A Politikai &c* 1867 – 1875).

The obvious connection between satirical papers and party politics was also clear for contemporaries to see. The papers reflected political life in the country and every paper aligned itself with a respective political side. So, it was widely accepted that *Borsszem Jankó* was the pair of *Reform* (1869-1875), Üstökös was twin to *Hon* (1868-1882), - *Ludas Matyi* was the same for *Nép Szava* (1868-1872), and *Mátyás Deák* was parallel to *Magyar* Állam (1868-1908). Edit Fabó points out that government subsidies to *Borsszem Jankó* were criticised by all satirical papers. (Fabó

2007: 36). The paper and the corresponding political party were most vehemently attacked by *Bolond Miska* (*Bolond Miskaa* 1868: 120; 156).

The paper had the editor Adolf Ágai, and Prime Minister Gyula Andrássy presented by the caricatures Lopszem Jankó and Count Jula [*Lopszem* being a pun on *Borsszem,* where '*Lop*' means 'to steal' and refers to accusations of plagiarism] (*Bolond Miska* 1870: 169). The harshest words were used by *Ludas Matyi*, which showed Ágai as a chained dog to Andrássy (*Ludas Matyi* 1871L 220 – 21; 252 – 53). As for the evaluation of the papers, Buzinkay claimed that *Borsszem Jankó* was the only paper managing to transcend barren, cheap, and short-sighted opposition politics. 'Both in that it did politics with a moral principle, vision, clarity, and in that it viewed politics nothing more than a measurement of education and social progress. The other papers used the unique tools of satire to unscrupulously attack political opponents, replacing arguments with coarseness, *Borsszem Jankó*, however, strived to inform and broaden horizons in its politically themed writings' (Szabolcsi 1867 – 75: 170).

Buzinkay cites a study by Ferenc Baráth, which however seems to contradict this statement, and criticises both sides equally for being 'servile underlings' of political parties (Baráth 1874b: 396). According to the contemporary Baráth, *Borsszem Jankó* also wrote with a significant bias. His writing titled 'Of Hungarian satirical newspapers' is critical of both government supporting and opposition newspapers. The text by the young teacher is in fact an unbiased masterpiece, which no member of the intelligentsia should forget about even in modernity. He introduces the situation humorously, saying that up to that point (1874) no-one had criticised the critics. The introduction of the question itself was ingenious and unprecedented: 'Was it wariness that kept the respectable gentleman from arguing with the crooked, provocative clown, hoping that he would avoid becoming a target himself? Or was it contempt and underestimation of the satirical paper and its influence?' (Baráth 1874b: 396).

He believes both of these to be wrong, since the first case is one of weakness, while the second is one of a colossal error in judgement. Baráth evaluates based on aesthetic and moral grounds. He accurately argues that the satirical papers do not fulfil the very thing that should be their purpose. They do not educate the masses. The proper judge of morals 'have more or less stooped down from his throne high above (which ought to be the only place for him), or are currently in the process of stooping to the level of a naughty street-urchin or circus clown, whose insults may target any honest man without any chance of appeal' (Baráth 1874b: 397). Baráth repeats this thought while reviewing one of his beloved English novelists: 'Thackeray, the moral judge, has never been as stern and strict, and at the same time as touching and gentle, as in these two works of his (Baráth 1862: 70). The two works were *The English Humorists of the Eighteenth Century* and *The Four Georges*.

Baráth is a big enthusiast of humour as well as political satire, but believes that it is not inconsequential 'what a nation laughs at, or what a nation mocks in its satirical newspapers: it is

every bit as important as what it mourns or what it is inspired by' (Baráth 1874b: 396 – 97). He castigates the satire of both sides asking if they 'have always been able to see the borders between what is sacred and what is profane; the tone and voice which is still allowed for mockery; the honesty and fairness which must be present *even there*; and the line that must never be crossed'. Here too the young teacher remembers the educational, teaching role of the moral judge, and laments how the satirical papers fall short of what is expectable. His review is depressing, as in 'our [Hungarian] satirical papers' much like in those of the twenty-first century there is no striving towards truth and moral elevation. The author who holds liberal principles so dear, is demonstrating his regard for the preservation and propagation of values, that the satirical papers have it in their right to think differently. After this, he succinctly expresses his opposition to these papers as well as his own socio-political creed, stating 'one cannot, however, underestimate their influence, or put them above criticism, without risking damage to public morals'. Baráth did not exaggerate when he warned about the dangerous devolution of analytical criticism, which led Hungarian satirical papers into the belief that they have unrestricted freedom, and as a result they did not shy away from any underhanded method in party-political arguments, and 'the interests of the party all but completely swallowed the quest for truth'. He held 'serious critics' responsible for not realizing: in only a few years political satire had warped public taste immensely. He grasps very clearly the impact of these papers, as what they publish 'have a deep, serious effect on the morals of the nation, at times greater than most serious literature combined…' (Baráth 1874b: 396).

He believes satirical papers have the duty to be moral judges 'in the matters of the nation, except that they utter the sentence under the guise of laughter, just like the poet of satire and humour'. Arany put it well: 'The public will laugh at the fool for fooling around, But if he has not one clever word, do not waste your time on him" (Baráth 1874b: 402). Baráth explains how he envisions the role of the moral judge. The aim of social commentary is to uplift the public and educate the masses with a unique mixture of humour, sarcasm and satire. According to a historical analysis of the period's Hungarian press: 'The critique of the Calvinist grammar school teacher and literary historian Baráth harboured a conservative aversion towards satirical papers, and he never noticed the essential connection between the era and sarcasm, and between the era and satire. He did not match his expectations to the genre, and so he could not set the path for the genre's development – on the other hand he revealed the dangers in press becoming dependant on political parties' (Buzinkay 1985: 170).

A study by István Wintermantel goes right against this statement. The author accurately points out that, as the Arany quotation also shows us, Baráth represents exactly the theory of humour started by László Arany. Both former Nagykőrös pupils prioritise satire as the vessel for comedy, exactly because its realism operates so well as social commentary (Wintermantel 1971: 184). Baráth's conservative-rooted national

liberalism lays down the boundaries of this genre. He defends strongly radical satirical criticism, but also believes that it must have its limits. And this is the sublime and noble aim of moral upbringing. Satire may thus never be unprincipled, dependant on, or biased towards a certain political agenda, and it may especially never be obscene. The Calvinist teacher is in fact offering satire the bench of the moral judge. Wintermantel stresses that Baráth makes the largest concession in order to inject satire into humour. 'Not only does he let satire enter into the realm of comedy, but he makes it an essential part of it'.[2] If we accept the view of Károly Szalay, according to which comedy is the common 'prima materia' from which satire, humour and irony is derived, then Baráth's stance also becomes legitimate (Szalay 1977: 8).

It is worthwhile to stop here for a moment and study contemporary English and Scottish literature in this light. There, humour and satire meet in the works of several authors. Baráth's stance may well have evolved in Scotland, or if he had already had it, Scotland may have been where it became deliberate.[3] If we study his long essay on William Makepeace Thackeray, we may assume that it is not only Arany's influence we see in Baráth, but also the English influence, most likely encountered during his two years in Edinburgh (Baráth 1882: 54 – 93).[4]

Humour can fit into novels, just as it can fit into satirical newspapers. The English author William Thackeray used it to great success. In his essay, Baráth describes him as: 'a novelist and moralist; drawer and satirist; relentless critic of character and morale, who makes fun even of himself, but never wavers in his love of humanity; a great apprentice and successor of the English humourists of the eighteenth century, - only with higher morals and greater art – whom and whose time period he so loved to include in some of his works' (Baráth 1882: 55). Baráth's essay is interesting not only from the perspective of literary history, but also to understand Thackeray's influence on him. The quoted essay is evidence to our assumption that it is incorrect that Arany was the sole influence on Baráth's views on humour. Baráth sharply criticised both the Jókai-edited folk oriented Üstökös, and Adolf Ágai's *Borsszem Jankó*. The first did 'in the tone of a peasant' the same the other did 'with the deceptive subtlety of the rake'. 'They are the exact same in one regard: they both prefer to bring their readership obscenities and indecent satire' (Baráth 1874b: 398). His words clearly present him as the moral judge opting for the golden mean.

It may seem overly idealistic to expect satirical papers to express their criticism in humorous or at times satirical ways, while fulfilling the role of the moral judge. However, Baráth cites his experiences in Scotland and presents them as the formula to be followed by Hungarian newspaper editors. The English *Punch* upholds these very ideals, and does so magnificently. He points to Thackeray's *Jeames' Diary* and *Snob Papers*, which he likes very much (Baráth 1882: 62). Baráth's style is captivating as in his writing he himself parodies how the humour in *Punch* would appear in *Borsszem Jankó*. This is a taunt to Hungarian satirical press. And it is very appropriate. He castigates both politically aligned papers, saying 'the general public must

not be entertained on the expense of any private individual: the common law of morals forbids it'. Here, he criticises the unscrupulous and unprincipled ways of *Borsszem Jankó,* and then chastises Üstökös for their 'scandalously tasteless' character, Kotlik Zirzabella (Baráth 1874b: 399). He compares the war between Hungarian satirical papers to the clashes between *Punch* and Disraeli, and points out that it is possible to criticise sharply in an elegant, gentlemanly way.

That Baráth was influenced by his stay in Scotland is apparent in his thinking. He sees the satirical English and Scottish humour as the role model, which realises what should be the aim of satirical press. He supported this with examples, and commented on them as such: 'In this regard, satirical papers differ from serious issues or books only in that they show moral truth while *laughing*. But if moral truth is not what they show, they have no justification to exist even for an instant. All who raise their voice for the public to hear must speak the truth they most firmly believe in, or must not speak at all' (Baráth 1874b: 400). This is a strong reproof, given that the primary aim of satirical papers was political provocation and entertainment, which did not avoid vulgar remarks either.

Baráth's views on the outstanding English and Scottish persons of literature show well the ideals he believed in. Baráth regarded both Thomas Carlyle and Thackeray as humourists and moralists. This might have been surprising at a glance, as both were generally known as novelists. The former mostly passes judgement on historical events and personalities, while the latter comments on the everyday life of people in his novels. With regards to history, Carlyle 'becomes a defining preacher of hero-worship, while Thackeray declares war on novel heroes and ends his campaign with a victory more brutal than any other. But the seed of respect for novel heroes remains in his heart'. Baráth considers Thackeray's drawing from Shakespeare as evidence for this last statement. By way of his lifelike descriptions Carlyle made history as vivid as a novel, while Thackeray made the novel as real as no-one else before him, and in fact, his novels demand as much open and straightforward realism, as historical figures do, and as much objectivity from the author as they would from a historian (Baráth 1882: 88).

The story of Baráth's life reveals to us a personality that always liked straightforward, impactful expressions, but as a person of unusually sensitive mentality he also believed boundaries to be very important. This was perhaps in part for his own protection. Drawing a parallel between Mór Jókai (Hungarian novelist, 1825-1904) and Thackeray he made this observation: 'That frightful and pitiable trait of the human character, that it is a unique mixture of good and bad, and that it is unable to reach a certain harmonic perfection, and that great virtues are joined by great failings and that each of our hopes carry within and with it its own reverse and weakness: few have seen this so clearly and perhaps no-one has shown this with such convincing and astounding clarity as he did. In the objectivity and fairness he shows to all of his characters: there is something terrifying. This is why naïve *God-fearing souls cannot enjoy*

Thackeray (emphasis mine); they are wary of him, they retreat from his incisive knife. From this point of view there can hardly be a bigger difference than there is between him and our Jókai' (Baráth 1882: 70).

According to the Thackeray-enthusiast Baráth, while the English author is similar to Zsigmond Kemény (Hungarian writer, 1814-75) in his cruelly faithful depiction of human nature, Kemény is more of an epical talent. Already as a humourist, Thackeray's personality is more in the foreground, thus giving his works a unique character. Both were called pessimistic. Baráth, who always feels nuance keenly, notes that this is more or less true, but their pessimisms are different. 'Kemény's is more reminiscent of a thinking philosopher's, who was made so by his discerning mind; Thackeray's is like that of one speaking from the cathedra (a role he often assumes in his novels), who with an aching heart 'preaches' of the vanity of the world. The former is consistently depressing; the latter lets through the occasional rays of amusement and humour' (Baráth 1882: 66 – 67).

After this, he points out the humourist Thackeray's place in Anglo-Saxon literature. He considers the novelist as a great realist, who surpasses all his contemporaries in this regard. 'Dickens perhaps has more sympathy for humanity, his humour is more delightful, brighter; his genius is displayed in captivating sparks through his characterisations, he shines a terrifying light to given points: but on the whole he exaggerates in his characters; he likes extremes, oddities, and these are not drawn from life'. Baráth is most insightful when he studies the works of George Elliot, who characterises subtly 'and at times dissects the threads of passion and emotion like only women can. She has humour too, which stands out in *Mrs. Poyser* of *Adam Bede*; but she is nowhere near her two colleagues in diversity of tone and topic, and she lacks the strength necessary to depict the more tragic clashes of life, and there too, she excels instead in unravelling the individual' (Baráth 1882: 90).

We can observe quite a unique point of view in Baráth's understanding of literature. Baráth was certainly an original thinker, who may have worshipped Thackeray but could also be critical of him in spite of his admitted bias. He saw the author as the greatest representative of English prose. Pál Gyulai saw even Jókai as 'the greatest Hungarian humourist' despite the fact that his work was, at most, touched and spiced by humour (Szalay 1977: 12). Bearing this in mind, Baráth's understanding fits well into contemporary context. He liked that Thackeray was not naïve in his world view, and that he did not sugar-coat his writing. This is, however, a massive difference between him and Jókai, as we will soon point out. Knowing how Baráth spent the last years of his life it is easy to assume that he sympathised with Thackeray based on traits they shared. The simultaneous presence, what's more masterful blending of humour and satire, joy and melancholy, but with realism fleeing into criticism as the dominant theme (Balogh 2008: 89). Thackeray's works were always 'tinted by a certain melancholy, a certain shade of sorrow and pain' (Baráth 1882: 91). He disagrees with the stance of 'a handful of

glassy eyed German aesthetes' also held by some Hungarian critics, who say that Thackeray was not a humourist. Baráth concedes that in a sense even the adjective 'pessimist' is applicable to him, but 'only in passing, and not in general'. He however never supports his claim any further. He insists that the satirical, realist, sarcastic humour that Thackeray represents is an essential part of his art. He clearly likes the English writer very much, but he does not exempt him from his judgement passed on Hungarian satirical writers. The author entertains, that much is beyond question, educates even of the deepest recesses of the human psyche and soul. And finally, he is a true judge of morals, a moralist just like Carlyle and Dickens (Baráth 1882: 88).

Baráth would have perhaps agreed with Taine's opinion: Thackeray 'desires that at every page we should form a judgement on vice and virtue; he has blamed or approved beforehand, and the dialogues or portraits are to him only means by which he adds our approbation to his approbation, our blame to his blame' (*'Az Angol Irodalam'* 1885). It would seem even he did not measure up to the real moral judge, because he is too controlling and opinionated.

'If we hold up Thackeray's work and worldview to the highest standard and ask whether they give us guidance during our life, give us solace in sorrow, give us cure for our doubts, give us reaffirmation in times of despair: we must answer with no.' This rhetorical question posed by the Calvinist teacher outlines another duty for an author. Literature must give its audience guidance and direction to ennoble and uplift it. Realistic and elegantly humorous portrayal of the period, of society and of people is in itself not enough. The real message must be expressed. From a background of his uniquely religious, folk-liberal piety Baráth argues that: 'Thackeray is not an evangelium. But which author is one? Certainly Shakespeare is not one either. *Up to now, there is but one evangelium given to humanity, and that is in the book of books* (emphasis mine) and reading it even with only half faith or without faith shines some warm light to the heart, a two thousand years old fraction of what had once been pure radiance and blazing flame' (Baráth 1882: 91). Here Baráth's liberal Christian faith also surfaces, which sees the Bible as the unquestionable guide to humanity. This message is expressed in the Gospel, which to him summarises love above all else. He believes in the scripture's healing powers: 'And until a son of man comes again who feels it in himself, and can express through his words that which once again heals this sick world, and in renewed faith and love unites the millions of humanity who now hate and fight among each other: until then we will have to make do with what we have'. Baráth was truly critical of his favourite English humourist. Thackeray's world view – according to Baráth – fed on the conviction that 'human nature is made up of an inseparable union of good and bad, of sinful and perfect' (Baráth 1882: 91). This kind of thinking could have been sympathetic to Baráth, as this type of monism was one of the unique aspects of Hungarian theological liberalism, which identified the transcendent with the immanent. Baráth's rural, Biblical belief was also educated in this spirit and presumably this

is why he was captivated by the famous novelist's satirical humour, which he saw and presented as a role model.

Finally, it is also obvious that Baráth, who came from a Protestant, rural, burgher family could have found the topics Thackeray explored interesting, as they had in their focus the civic mind-set and worldviews that were at the time replacing the disappearing feudal way of thinking in England. The platform of the Protestant intelligentsia, who after the Austro-Hungarian compromise were hopeful for a democratic transformation, matched the author's social criticism, which depicts the old world with satiric humour. The novels depict heroes who the author expects to be industrious and productive, while mocking and ridiculing the old world with its snobbery, kow-towing, pretentiousness, hypocrisy and sentimentalism. For a significant segment of the urbanising Hungarian Protestant intelligentsia this stance may have served also a social, political platform. This is the exact reason why Scottish and English Calvinism, which succeeded in democratising society, became role models in Baráth's life.

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Endnotes

1 Ürgödi Nagy Miklós (1840-1907). His father, Ferencz Nagy was a professor in Kolozsvár (Today Cluj Napoca of Transylvania, Romania) and Nagyenyed (Auid, Romania) at the Hungarian Reformed College. His sister, Ilona was married to Domokos Szász Reformed bishop in Transylvania.

2 Baráth's concepts stand in right opposition to that of the followers of Jean-Paul, who dismiss satire on the ground that it does not alleviate the ugly and passion. But his stance also differs profoundly form those who later write this part of history of printed publishing as historians.

3 It is also a great question whether one needs to search for Western European influences as it is customary amongst Hungarian historians. I argues that one may well propose and assume that an independent mind is able to achieve similar results that could well be similar in nature.

4 Here Baráth wrote reviews of the following books: *A Brief Memoir of the late Mr. Thackeray*. By James Hannay. Edinburgh, 1864 and *Yesterdays with Authors. Thackeray.* By James T. Fields. London,1872. and *Thackeray the Humourist and Man of Letters. The Story of His Life* by T. Taylor Esqu. London, 1869.

Re-viewing failure: William McGonagall as Macbeth at the Theatre Royal, Dundee, 1858[1*]

Jennifer Barnes

In June 2020, William McGonagall, famous as 'the worst poet in the history of the English language' or – as the library housing his archive puts it – 'the world's best bad poet', featured as the subject of the historian Ryan Latto's podcast, *Unearthed*.[2] In asking what lessons might be learned from the ghosts of the past, Latto cites McGonagall's persistence in the face of creative adversity as inspiration for all artists impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic. Like most work on McGonagall, Latto makes his case by focusing on McGonagall's poetry as a means by which to explore the tension that lies at the heart of his celebrity: a strongly articulated level of self-belief and its mobilisation through clunkingly bad, and publicly decried, verse. However, McGonagall's enigmatic status as 'the world's best bad poet' is anticipated by – and galvanised by – an identity embedded in the theatrical culture of mid-nineteenth-century Dundee. It is therefore necessary to bridge a gap in McGonagall scholarship by connecting the established image of the 'best bad' poet with McGonagall's earlier career as an actor specialising in Shakespearean tragedy. Offering a re-view of McGonagall's 1858 performance as Macbeth, I want to show that it is precisely by bringing McGonagall's various modes of performance together that we can begin to unpick his complex local celebrity, understanding it as rooted in a mobilisation of what Sara Jane

Figure 1: Studio portrait of William McGonagall (courtesy of Libraries, Leisure & Culture Dundee).

Figure 2: The Theatre Royal, Castle Street, Dundee from a publication of 1822 (courtesy of www.arthurlloyd.co.uk).

Bailes has called a 'poetics of failure' (Bailes 1980).

It was in December of 1858 that McGonagall performed selected scenes from *Macbeth* at the Theatre Royal in Castle Street, Dundee, concluding with Act 5, Scene 8: Macbeth's demise in the final battle with Macduff. McGonagall details a sense of the tension that had arisen between himself and the actor who played opposite him, reporting that Macduff, perhaps conscious of McGonagall's prowess in fighting scenes, 'tried to spoil me in combat by telling me to cut it short.'[3] Rather than acquiesce to this demand, McGonagall's Macbeth, despite having been thoroughly run though with Macduff's sword, refused to die. In a 'review' appearing in the June 1872 edition of *Dundee People's Journal*, the author, 'Old Stager,' remembers how McGonagall 'kept dodging round and round Macduff, as if he had made up his mind to have a wrestle for it.' Ignoring Macduff's 'quite audible' requests that he 'go down,' McGonagall's Macbeth, instead, 'maintained his feet and flourished his weapon about the ears of his adversary' in a manner that left Old Stager imagining 'the performance ending in real tragedy.' Eventually, Macduff, 'tired of such tomfoolery, flung his sword to the side,'

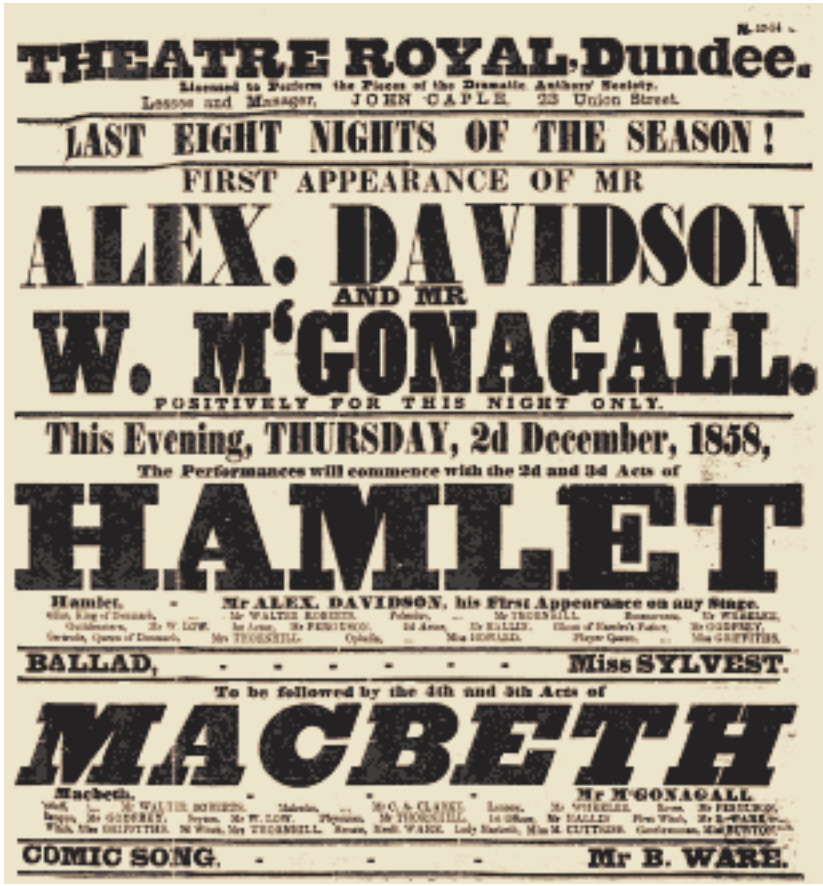
seized hold of McGonagall, and 'brought the sublime tragedy of Macbeth to a close in a rather undignified way, by taking the feet from under the principal character.'[4]

That the story of this prolonged performance continued to circulate in local cultural memory well after 1858 is made clear by the fact that it is the subject of two further 'reviews,' appearing in 1876 and 1887 respectively. Usefully, the 1887 review (this time by D. Taylor for the *Dundee Evening Telegraph*) reproduces that of 1876, a poem by the ubiquitous Old Stager and published in the *People's Journal*:

> […] I knew 'twould be a dreadful fight,
> For William has a fiery vein;
> He showered his blows with main and might,
> And nearly murdered Fife's brave Thane!
>
> He seemed to think Shakespeare had erred
> In getting him killed by Macduff;
> For though he often felt the sword
> Yet he disdained to cry 'enough' […][5]

Recounting the poem and the performance, Taylor concludes that in his encounter with Macduff, 'it was quite evident' that this Macbeth 'had made up his mind to die hard.'[6] Here, the phrase 'die hard' evokes the persona of the guileless try-hard that intrigues Ryan Latto in 2020, but Taylor adds nuance by stressing McGonagall's decision-making, his considered choice to disrupt audience expectations of Shakespeare's text in 1858. This recognition of intent is replicated by Old Stager who describes McGonagall as having 'evidently made up his mind to astonish the "gods"' at the Theatre Royal. However, the qualification here that McGonagall's performance is aimed at the audience seated in 'the "gods"' is particularly telling: these patrons, occupying the cheapest seats in the house, consisted of McGonagall's shopmates, weavers from the local mills, who had also made up the bulk of the audience for McGonagall's earlier appearances in Dundee. At the Theatre Royal, Taylor and Old Stager tell us, McGonagall resolves to play Macbeth for a specific audience with specific demands.

Indeed, by 1858 McGonagall was well-known within Dundee and the occupants of the Theatre Royal 'gods' had clear expectations regarding his performance: reports Taylor, '[they] went to see him for they thought they would get a treat, and they were not disappointed.' This 'treat' can be unpacked through a survey of local commentaries concerning McGonagall's activity within the industrial spaces, amateur dramatic clubs and penny booths of Dundee during the 1840s-50s. What these uncover is a desire to read McGonagall's performances through the lens of his notorious expressions of 'self-[conceit].'[7] Thus, reports about McGonagall's 'confidence in the superiority of his talents,' his orations delivered 'for the edification of his fellow workers' and his loud disdain for



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Hamlet, - Mr ALEX. DAVIDSON, his First Appearance on any Stage.

BALLAD, - - - - - - - Miss SYLVESTER.

To be followed by the 4th and 5th Acts of

MACBETH

Macbeth, - - - Mr M'GONAGALL

COMIC SONG, - - - Mr B. WARE.

Figure 3: Theatre Royal playbill, 1858 (courtesy of www.arthurlloyd.co.uk).

lesser actors ('Give that man five pounds for playing like that? By heavens they saw me they would give me ten') are matched with gleeful descriptions of his comeuppance in performance.[8] In this vein, we learn of a much-rehearsed and widely encouraged programme of parts to be delivered at Peter Street Hall that is scuppered by an audience who do not show up; we discover that McGonagall's first professional engagement as Macbeth is marred by the company's refusal 'to lend their best [costume],' rendering him 'more like Highland beggar than the "Great Thane"'; we hear that during one performance, and exhausted by the 'might and main' of his delivery, McGonagall's voice becomes 'so hoarse that he could scarcely be heard,' a direct result of his refreshments having been spirited away 'like the witches in his favourite tragedy.' Of McGonagall's skill, we are told that 'He had a most retentive memory, and could – well, not exactly *recite*, but he could *yell* whole passages from "'Macbeth", "Richard III", "Hamlet" or "Othello" ...'.[9] His 'style of

acting was all his own,' reiterates Old Stager: 'But what a style! [It] never varied, being one continual roar from beginning to end.'[10]

These accounts confirm two important details: firstly, they show that McGonagall had established a distinctive celebrity within Dundee prior to the 1858 performance at the Theatre Royal; secondly, they reveal that the appeal of that celebrity is rooted in failure, on McGonagall's performative exposure as an object of ridicule. Old Stager's poetic review concludes instructively here:

> […] The curtains fell on this foul play
> Ere William could get time to rise;
> But those who saw him the next day
> Said he looked black – between the eyes
>
> From this I fear you will all three [Garrick, Kean, Kemble]
> See that your laurels now must fade
> And even Irving, from Dundee,
> Must learn how Macbeth should be played.[11]

The delight taken by Old Stager, both in McGonagall's theatrical flop, and in the futility of the comparison with Irving, is palpable. Evaluating responses like this more broadly, Gord Bambrick's work invites us to consider McGonagall as fulfilling a cultural function approximating that of the fool, his performances actively staging local socio-cultural class tensions and inducing, through failure, a pleasurable catharsis in his audience. Bambrick explains how working-class audiences participated in a collective rejection of McGonagall's cultural pretensions (and their associated values), subjecting him to uninhibited 'rituals of laughter and humiliation' in the process (Bambrick 1992). In response to this treatment, McGonagall famously maintained a Keaton-like 'Stoneface' and continued to promote his reputation for 'self-[conceit]' publicly, expressing unshakeable confidence in his abilities. Of the 1858 *Macbeth*, Taylor registers amazement at McGonagall's 'belief he acted splendidly,' concluding that 'William's ideas of the business were quite different from any other person's [sic].'[12] The incongruity pinpointed here between McGonagall's expressions of his own greatness and the reception of his creative output remains the defining feature of McGonagall's legacy. It continues to puzzle cultural commentators who variously assess McGonagall as suffering from an undiagnosed bio-psycho-social disorder or, most famously, as a 'heroic failure': somebody who was, in Stephen Pile's terms, unintentionally and 'so giftedly bad that he backed unwittingly into genius' (Pile 1980: 123). However, I want to return here to the way in which Taylor and Old Stager pinpoint McGonagall's decision-making at the Theatre Royal in 1858, his deliberately provoking intervention in the development of his performance of Macbeth: 'he made up his mind to astonish the "gods."' It is exactly by foregrounding McGonagall's agency as Macbeth that Taylor and Old Stager invite us to reconsider McGonagall's legacy as an 'unwitting' and preposterous 'heroic failure' and to imagine him, instead, as consciously operating a *poetics* of failure.

For Bailes, it is precisely 'when the constituents of a familiar paradigm are made to fail' that 'something else' begins to happen on stage;

and this 'something else' is nothing less than a productive renegotiation of the parameters of performance, the creation of new possibilities, a 'poetics' of failure (Bailes 1980: 62). Crucially, this is a renegotiation that underscores the agency of the artist who 'consciously [deploys failure] in the production of the event.' Centring McGonagall's agency in his counter-cultural Macbeth of 1858 means encountering him anew: not as a 'heroic failure' in the sense that Pile implies it, but as somebody who determinedly produces failure as 'something else;' indeed, as an artist who makes 'failure [*work*]' (Bailes 1980: 2). Like Taylor and Old Stager, I underscore McGonagall's intention here, contending that when he addresses the 'gods' in 1858, McGonagall makes failure *work* by offering a performance that consciously foregrounds and advances his well-known – and derided – local celebrity, a celebrity shaped by Dundee's rich theatrical and socio-industrial microcultures.[13] In doing so, McGonagall takes advantage of a mode of performance inherited from the early modern stage and embedded within the text, what Robert Weimann and Douglas Bruster have explored as 'personation' (Weimann and Bruster 2008). When Macbeth, run through with Macduff's sword, does not fall but, rather, 'gains vitality' with 'every death thrust,' McGonagall repurposes this theatrical function of the early modern actor-character to great effect: switching to a presentational mode of acting, he offers the audience an alternative performance, the 'treat' that they have come for.[14] This is a celebration of local celebrity that is made coherent precisely through a renegotiation of the established parameters of Shakespearean performance, through failure that *works*. Privileging a persona forged within the industrial space of the local mills, the city's amateur dramatic circuit and the spectacular culture of the penny gaffs, McGonagall's performance of Macbeth intrudes awkwardly into the grand space of the Theatre Royal and fails, wonderfully.

Re-viewing the 1858 *Macbeth* through the prism of Bailes' poetics of failure invites us to re-view McGonagall's literary and socio-cultural performances more broadly, to consider the ways in which he leans in to the 'treat' enjoyed by local audiences. Indeed, McGonagall himself asks us to acknowledge a coherence between his repute as a local tragedian and his identity as a poet: in five of the six extant versions of McGonagall's autobiographical writing housed in the William McGonagall Collection at Dundee City Library, McGonagall declares his 1877 rebirth as a poet through appropriations of *Macbeth*:

> [the desire to write poetry] was so strong, I
> imagined that a pen
> was in my right hand, and a voice crying, 'Write!
> Write!'[15]

The image conjured up here of McGonagall, in his sitting room at Paton's Lane, visualising a phantom pen in his hand and moved by a disembodied, imperative voice is provocative. It is an image that works to activate the readers' imagination, drawing not only on the rich visual culture associated with Shakespeare's *Macbeth* but on a local history that connects McGonagall with the role; moreover, the image does not just juxtapose the two but brilliantly interweaves them.

Here, the dagger, transformed into a pen, becomes a dual symbol of Macbeth's and McGonagall's failures while the disembodied voice, remembering Macbeth's 'Sleep no more,' invites us to complete its ghostly injunction to McGonagall, that he 'Write! (no more).'[16] Understanding McGonagall as consciously operating a poetics of failure across multiple modes of performance allows us to read this autobiographical appropriation of *Macbeth* as a playful representation that skilfully blends sincerity with absurdity, a hallmark of McGonagall's persona. It is a representation that stresses a clear and deliberate connection between different modes of performance, an extension of McGonagall's Shakespearean 'treat' into verse and, later, into performance poetry (where *Macbeth* featured as a key component of the repertoire). As retrospective accounts of McGonagall's decision to become a poet, the autobiographical appropriations of *Macbeth* also alert us to McGonagall's highly developed awareness of an emerging trend in the cultural landscape of the 1870s.

As Kirstie Blair has discussed at length, Scottish verse culture of the 1870s, promoted through the local press, encouraged bad poetry as a 'highly publishable subgenre' through which pleasure could be derived from guessing if 'the author was writing strategically as opposed to ignorantly' (Blair 2019: 177). This trend for bad verse clearly intersects with McGonagall's already established renown for bad acting: that is, it is another example of failure that *works*. The 1870s had ushered in a period of decline for the weaving industry in Dundee and while McGonagall initially responded to subsequent economic pressures by appealing for paid work as an actor, he swiftly identified and capitalised upon the synergy that exists between his theatrical celebrity and the contemporary fashion for bad poetry. Of McGonagall's poetry, Blair notes that his 'success, if it can be called such, rests not on distinctiveness but on *familiarity*' but, crucially, that familiarity is already established by 1877 (Blair 2019: 178). McGonagall's persona, rooted in the theatrical landscape of Dundee and possessed of a 'strong desire to write poetry' now becomes newly mobilised through the local press and, like his Macbeth, refuses to die. Indeed, the shift into verse and the harnessing of local print culture that it entails inevitably increases McGonagall's recognisability within Dundee. It is at this point that McGonagall's mobilisation of a multimodal poetics of failure and his specifically local celebrity fully coalesce, generating the enigma of his legacy.

Kerry O Ferris argues that local celebrity (that is, celebrity that operates in a 'smaller, more circumscribed' space) is characterised by vulnerability, a vulnerability that 'links the public and private [self] … in a more unpleasant way than the gratifications of recognisability' pertaining to national or international stardom (Ferris 2010: 392; Ferris 2016: 228). This vulnerability stems from what Ferris identifies as a combination of recognisability and entitlement on the part of the public, an idea that draws on Erving Goffman's concept of 'open persons' as those who are socially exposed through lack of 'sacred value' (Goffman 1963: 126). McGonagall's own exposure within the space of Dundee has been well-documented,

not least by McGonagall himself who lamented the relentless 'custom of annoying me' that characterised his lived experience within the city. In 1893 he gave a despondent account of his treatment in Dundee to the *Weekly News*: '… before I leave home every morning I say to myself "I wonder if I am to meet with abuse this morning"…I won't travel a hundred yards when I am assaulted, pointed at with the finger of scorn, and laughed at and giggled at by silly girls.'[17] This treatment reflects the increasingly hostile reception that McGonagall received on stage from the 1870s. At the Nethergate Circus in 1879, for example, McGonagall, performing Macbeth with his trademark 'whirlwind of passion' ('declaiming wildly' and 'treading the stage with tragic strides [whilst] waving his arms in furious style') found himself met with 'a shower of ancient eggs, tin cans, potatoes, bags of soot, bags of flour, and packages of mysterious compounds.' Brandishing 'his glittering sword' at the audience, McGonagall eventually fled when "another hurricane of missiles, more overpowering than the one before, descended' and, though the gallery exploded in 'enthusiastic cheering' to encourage him back onstage, the *Weekly News* reports that this 'was not to be' for McGonagall had 'tasted in a very literal sense the "sweets" of popularity.'[18]

The 'sweets' of McGonagall's popularity documented in these two *Weekly News* articles speak to McGonagall's vulnerability in Ferris's terms, his Goffmanian 'open-ness' within the local community. That openness is invited – and intensified – by a poetics of failure that promotes a slippage between the onstage and the offstage self, producing a lack of 'sacred value' as an affect of performance. This is a dynamic bolstered by McGonagall's expressions of 'self-conceit' which further consolidate his poetics of failure within the space of public discourse. Bleeding into the everyday, McGonagall's act renders him a subject who can be 'engaged at will,' confronted by a public with 'nothing to lose' in the exchange. Accordingly, McGonagall's fraught encounters within the city space evidence the impact of what Ferris calls the 'interactional experience of recognisability,' a connectedness that draws attention to how McGonagall's image should be understood as co-produced by the local community (Ferris 2016: 232). The consequence of this mutually reinforcing co-production is that McGonagall becomes enmeshed in a network of overlapping discourses of public and private selfhood, a 'structured polysemy' that drives questions about his motivation and, frustratingly, denies the possibility of their resolution (Dyer 1979). Was McGonagall a 'gullible fool or shrewd rogue?' asks Norman Watson; 'was he really able to sustain the same comic character non-stop, both off and on stage … ?' asks Chris Hunt (Watson 2010: 253; Hunt 2011: 12). These questions are generated by the fusion of McGonagall's poetics of failure and the interactional nature of local celebrity, each perpetuating the other.

It is precisely William McGonagall's counter-cultural engagement with Shakespeare in 1858 that invites us to identify and unpick the complex and overlapping mechanisms that underpin and drive the 'best bad' poet's enigmatic image. Ryan Latto is right to recognise McGonagall's ability

to weather creative and economic adversity as a source of inspiration during the pandemic. But re-viewing the 1858 *Macbeth* asks us to do so, not by reproducing engrained ideas about McGonagall as an unwitting 'heroic failure,' but to think of him instead as a figure of agency who exploited failure as a means of production, and as a performer who embraced poetry as an extension of an act that already worked. It spotlights the locality of McGonagall's celebrity as key, both in the construction of an image that pre-dates his fame as a poet, and in the evolution of that image and its legacy from the 1870s. The 1858 *Macbeth* at the Theatre Royal invites us to celebrate the myriad ways in which, on the stage, on the page, and on the streets of Dundee, William McGonagall showed himself to be an artist who screwed his courage to the sticking place, and failed.

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Endnotes

1 * I would like to thank Dr Norman Watson for his insight into McGonagall's Dundee and Dr Erin Farley whose expert knowledge enabled me to remotely access relevant archival holdings at Dundee Central Library.

2 *Unearthed*, Podcast, produced by Ryan Latto, 2021. Available at https://unearthed.buzzsprout.com (last accessed 16 August 2023).

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10 'Episodes IV', 1877,

11 Ibid.

12 'Episodes IV', 1877.

13 For an account of this relationship see Watson, Norman, *Poet McGonagall* (Edinburgh: Berlinn, 2010.)

14 'Episodes IV', 1877.

15 Original MS of an Autobiography by William McGonagall, c.1880, William McGonagall Collection, Dundee Central Library. The image also occurs in *The Autobiography and Poetical Works of William McGonagall* (1887); *The Authentic Autobiography of the Poet McGonagall* (n.d.); *Poetic Gems* (1890) *and The Autobiography of William Topaz McGonagall* (1901). For a comprehensive account of McGonagall's autobiographical writing see Watson, *Poet*.

16 *Macbeth*, III, ii, 38.

17 'Poet McGonagall Disgusted with Dundee', *Weekly News*, 13 May 1893 (qtd. in Watson, *Poet*, p. 203). See also 'Poet McGonagall Disgusted with Dundee', *Dundee Courier*, 6 May 1893.

18 'McGonagall at the Circus,' *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 2 February 1889.

"Wha would ha'e thoucht it, Stockings would ha'e boucht it?": Clocks in the Nineteenth-Century Scottish Public Imagination.

Ieuan Rees

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, readers in Scotland of various newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets may have encountered a curious story about Bettie Wilcox, of Bannockburn, near Stirling, and her unusual longcase clock. Multiple versions of the story recount how, at the turn of the century, Elizabeth Wilcox (or Bettie, as she is more commonly known) finds out that her son, a sailor, has been imprisoned in St Peterburg, Russia. Undaunted, she prepares silk stockings for Tsar Alexander I of Russia, who, on receiving them, was much impressed. The Tsar subsequently released her son, along with £100, which Bettie used to commission an unusual longcase clock constructed by David Somerville (or George Harvey), clockmakers in St Ninians near Stirling. Reports of the story have been recorded in newspapers as early as 1814, changing and shifting in focus over decades until a proliferation of writings came to the fore from the 1870s onwards, notably led by two women, the journalist J.A. Owen and the ballad writer Agnes. H. Bowie, who saw the story published in newspapers, periodicals, and books. The clock that Wilcox had commissioned, over time transcends from being a timepiece to one of cultural significance in the public imagination.

Objects are not static things but act as symbols that humans attach meaning to (Smith and Watson 2017). In doing so, they contain 'an ongoing social life' where these meanings and values are negotiated, dynamic, and changing (Jones 2006: 109). Understanding objects critically has been extensively explored over the last three decades, notably from cultural anthropologist Igor Kopytoff's influential work, *The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process'* (1986). Since then, approaches to objects have been used across critical fields such as anthropology (Hoskins 1998), archaeology (Saunders 1999; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Burström 2014), museum studies (Alberti 2005) as well as critical heritage studies around monuments and replicas (Foster and Jones 2020). Various new methods-based approaches have evolved over decades, such as object interviews (Woodward 2015), object

elicitation (Iltanen and Topo 2015) arts-based methods (Kara 2015), inventories and itineraries and assemblages (Edensor 2011; DeLanda 2019). As such, the significance of time concerning objects cannot be understated. Objects often serve as bookmarks within the broader chronology of human experience, with their perceived value and importance shifting over time. In this context, objects can be understood as vessels of collective memory, capturing and preserving moments, cultures, and histories. The wear and tear on an object and its changing contexts of display or use all trace the passage of time.

Clocks act as dual objects and occupy a distinct position in our understanding and perception of time. They are systematic tools, harnessing the intangible flow of moments into measured, quantifiable units and compartmentalise experience into days, hours, minutes, and seconds, on the one hand, but on the other, are implicated in a much broader human and cultural engagement with time, its measurement, and its implications. Critics have long argued about the measurement, standardisation, or objectivity of time, but seeing clocks as active and cultural in their composition remains constrained by 'capitalist forms of control and domination' (Bastian 2017: 2). Various scholars across many disciplines have dealt with the semantics and meanings of time across various critical fields, however, as Bastian highlights, clocks, due to their relationship to time in a cultural frame, have often been disregarded as 'unworthy of further analysis' and seen in a reductive way as simply 'representatives of an objective or universal time' (2017: 2). Bastian proposes that a new field of study, 'Critical Horology', can go some way to address this gap, arguing for:

> a deeper exploration of the grounds upon which clocks and clock-time are produced, the relationships both have with power (in the present and historically) and an opening up of who might experiment with the possibilities and potentialities of the clock.
>
> (2017: 18)

One of the early challenges of researching Wilcox's clock was its conspicuous absence, having long disappeared from public consciousness and last being seen at an auction house in Edinburgh in 1917 (Smith 1921: 185). Even then, one known image of the clock from the turn of the twentieth century has questionable authenticity compared to detailed descriptions in earlier writings. Although the story has appeared in local history publications on Stirling over the last hundred years, sometimes recounting the story in full (Allan 1990; Cook and McNeish 2022), little critical work has been undertaken on the Wilcox story. The story, until now, has appeared disparate, with articles often referring to each other in non-direct ways. Using the digitised online British Newspaper Archive (BNA), it quickly became apparent that archival material (newspaper articles, books, illustrations, ballads, and more) produced across the nineteenth century act as a symbolic collection of meanings and values related to Wilcox's clock. When piecing archival material as stories together for this exercise, what was apparent was a consistent effort of what (Jones 2012) and others (see Summerfield 1998) have called 'composure' whereby:

> 'social performance and narration of past events and experiences are actively "composed" in an attempt to constitute the self as a coherent subject in relation to narratives that link past, present, and ultimately future' (Jones 2012: 349).

In this article, I explore how Wilcox's clock can be seen as more than simply a timekeeping device with an objective purpose. By first understanding how time and clocks in the nineteenth century were used through a cultural lens, I examine how the – idea – of Wilcox's clock's nuanced and composed nature was constructed in the public imagination during this period. Turning to the writings of J.A. Owen and Agnes H. Bowie, I reveal that the – story – of the clock represents a broader cultural understanding of what clocks during this period represent, in which they go beyond acting as objects of mechanised process. Ultimately, I argue that re-engaging with time-related objects through an interdisciplinary lens can facilitate a more nuanced and enriched understanding of the social-cultural power of clocks and has the potential to contribute to Bastian's call for an emergent 'critical horology'.

Clocks and Time in the Nineteenth Century Public and Private Life

In the British Isles, during the nineteenth century, perceptions of ordered time underwent a substantive change, underscored by the institutionalisation of Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) in 1847 and its subsequent adoption in Scotland by 1848 (although GMT was not the legal time throughout the British Isles until the 1880s). This standardisation was not just an operational adjustment but symbolic of broader societal changes rooted in the emergent industrial era. With the proliferation of factories, railways and consequent urbanisation, a uniform time framework became indispensable to ensure synchronised operations and enhanced productivity. Public clocks symbolised attitudes of precision, regularity, and order, with Zemka (2011: 2) arguing that 'Clock making and chronometry not only made it possible to run factories efficiently but also contributed designs for fine and rapid mechanical movements that facilitated mass production.' Strategically positioned in churches, town halls, workplaces, and civic spaces, they instituted the linearity of time and the societal imperative for punctuality. Their presence in public spaces can be read as a manifestation of the mechanised enforcement of societal rhythms and a tangible reflection of industrialisation in this period. The domestic sphere also saw an increasing presence of clocks across the social classes, first as long cases and later with smaller clocks, such as those in central positions, such as the mantlepiece. Longcase clocks often 'seemed to stand in the corner of a room or the hallway' occupying 'marginal spaces in everyday life' (Doolittle 2015: 256), delineating daily routines, from household tasks to leisurely pursuits.

However, time, as well as clocks, are never standalone in an objective sense. Instead, much like other aspects of society and objects, they are produced through an inherently gendered lens. Doolittle argues that clocks, particularly

in the nineteenth century, 'carried gendered meanings and were usually characterised as male' with their 'size, weight and especially the complex mechanisms of the clock reflected their "maleness"' (Doolittle 2015: 256–257). These gendered interpretations were deeply ingrained in the societal fabric, rendering clocks not merely objective instruments of timekeeping but symbolic entities representing prevailing sociocultural norms. Doolittle goes further, arguing that, especially in a domestic setting, the informal and interchangeable use of 'grandfather clock' to represent large longcase clocks (emanating from the song *'My Grandfather's Clock'* by Henry Clay Work 1876) and 'grandmother' clocks to represent small timepieces during the later Victorian period, was typical of the distinct demarcations of male and female roles. Further, it amplified these associations by casting objects, like clocks, within an encompassing patriarchal narrative paired with mechanisation.

During this period, the ubiquity of time as a central motif in the cultural landscape is evident in the vast array of literary works, plays, newspaper articles, and features within periodicals. Charles Dickens exhibited a profound fascination with time. This is seen in his recurrent depictions of clocks and the passage of time in novels such as *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1841), *Barnaby Rudge* (1841), *A Christmas Carol* (1843), *Dombey and Son* (1848), and *David Copperfield* (1850). Similarly, George Eliot's narratives in *Adam Bede* (1859) and *Middlemarch* (1871) portray time as a cultural regime governing Eliot's characters' lives and societies. Collectively, these artistic expressions illuminate the profound influence of time on the Victorian psyche, framing it as both a tangible measure of existence and an abstract force in shaping narratives, identities, and societal structures.

Tracing the Story of Bettie Wilcox's Clock through Time

As mentioned earlier, piecing together the development or 'story' of Wilcox's clock at the outset seemed challenging. Before taking a deep dive into the research, stories of Wilcox and her clock seemed to operate in isolation from one another, sometimes across several decades, and often containing many inconsistencies in approach and detail. However, as articles, particularly in newspapers, were organised chronologically across time, new meanings were uncovered in how the story of Wilcox and her clock was shaped. It is, therefore, no surprise that newspapers and periodicals in themselves 'structured readers' days, weeks, and months' (King, Easley, and Morton 2016: 2), acting almost as paper-based timekeeping devices.

Traditional modes of biography often assume that a telling of a life usually starts at the beginning in an onward trajectory. However, unusually, we start this section before the object becomes 'born' into full public consciousness. Beginning in 1814, a *Manchester Mercury* article which, intriguingly, sidesteps mention of the clock altogether and relies on a letter associated with Wilcox, who could not read or write and had a local man write it for her to the Russian Tsar, begging for her son's release. This interpretive 'orthographical account', with Wilcox's tale moved to Alloa, not only offers

a departure from the original vernacular of the letter but also underscores early iterations of the story that might not have accorded the clock its central place in the narrative:

> *An Orthographical Copy Of A Letter From Elizabeth Willcox, of The Town Of Alloa*
>
> Unto the most Excellent Alexander, Emperor of that great dominion of Russia, and the territories thereunto belonging.
>
> Your most humble servant most humbly begs your most gracious pardon, for my boldness in approaching your most dread Sovereign for your clemency at this time. My Sovereign, the candour of this freedom is on account of your Sovereign's goodness, in the saving and enlarging my son, whose name is John Duncan, aged 26 years, who on a prize, who was prisoner with Robert Spittle, his master, Captain of the Jean Spittle, of Alloa, a the time of the British embargo in your Sovereigns dominions in Russia, who is the only support of me his Mother, and besides I have no other friend for my support; and on account of your gracious benevolence, be pleased to accept of this small present from your ever well-wishes whilst I have breath – the small present is three pairs of stockings for going in when your Sovereign goes out a hunting. I would have also sent your Sovereign silk stockings if that my son could search for it, but the press being at this time so hot that he cannot go for fear being pressed. If your Sovereign will be pleased to accept of this, and favour me with an answer of this by the bearer, and let me know what family of children your Sovereign has, I will send stockings for them for the winter, before winter comes on, as also whats sons and what daughters you might have.
>
> Most dread Sovereign, I am your most obedient servant, and humble servant until death,
> (Signed) Elizabeth Wilcox.
> (*Manchester Mercury* 1814).

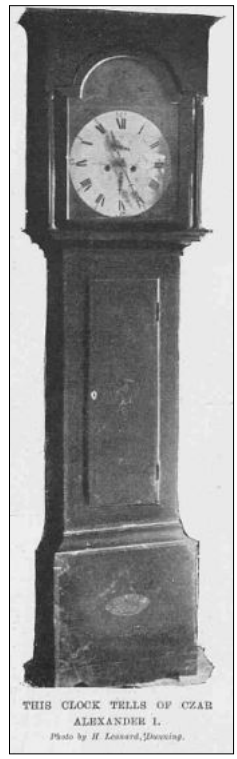


Figure 1: H. Leonard, Dunning, 1898, Photo of Longcase Grandfather Clock, Bettie Wilcox.

The decades that followed introduced variations to Wilcox's story. In *Chamber's Edinburgh Journa*l (1835), the story is again repositioned to Alloa, differing from the later affirmed locations of St Ninians or Bannockburn. Notably, the figure of Wilcox undergoes a name change, emerging as 'Elizabeth Wyllie.' *Starling's Noble Deeds of Women* (Starling 1835: 248) echoes these narrative departures, contributing to a period where details meandered and occasionally strayed from the eventual core account. Owen's later 1891

critique of Chamber's rendition, which will be discussed later, reflects on this as 'told evidently from hearsay, and with many errors' (Owen 1891: 574) encapsulating the dynamic fluidity of oral histories as they make their way into print, against the obsession with recorded narratives and knowledge systems in the nineteenth century.

However, the latter decades of that century heralded a more structured and detailed engagement with Wilcox's story. A cluster of articles in *The Stirling Observer* in October and November 1881 reveals an attempt at the story's composition. An article titled 'A Romantic Enterprise', published on 22nd October, outlines the story of Wilcox and the clock, including a letter composed on her behalf by local Alexander Bryce. *The Observer* attributes the verbatim style of the letter to Wilcox's resolve to record her sentiments:

> 'Ye'll just pit in't what I'll say to ye.' (J.S 1881)

However, at this point in the article, we can understand how the object and its descriptions differ from Owen's account a decade later. In this account, the inscription 'Wha would ha'e thocht it, Stockings would ha'e bocht it' is engraved on the dial plate, not a separate piece of wood. The story in full in this article remains relatively close to Owen's later account. However, at this point, the *Observer* article affirms that the whereabouts of the clock are currently unknown. This goes some way to explain the physical differences in its description of this account and reveals how objects, when not seen in physical form, still operate symbolically and imaginatively.

A few weeks later, on 10th November, a reply is published to the story by an author put simply as 'the one who knows'. Pleased with the article in the *Observer*, the reply includes more detail about the clock, stating that 'Bettie's historical time-reckoner is still to the fore, and now in possession of a Mrs Duncan of this village, whose late husband, John Duncan, was a son of the same mentioned prisoner of war in Bettie's petition' (The One Who Knows 1881). The letter corrects the October *Observer* article, stating that the couplet was attached to the clock on a separate piece of wood, not on the clockface as initially written. In connection to the story, the letter describes a set of gold teacups and saucers being sent to Sir John Wylie's mother in Kincardine-on-Forth, where Willcox was received for tea by Mrs. Wylie. This subsequent response contributes more detail and corrects inaccuracies, deepening the narrative's complexity and once again revealing a process of composure related to its biography in a much more direct way.

This unfolding dialogue in the newspaper over subsequent weeks epitomises the dynamic nature of collective memory and the iterative process of historical reconstruction. It underscores that history, especially when tied to personal and community memories, is not a static entity but a living conversation subject to reinterpretation, correction, and embellishment. In this instance, the story of the clock becomes a focal point around which various individuals seek to contribute, clarify, or amend details, endeavouring to construct a coherent and credible narrative. Such exchanges played out in public forums like the newspaper, highlights the interplay between

individual memory, collective recollection, and the written record. It highlights that longcase clocks, such as this one, contain narrative histories and add a cultural dimension to time that is not immediately foreseen.

Agency in writing about clocks and time: A.J. Owen and Agnes B. Bowie

So far, in this article, I have discussed the importance of time in the Victorian public consciousness and how clocks as objects have distinct cultural agency in these processes. Wilcox's story's most striking feature is Wilcox's female sense of endeavour for her son and the economic power she then had to commission the clock. Wilcox could have easily had the story painted or depicted in another way, yet the story being embodied in an object, particularly related to time, seems an important point to underscore. It is salient, then, that what is the most prolific stage of writing about the clock later in the 1890s, was led by two women, both from very different social classes, but have reshaped the story away from a masculine representation of time to one that becomes a much more liberated form of storytelling.

J.A. Owen (1841 – 1922) was a travel and nature writer and journalist, publishing frequently in the press, periodicals, and books from the late 1850s onwards. She travelled extensively, having lived in Australia and New Zealand, and writing about her travels to the Hawaiian Islands, the West Indies and Panama. She was notably shipwrecked on the R.M.S Douru in 1882 off the coast of Spain. Not much is known about her connection to Stirling; however, she is known to have frequently visited friends in Bridge of Allan. It is assumed that Owen first became aware of the story of Wilcox's clock in the 1890s, from then on publishing several articles related to the story (*Girls Own Paper* 1892; *Blackwood Magazine* 1891; *The Sketch* 1898), forming a personal friendship with the then owner, Isabella Duncan who lived in Bannockburn.

Owen's writing is reflective of the time, as well as her social class. In the Tory periodical, *Blackwood Magazine*, Owen, on describing the story and her involvement, almost takes on an imperialist explorer persona that, as Deininger argues, is representative of an approach during this period that was 'often prone to bias, misunderstanding and cultural imperialism' (Deininger 2016: 108). This imperialist stance is seen when Owen describes taking a 'rough old shandrydan of an omnibus' from Stirling to Bannockburn with a group of women speaking in Scots, much to her bewilderment at being misunderstood herself by the group of women when asking about the clock and its owner Isabella Duncan:

> 'Instead of an answer, there came the proverbial questions put to myself: "Do ye no' ken whaur she lives?", "Are ye wantin' to go to her?", "Do ye no' ken onything aboot her?", and so on.' (Owen 1891: 569)

Owen's sense of bewilderment to her surroundings continues, describing, accompanied by a young girl 'wandering along a rough, narrow street in twilight, down a steep brae, and beside the old bridge we entered a court' (Owen 1891: 569) At the end of the nineteenth century,

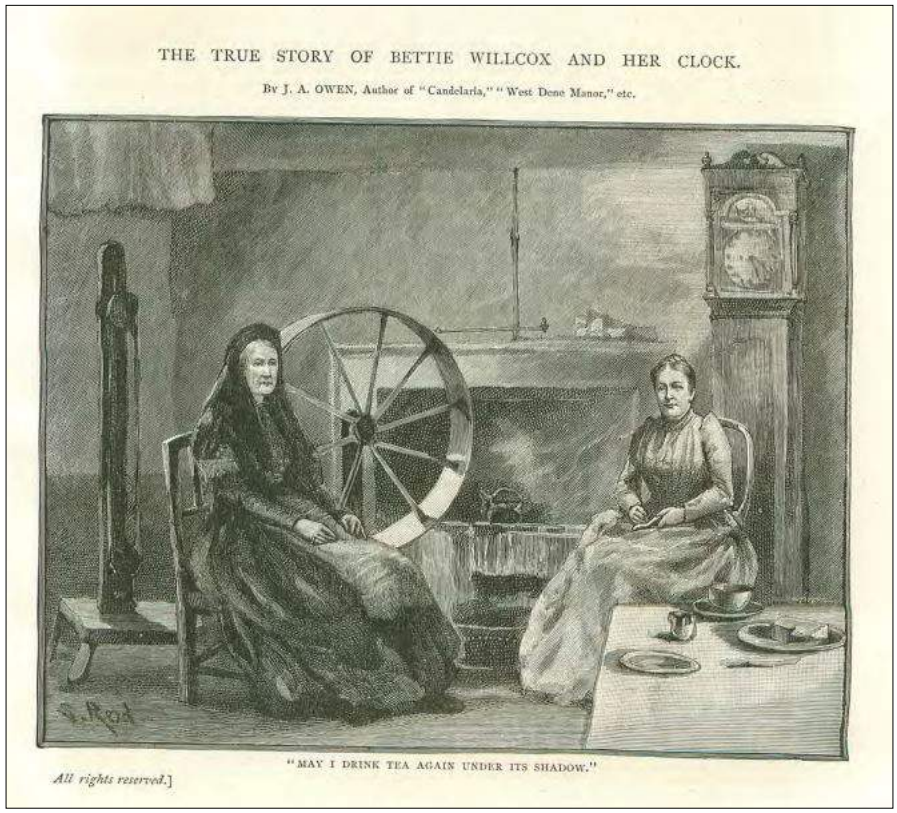
Bannockburn was still a distinct weaving town, specialising in the production of tartan and carpets. Led by manufacturers William Wilson and Sons, Bannockburn was significant in the nineteenth century romanticisation of tartan, or 'tartan mania', and our modern understandings of tartan today. Only in the 1930s, when urban expansion ensued, did the town have a more physical geographic connection to Stirling, some three miles away. Isabella Duncan was known to live in 'an end' (a one-room house within a large building) at Smart's Court in Bannockburn, which was typical of workers' cottages in the built-up, industrial Old Town area.

Although *Blackwood Magazine* had a long history of being published in Edinburgh, writings within the periodical often took an imperialist sense of exploring Scotland in this frame, no more so than in travel writing where 'the countryside' for which here I mean generally outside the urban centres of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was 'presented as an unconfined place of study, where the local communities were as much research subjects as the biological or geological features that surrounded them' (Lago 2023: 102). Owen represents Isabella Duncan as 'one of those genuine old Scotswomen of a primitive type still to be found about Stirling' (Owen 1891: 568). These tropes are unsurprising but also emphasise that the story of Wilcox's clock has an almost other-worldly or wild depiction in the Victorian imagination.

Owen goes on to write 'the true history of the clock I will now give, as Mrs Duncan told it to me' (Owen 1891: 568) and explains how distorted stories related to the clock have appeared over time, especially in *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* (1835) and later in several Stirling papers. Owen's pursuit of rectifying and unveiling 'the true story of Bettie Wilcox and her clock,' is evident in another of her articles in *Girls Own Paper*, a year previously, where she describes the clockface, arguably the clock's most important feature, in full detail:

> There are coloured pictures outside the dial at four corners. On the right hand stands the Emperor Alexander of Russia, the father of Nicholas. He is represented as a fine, stately personage, in a long flowing crimson cloak lined with ermine; on his head is the imperial crown, and in his hand a sceptre or wand, with which is pointing to a fleet of ships 'on a painted ocean' above the dial-plate. These are not all 'idle', however, for one of them moves to and fro on a wave with each swing of the pendulum. Opposite the Emperor, in the left-hand corner, a comely looking woman stands knitting a long and capacious stocking. She is dressed in a straight, short gown without a waist, belted high up under the bust, that was worn about ninety years ago. In the corner below her, on a sea-beach in front of some men-of-war, is a well-dressed gentleman of the same period; opposite to whom underneath the Emperor, a pretty young woman stands at a cottage door with a plump babe in her arms, the very picture of 'smiling content'. (Owen 1892: 595)

Owen's description of Wilcox's grandfather clock is an important juncture in how the clock is represented. In a sense, the story of Wilcox and her actions, depicted on the corners of the clockface, represent how the clock is given a life far beyond simply telling time and carries a fundamental


THE TRUE STORY OF BETTIE WILLCOX AND HER CLOCK.

By J. A. OWEN, Author of "Candelaria," "West Dene Manor," etc.

"MAY I DRINK TEA AGAIN UNDER ITS SHADOW."

Figure 2: S. Rod, 1892, Illustration, *Girl's Own Paper*, June 18th.

cultural narrative. Indeed, Owen's 1892 article is accompanied by a half-page sketch (Figure 2) of her meeting Isabella Duncan at her home in Bannockburn (sat on the left, next to what seems an almost more than life-sized spinning wheel for weaving) and Owen herself, on the right, with the clock standing behind them both, anchoring the scene. These depictions transfer the domestic item into an imagined consciousness of the reader, solidifying the narrative in a new way. I suggest this dialogic storytelling around the clock gives us a fresher understanding of how time can be considered when a seemingly domestic object is popularised in the public imagination. So, whilst Owen's engagement with a Victorian sense of class and imperialism is very prominent in her writings, she indirectly offers a perspective on a story that has seen considerable shifts and changes.

Turning to Agnes. H. Bowie, who was also writing in this period, we see a very different writer and how she deals with more localised forms of storytelling. Although very little is known about Bowie, she was a working-class poet, lyricist and ballad writer from Bannockburn. She published several ballads during the 1890s, including *The Russian Emperor and the Sailor's Mother: A Bannockburn Story* (1893), *Lines Written on the Occasion of the Anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn* (1893b), and *The Muckle Slide:*

A Memory of the Olden Times, Most respectively Inscribed to the natives of Bannockburn (Undated). *The Russian Emperor and the Sailor's Mother: A Bannockburn Story* must have had some degree of popularity and in the preface displaying how the book had been sent to Queen Victoria and the Russian Royal Court, with replies from the offices of each thanking Bowie for sending her work.

Bowie's ballad highlights the journey of Wilcox from the inception to the culmination of her story, presenting not only her actions but also the nuances of the clock that are integral to the narrative. The progression of events and the plot are articulated with a much more imaginative depth, presenting the story as more of a folklore tale, and, to some degree, speaks to the evolution of the story over the previous decades where the attempts at composure and changes creates a much more imaginative space for the story and the clock to occupy.

> In the Parish of St Ninians,
> Now full many years bygone,
> Lived a sailor's aged mother,
> Very poor and all alone,
>
> (Bowie 1893: 5)

Bowie paints Wilcox as a simple countrywoman of modest means, employing descriptors such as 'humble', 'homely', 'frugal', 'modest', 'neat', and 'clean' (Bowie 1893a: 6). These adjectives frame Wilcox in a moralistic way, linking her character depiction closely with her actions, and has parallels to Owen's portrayal of the narrative. However, Bowie extends the narrative to suggest that Wilcox may have been underestimated in her actions due to her simplistic depiction, viewing her actions with pity and dismissiveness, perceiving them as naïve and childlike. As portrayed by Bowie, the underestimation of Wilcox's actions adds another layer to the narrative, allowing for the exploration of prevailing societal perceptions and attitudes of her time. This approach by Bowie provides a deeper and more subtle representation of gender and class relations in this era and how Wilcox herself is entangled within it. This undercurrent of societal underestimation not only enhances the complexity of Wilcox's portrayal but also offers insights into the values and judgments of her contemporaries, reflecting the broader societal norms and expectations:

> And while friends and neighbours pitied,
> At her little scheme they smiled,
> For they deemed it little better,
> Than a project of a child,
>
> (Bowie 1893a: 10).

Later in the ballad, Bowie illustrates Wilcox's contemplation after receiving money from Tsar, and her decision to commission a clock whereby:

> Till a thought to her there came
> That a grand historic timepiece
> Would keep green the Emperor's name
> So an eight-day clock she ordered
>
> (Bowie 1893: 14)

These lines represent a certain kind of a perpetual remembrance that gets embodied in objects. As such, these memories become symbolised in the process of memorialisation, demonstrating the process of how individual associations and memories can become part of a collective process. Bowie's rendering of Wilcox's introspection and the resultant conception of the

historic timepiece opens avenues for exploring the symbolism and representation of objects in the preservation of historical legacies. This interaction between individual cognition and material representation provides a rich contextual framework for examining how the concretisation of thought processes into tangible forms are created, but also brings us back to the point of how clocks hold a particular duality that has been held in a public imagination in this way.

Bowie's work can be interpreted as an extension of the object, not merely as a static or tangible entity but as a dynamic performance. By using the story of Wilcox and the clock, Bowie transforms the object into a living narrative, a performative enactment of memory and history. The detailed portrayal of Wilcox's thoughts and actions concerning the clock acts as a conduit, allowing the object to transcend its material boundaries and resonate within the collective consciousness. In this performative space, the object becomes imbued with meanings, stories, and historical significance, dynamically interacting with societal perceptions and cultural narratives. This approach to viewing objects as performances within the public imagination aligns with contemporary critical theories, emphasising the fluidity, interaction, and contextual interpretation of objects, and offers a nuanced understanding of their roles in shaping, representing, and reflecting cultural identities and histories.

Owen and Bowie's works contribute to the multidimensional nature of Wilcox's clock and the story itself. Following on from understanding how the story reached various forms of composure across the nineteenth century, these collections of writings from the 1890s provide diverse perspectives on the clock as a symbol of collective memory and historical resonance. By delving into individual and societal relationships with the object, both authors facilitate a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of its representational value and role in cultural discourse, and allow the clock to emerge not merely as a tangible entity but as a construct imbued with reflective and interpretative significance within collective imagination. Their cumulative narrative, therefore, acts as a platform for exploring the multifunctional role of objects in encoding and transmitting cultural and historical meanings, adding to a wider argument of how clocks act as particular objects which cultural narratives have interacted with. Although Owen and Bowie's narratives don't directly interact with cultural notions of time in their work, the importance of these timepieces appears in everyday life. They are not simply static objects. Instead, they are used, particularly in Wilcox's object, to demarcate territory in how stories are told and dealt with. Importantly, this narrative is distinctly female-centric, with Wilcox as the pivotal character and Owen and Bowie as female writers, shaping and conveying her story. This female narrative framework imparts a unique perspective to the representation and interpretation of the object, offering insights into the experiences, perceptions, and expressions of women concerning the cultural and historical context of the clock. Longcase clocks have traditionally been seen as 'male' in their representation, and I have been careful not to

use the word 'grandfather' clock in this article due to its gendered meanings. Instead, this collective set of writings reveals almost a subversion of these narratives in how clocks and the keeping of time are understood.

Conclusion

In this article, I've sought to reveal the intricate relationship between perceptions of time, clocks, and cultural underpinnings during the nineteenth century. Using Wilcox's longcase clock as a particular Scottish example, I've highlighted how understanding clocks and, more broadly, time is not purely objective or mechanistic. Owen's and Bowie's works on Wilcox's clock reveal that objects such as these can become cultural artefacts with a life of their own and contain meanings far beyond their original purpose in the public imagination. While viewing this exploration as merely a historical study of the clock may be tempting, such a perspective would be reductive. Bastian's observations on Critical Horology, further support this point, noting that even with the onset of standardised time in the nineteenth century, cultures sculpted their distinct cultural understandings and interpretations of clocks and time, influenced heavily by societal change, negotiation, and composure. This research has begun to pave the way for a broader understanding of historical time within a new critical space, and whilst research on how clocks and time have been dealt with historically, recognising clocks as active participants in societal narratives is an exciting trajectory. Beyond historical research on the social life of clocks, there is potential in using participatory methods in how clocks are perceived in the present, more of which Bastian highlights in their work as a particularly salient area of research.

The story of Wilcox's clock invites a deeper introspection into how clocks are understood as objects and time-keeping devices: it challenges us to recognise clocks not as static markers of passing hours but as intricate assemblages with cultural, historical, and societal significance. Critical Horology, therefore, can delve deep, exploring how society and time are implicated and evolve together. By embracing these explorations and methodologies, we can unlock richer understandings, revealing the layers, stories, and nuances that shape how clocks and time are understood.

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Sally the Soft Toy Seal: Connection and Communication in a North-East 'Oil Family'

Simon Gall

This article takes as its focus an important component of the material culture of family life: the toy or plaything. It examines one family's interaction with a mass-produced soft toy seal, exploring the contexts within which it exists, the way it is used, and the potential meanings that have accrued to it over time. Since, as Henry Glassie notes, 'there is no such thing as an object out of context', (Glassie 1997: 59) I aim, in the first half of the article, to provide a detailed description of several contexts within which the toy is engaged. I begin with a discussion of the situation in which the family finds itself in terms of parental work patterns, and how these are experienced by its members. Without grasping this wider context, a nuanced understanding of the toy is not possible, since one of its meanings and central functions emerges from the challenges and opportunities brought about by it.

Another important context discussed is the family's frequent interaction with both living seals and symbolic representations thereof. The ubiquity of seal experiences and the stories that accompany them come to shape engagement with the toy in important ways. Finally, I explore media context focusing on an element of the family's repertoire of mass-mediated images and narratives, or mediascape (Appadurai 1990), as Arjun Appadurai has called it, looking at how a children's picturebook has come to influence how the toy is understood and how it is played with in daily life.

In the second half of the article, I offer an interpretation of the toy as a signifier or symbol, embedded in a complex web of other signifiers, practices, experiences and so on, for what Timo Heimerdinger has called, a 'helper' figure (Heimerdinger 2011: 198). These figures such as the Tooth Fairy or, as in his study, the Dummy Fairy, are deployed by parents to teach their children lessons or to achieve some other outcome. In closing the article, I posit that families can also invent these figures and suggest that Sally the Seal, their particular helper figure, which is represented in family stories, toys, picture cards, WhatsApp videos, and magnet tiles, constitutes a meaningful common resource which the family deploys to create traditions and practices that foster a sense of continuity and togetherness when the father is away. Returning to the toy at the end of the

article, I briefly discuss some of layers of meaning that have accrued to the toy itself over time as a crucial part of the iconography of the helper figure. I am extremely grateful to Claire and her family for allowing me into their home and sharing so generously their experiences of family life. It is a privilege to have been given a glimpse into their domestic world and the creative ways in which they respond to it.

A brief discussion of my fieldwork process seems pertinent at this point. This study is based on three ethnographic 'sessions' with a family in the North-East of Scotland. My visits largely took place during the 2022 school summer holidays when the children were at home, making them, on occasion, very lively affairs. I have tried to capture something of the nature of these sometimes-chaotic sessions, and by extension, family life, in the transcription excerpts by leaving in the 'stage directions' illustrating the many disruptions, child-led tangents, and so on. I use the term 'sessions' because my visits often entailed the use of several ethnographic methods almost simultaneously. It was common, for example, for interviews with parents to feature lengthy interjections by children, converting the session into a group interview. At other times children wanted their parents to play with them, and if the parent obliged, I became, temporarily, an observer of family play. Frequently, I was requested to join as a player, enabling me to observe my own participation in another family's play. I was also taken on tours of the house, photographed various objects and spaces, and had some time to reflect and take notes, while, for example, parents were preparing food or drinks for children.

This fieldwork partially underpinned my MLitt dissertation, 'The Telly that We Watch Seems to be All-Pervasive: A Study of Media-Referenced Family Folklore in the North-East of Scotland', and the article is based on the study's third chapter.

A Father's Work Pattern and its Impact on the Family

Parents Claire and Tony, and their children Robyn, aged three, and Leon, aged six, are what could be described as an oil family; their daily lives and its rhythms are directly impacted by the oil industry and its machinations in some form or another. Tony is a Safety Advisor offshore on an on-going three-week-on-three-week-off rotation. Claire, who is a Community Development professional, yoga teacher, and musician, works part-time for a local arts organisation and is the primary caregiver to their children during the three weeks Tony is away. When he returns, domestic duties are shared more equitably between parents. This three-on-three-off rotation is a major force in their family life, structuring and shaping it in myriad ways. While it likely provides a significant source of income for the family, it provokes strong affective responses from its members and carries implications for family cohesion by placing pressures on different members at different points during the rotation.

In our first interview, Claire offered her thoughts on the way that the rotation structures their lives:

> It's a really weird routine to be in. It doesn't map onto any other rhythms of life. It's just this big clunking three-and-three rotation that is just this big clumsy thing that's our life… Even if it was like a two and two, at least it would be like a calendar month.[1]

When Tony is away, Claire is the primary caregiver. During these periods she finds herself, in her words, having to 'mesh' or 'blend' various domains of life such as her jobs, childcare, housework, and self-care.

> For me, the house and my jobs and the family all have to blend into each other. So, when Tony's at work, he's at work. And he has that clear time where he's just working and then when he is at home, he just has the clear time when he is at home. He doesn't really have to do that much else, but I have to mesh it all together… laundry, the meals, and cleaning…the mental load.[2]

The 'mental load' to which she refers is a concept developed by feminist scholars to describe the internal, and thus, invisible (to some) work carried out largely by women and mothers. According to Liz Dean et al., it is 'the combination of the *cognitive* labor of family life – *the thinking, planning, scheduling* and *organizing* of family members – and the *emotional* labor associated with this work, including the feelings of caring and being responsible for family members but also the emotional impact of this work' (emphasis in original) (Liz Dean, Brendan Churchill & Leah Ruppanner 2022: 13).

Claire talked about what that mental load looks like for her and how it becomes heavier due to the constant life rhythm changes.

> I know that the offshore life is super super hard and it's risky and it's intense and it's demanding, but sometimes I think, 'God! It would be great to just have a whole stretch of time where I could just…draw a ring around the work and do the work' because the longest stretches of time that I get are maybe like four hours at a time… So yeah, it feels very…for Tony, maybe it doesn't feel like this for him, but for me looking in, it feels like his time is very…when he's at home, that's his focus and when he's at work, he's allowed to just be at work, whereas when I'm at work my phone is nearby so that if the nursery calls, I'm there. I might be writing something up and then I'm like 'I need to respond to…'[*laughs*], [*to Robyn*] Robyn, what are you doing? [*Robyn secretly passing SG individual bracelets without looking at him*] ([SG] Thanks!) [*to Robyn*} Are you doing magic tricks? [*to SG*] I need to respond to this email, or I need to fill out that form or think about what I'm doing for dinner and, yeah, it's a lot, and it's very messy and it feels really disorganised and sometimes it just feels really overwhelming. So, like Tony goes away for three weeks at a time; week one, I'm like, 'I've got my big-girl pants on, I can do this'. I'm keeping things tidy, and I've got meal

1 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Primary Contributor about her Life and Work and her own, and the Family's, Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 28 July 2022, EI 2022.017, 00:15:18, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

2 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'First Interview on the Family's Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 27 July 2022, EI 2022.016, 01:07:26, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

> plans. Week two, things are starting to unravel a little bit, and then by the end of week three I'm dragging myself through mountains of laundry.[3]

For Claire, the mental and physical load caused by the blending of the various domains of life can become so intense that when Tony returns, she feels, in her words, 'physical relief'[4] and enters, what she calls, a 'recovery phase'.[5] Addressing Tony, she offered:

> I've actually cried with relief that you're back because my whole body is just like [*makes a sighing sound*], you know, I've got back-up. I don't have to parent on my own anymore. I don't know how single parents do it. I do not know how they do it, and I've got loads of support around me from family and friends, it's just… and then in those first few days afterwards… the first day, I absolutely need to have a coffee in bed.[6]

Despite these challenges, the three-week period when Tony is away allows Claire to spend valuable alone-time with her children:

> when he goes away, sometimes I feel like [*makes a sigh of relief sound*] I've got my kids to myself again because when he's here…it's weird because sometimes I'm like, you know, I'm like, 'ok what do I do now that he's here'?...Because he's so good at picking everything up and there's no roles in the house, like it's not just me that does the laundry or it's not just him that cuts the grass but yeah, sometimes I can feel a bit like…where do I fit when they're playing and he's taking care of everything?[7]

When Tony returns, he begins to share both the mental and physical load of domestic life. This home-time affords other benefits for Claire.

> So, in the past seven years I've had three jobs, I've got two Master's, I've qualified as a yoga teacher, I've restarted the band…and it's a lot. I probably wouldn't be able to do it unless Tony had that time at home as well.[8]

For Claire, then, the three-on-three-off rotation presents both challenges and opportunities. It places cognitive, emotional, and physical strain on her when Tony is offshore but, when he is onshore, she can dedicate more time to herself and her work.

While I was able to speak less with Tony during my fieldwork, I understand that his view of the situation is slightly different. In a group interview with the parents only, Tony, addressing Claire directly noted:

> 'I don't know your reality when I'm away and so you don't know my reality just because we haven't lived that each. So, I think we've got, not different views, but our experience is different'.[9]

For Tony, this work/home pattern is also

3 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Primary Contributor about her Life and Work and her own, and the Family's, Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 28 July 2022, EI 2022.017, 00:11:03, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

4 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Parents about their Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 2 September 2022, EI 2022.022, 00:35:30, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

5 Ibid., 00:07:28.

6 Ibid., 00:35:34.

7 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Primary Contributor about her Life and Work and her own, and the Family's, Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 28 July 2022, EI 2022.017, 00:25:35, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

8 Ibid., 00:13:40.

9 Ibid., 00:04:58.

intense. Both parents acknowledge that Tony has no respite. He is either working intensively on an oil platform or parenting intensively at home. In our group interview, we discussed Tony's transition from offshore to onshore.

[C] You don't get a recovery phase at all.

[T] No, it's work head or home head. There's no period for me.

[C] There's no rest.

[T] Yeah. There's no handbrake for me, but I don't mind. It's how it is.[10]

While working away presents him with challenges such as the anxiety it causes him to know that it deeply upsets his children, he tended, in the short conversations we had, to emphasise the value of the three-week period at home as important family time. Contrasting his current pattern with his previous work rota at a different job in Saudi Arabia, he noted,

> so, for me, going away, this three-and-three, it enables me to spend a lot of time with the kids, especially while they're tiny. [In] Saudi, it was a hundred days away, four weeks at home…[it] was not acceptable. That was the main driving force, the kids…the little guy [Leon, their son] said, 'please, please don't go back'.[11]

The final sentence of the above quote hints at a common theme that emerged in our discussion: that of the effect of the work pattern on Robyn and Leon. Both parents talked of how the rotation affects them emotionally. Robyn, the youngest, regularly pleads 'keep home, don't go away, dad, I don't like it, I miss you' and Leon demands 'Don't go, get a home job'.[12]

Claire, addressing Tony, gave a touching description of the moment of parting:

> when you say goodbye and give them a hug and then I drive off, they're just like breaking their hearts in the back seat crying their eyes out and it's horrible, it's really sad.[13]

Leon, perhaps because he is older, has a particularly hard time adjusting. Claire told me that,

> it breaks his heart every time Tony has to leave to offshore and then…it takes a couple of days to get back into a routine of it just being the three of us in the house again and the dog, and then he'll have like a spell of being really sweet and really good and then he'll have a spell of struggling with stuff.[14]

Tony told a story which further emphasises the affective dimension of the work pattern on Leon.

> He was at the university nursery at the time, I think, [*To Claire*] do you remember? There was like a three- or four-day period where there was quite…it wasn't bad weather, but it was like lightening or something and he said… remember…I got delayed for like four or five days – it's the longest I've ever been delayed. Every day he said that he'd asked for more lightening or bad weather and ([Claire] So that

10 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Parents about their Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 2 September 2022, EI 2022.022, 00:07:39, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

11 Ibid., 00:04:58.

12 Ibid., 00:28:28.

13 Ibid., 00:30:21

14 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'First Interview on The Family's Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 27 July 2022, EI 2022.016, 01:04:26, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

> you could be stuck at home) more storms. He started going on and on and it was like three or four days and eventually I had to leave when the weather improved. But that was good that he believed that he was asking and creating the bad weather so the choppers couldn't fly to keep his dad at home. That was nice, wasn't it?[15]

Alongside the anxiety about Tony leaving, there is also joy when he returns. Claire talked of the physical and emotional relief she feels when he returns, but both parents described how the children are like 'little limpets' and 'little magnets'[16] stuck to their father when he arrives, expressing their happiness and excitement to have him there.

The three-on-three-off pattern pervades many aspects of the family's life. This constant cycle of transitions – separations and reunions – places strain on the family in the ways that are outlined above that must be negotiated and ameliorated. In the remainder of the article, I discuss how the family foster a sense of continuity and connection while Tony is offshore. Family culture is complex, and I could have perhaps chosen any entry point into this study, but I have chosen to focus on an object: a soft toy seal. By focusing on this single object and the webs of significance within which it is situated, I necessarily omit many other equally interesting practices and objects brought to my attention by the family. This is unfortunate as there is much to say about their traditions and creativity, but space permits only a partial exploration of the fieldwork material.

15 Tony, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Parents about their Engagement with Toys and Playthings, Aberdeen, 2 September 2022, EI 2022.022, 00:33:23, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

16 Ibid., 00:06:28.

Soft Toy Seal known as Sally/Sealy. Photograph by Claire.

Sealy/Sally and the Prevalence of Seals in Family Life

Very early in my first visit to the family's home I was alerted by Claire to the existence of a soft toy seal which had been her favourite toy when she was a child. After keeping it for many years, Claire's mother gave it back to her, and she subsequently passed it on to Leon and Robyn. Claire told me how she came to own the seal.

> I remember going to an aquarium of some sort on a family holiday and getting Sealy from a gift shop when I was about five…Sealy was my favourite soft toy for a really really long time and I refused to let my sister touch him…my

> mum kept him for ages and then last year or the year before she was like, 'here's some of your toys from when you were a kid'.[17]

The toy clearly holds some meaning for Claire having been her companion for a long time, but, since giving Sealy to her children it has acquired other layers of meaning. The children have come to call the toy Sally because it has become inextricably associated with a child's picture book: 'Sally the Oil Rig Seal'. In searching for ways to overcome the children's separation anxiety provoked by Tony's leaving, the parents found a partial solution in books. The short picture book, written by Peter Brunton and illustrated by Trevor Kirton, is dedicated to 'all the children of offshore workers' (Brunton 2011), and tells the story of a seal who visits an oil rig. The parents read it to their children to ease their suffering and familiarise them with offshore life in a way that is playful and accessible. The book focuses on Sally's annual visit to the rig where she entertains the workers with tricks. The story of Sally the Oil Rig Seal has become a family favourite, making it a common point of reference among all members.

In addition to the toy and the book, the family encounter seals in other areas of life. Seals regularly visit the platforms on which Tony is stationed and the family, who live a few hundred meters from a river, frequently see seals on the river islands. These experiences are often narrated to other family members, adding to the repertoire of seal/Sally-related stories. Similarly, some of their purchased toys such as whiteboard magnets and picture cards feature seal images. Not long after our first session, Claire, in personal communication, sent me a photograph of a picture card with a seal image on it and the following message.

> Robyn found a 'sally the seal' card in her game and said 'dad will be so happy!' I think sally is more significant than I even realised![18]

When I asked, in our final interview, if the parents thought that the image of the seal brought the family to mind, Claire, addressing Tony, concurred saying, 'she [*Robyn*] must feel like it keeps her connected to you…both of them'.[19] The finding of this card inspired Robyn to send, with her grandma's help, a video to her father telling him that she had found Sally. The idea of the seal as a recurring image clearly holds significance for the family.

Having explored the wider contexts around Tony's work patterns, the family's feelings about it, and the prevalence of the seal in their lives, I now want to offer a way of conceptualising Sally the Seal, looking at a brief example of how she is used to foster connection and togetherness.

Family Helper Figures

The ubiquity of, and the family's familiarity with, the various tangible and intangible representations (soft toy, picture cards, stories, videos, book character, living seals, magnets, images) of Sally

17 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Primary Contributor about her Life and Work and her own, and the Family's, Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 28 July 2022, EI 2022.017, 00:46:21, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

18 Personal communication

19 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Parents about their Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 2 September 2022, EI 2022.022, 00:16:02, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

the Seal in/near both the home, Tony's work environment, and the children's minds, makes her a safe and positive cultural resource upon which the family can draw. She is, as Zeitlin et al. have said, a 'creative expression of a common past' (Zeitlin, Kotkin, Cutting Baker 1982: 2), and can be understood as something akin to what Timo Heimerdinger has called 'lower mythological figures' – fantastical 'pedagogical helpers' that are developed and deployed by parents to accomplish tasks with children (Heimerdinger 2011: 202).

Writing specifically about the German *Schnullerfee*, or Dummy Fairy, he explores how it is used to help wean a child off its dummy. The Schnullerfee is a key figure in a widespread 'farewell ritual' in which an elaborate exchange between the child and fairy takes place (Heimerdinger 2011: 199). Typically, the child agrees a date and time to leave their dummy in a predetermined location (often outdoors) and, during the night the fairy comes to take it away, leaving a present in its place. The figure, Heimerdinger suggests, enables parents to negotiate, at least partly, the competing demands of major parenting discourses around the dummy: the medicalised discourse and the de-medicalised discourse. Understood as 'the incursion of medical advice into more and more areas of life' (Heimerdinger 2011: 204), the medicalisation discourse holds that dummies should be removed from children at an early age to avoid the dangers of 'bacteria, the potential deformation of jaw and teeth, and interference with the child's speech development' (Heimerdinger 2011: 204). The de-medicalising discourse on the other hand holds that 'health no longer means the absence of illness, but rather is perceived as a continuing constructive process of becoming and being healthy' ((Heimerdinger 2011: 204). It pushes to the fore the idea of cooperation with the child in its development, and the importance of understanding the child's perspective. In this discourse 'the infant is perceived as an interactive, competent, and social being' (Heimerdinger 2011: 205) whose feelings towards the dummy, perhaps as something soothing and comforting, should be respected. The fairy figure and its 'actions' help parents out of a discursive double-bind that Heimerdinger describes as follows:

> On the one hand, the child should have its dummy and the emotional support that comes with it. On the other hand, the dummy should be taken away before the third birthday in a gentle and cooperative manner (Heimerdinger 2011: 207).

In short, if parents fail in removing the dummy, their child faces certain medical risks. On the other hand, if they remove it too soon or in a way that does not respect the child, they risk causing trauma or straining the parent-child relationship. By deploying the Schnullerfee, parents can succeed in removing a potentially dangerous object in a way that is gentle and respects the child, while outsourcing the unpleasant task of its removal to the fairy, leaving the family relationship intact. He continues, 'both believe in the fairy: the children in her existence, the parents in her functionality' (Heimerdinger 2011: 208).

In a similar vein, in 1977 John Widdowson identified the widespread use of such helper

figures in his study of the social control of children in Newfoundland. Most relevant to this study are those he classified as 'Supernatural, Mythological, Fictitious or Invented Figures' (Widdowson 1977: 103), and two sub-categories: 'Figures Adapted from Literary Fiction and Advertising' – 'figures…apparently drawn from literature, including children's fiction and nursery rhymes, and also from advertising' (Widdowson 1977: 153) – and 'Invented Figures' which 'are constructs which have certain sociological functions but they are not believed in by those who employ them for this purpose' (Widdowson 1977: 156).

In our example, Sally the Seal, as an invented figure, both serves 'sociological functions' and draws heavily from children's fiction for her name and part of her backstory. Referencing Widdowson's and Heimerdinger's ideas, Sally the Seal could be understood as a media-referenced fantastical helper who has emerged from the family culture, and whose presence is reified in images, toys, biological forms, and so on. As a media-referenced figure she is the nexus of several objects, stories, and practices, helping the family contain, organise, and access them when required. While not necessarily a pedagogical helper in the strictest definition of term, she could be understood as an executive helper, one who helps the family get the important job of connecting done. Moving to look at what the family do with Sally the Seal, I now briefly explore a playful tradition described to me by the parents.

Sally and the Linking of Onshore and Offshore

When Tony is away, family communications largely take place through WhatsApp videocalls so that Tony can see his children and address them directly. Through these calls he tries to familiarise his children with his workplace, showing them objects and processes in his environment, noting that 'they hone-in on things that are there, and they get quite fixed about it'.[20] Occasionally he brings objects home for the children to explore, providing them a more visceral engagement with of aspects of his offshore experience. This practice affords a sense of continuity as objects meaningful to Tony are moved between settings and acquire meaning for others as they learn about and play with them. In one example, Tony took this practice of familiarising his children with the materiality of offshore life a step further by providing an opportunity for them to experience, in a virtual way, wider sensory dimensions of offshore life. In a previous job, he took Leon and Robyn to an offshore training facility where they were able to drive the offshore crane simulator and learn about the kinds of people and objects on an oil rig. Since that experience, Tony noted that, when driving past the harbour in Aberdeen, the children spot the cranes and boats that look similar and enquire about them.

> we'd drive past a boat and from the back seat Robyn's like, 'dad, dad, I can see the crane and boats, are they the ones that come to the oil rigs?' So, pretty much when we do go past there,

20 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Parents about their Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 2 September 2022, EI 2022.022, 00:10:09, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

> 'oh, look, there's a yellow one, a yellow boat, that's my favourite colour, is that the one that comes?'[21]

This practice of purposefully linking together home and offshore environments through objects and experiences serves to reduce the strangeness of Tony's offshore life by increasing familiarity with where he goes and what he does. Tony notes, 'Now when they see things like the boats and the cranes and that, there's an association as well, like…it's where I go.[22]

The figure of Sally the Seal and her various depictions provide another such set of resources which come to link the environments and foster connection and continuity. Through their WhatsApp calls, the family have invented a tradition whereby the two parties play at sending messages back and forth via the living seals in their surroundings. Tony described what might happen in a typical WhatsApp call.

> I'll say things like, 'so you've seen Sally the Seal' – because we get seals on the river –and I'll say 'Sally came to the rig today' and I'll say 'she was on the [oil rig] hose. Did you see her? Did you send any messages?' 'Oh yeah, we saw Sally'. 'Okay. Yeah. Next time I see her. I'll tell her that you said hi'. So, we try and have something familiar.[23]

He continues,

> What I normally find, his [Leon's] imagination, if it's flowing, he'll be like 'yeah, da da da', he'll say whatever he said, and then I'll say, 'I've sent messages back so if you see Sally outside or something, let me know'. It's a way of communicating stuff.[24]

This recurring family practice seems simple of the surface, but the context within which it is was created and is played is complex. The game is underpinned by the family's shared, co-constructed knowledge of the figure of Sally the Seal and all the stories, practices, and material representations of her. This knowledge is then applied to their reality as elements of the book plot are acted out in something akin to what Carl Lindahl calls 'ostensive play' (Lindahl 2005: 165), the playful acting out of a story in real life. While ostension is usually associated with the study of legends, it seems to me that something similar could apply to the way in which families act out, or at least draw from, their own story-worlds in their play. In the application of this knowledge a play frame is established and the seals that visit the rig and the local river, are recast as playthings, as conduits for intimate messages passed back and forth between players. The seals-as-playthings are played with using components from the family's mediascape as they borrow elements from the Sally the Oil Rig Seal picture book such as the name Sally and motif of the seal's rig visit. Additionally, the game was invented and is played within a particular family and work context that can be emotionally challenging for all involved, and it is used quite consciously (or instrumentalized) by the parents to maintain connection with a father who is away. Finally, the family all use their knowledge of one another and their creativity to formulate

21 Claire, interviewed by Simon Gall, 'Interview with Parents about their Engagement with Toys and Playthings', Aberdeen, 2 September 2022, EI 2022.022, 00:20:17, Elphinstone Institute Archives.

22 Ibid., 00:21:00.

23 Ibid., 01:10:38.

24 Ibid., 00:14:34.

messages to send back and forth, creating playful and engaging ways to stay connected.

Conclusion

In this article, I have sought to describe several important contexts within which the toy exists: that of Tony's work pattern and its effect on the family; the family's wider engagement with seals both in symbolic and material forms; and the parental tendency to create links between home and offshore objects and experiences. This was followed by an interpretation of Sally the Seal as a 'helper' figure who is deployed in ludic interaction by the family to ameliorate challenging issues. To close, I will return to my entry point into this study: the soft toy seal itself. Sealy/Sally, as we have seen, has had an eventful life. In our story, the toy was first an item of merchandise in a gift shop in the early nineties when Claire was a child. It then became a child's favourite toy, was given the name Sealy, and accompanied Claire through many years of childhood experience with all the joys and challenges that entails. Later, Sealy was kept for many years by Claire's mother, perhaps as an object holding cherished memories or tinged with nostalgia recalling her own daughter's early years. It then made its way to Robyn and Leon who, together with their parents, and drawing on their mediascapes, have added new layers of meaning. In its current setting it is a key part of the iconography and ecosystem that has come to sustain the family's fantastical executive helper who helps foster continuity and connection in a way that is creative, positive, and playful when the family cannot be together.

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Ethical Statement

The fieldwork informing this article was carried out in summer 2022. It underpinned my MLitt dissertation entitled 'The Telly that We Watch Seems to Be All-Pervasive': A Study of Media-Referenced Family Folklore in the North-East

of Scotland, as part of the Elphinstone Institute's (University of Aberdeen) MLitt in Ethnology and Folklore. As part of the process of writing the dissertation, students were required submit to department staff a 'Student Fieldwork Ethics Form' which articulated all of the potential ethical issues associated with the study. This was approved by department staff before fieldwork began. All contributors filled out and signed a consent form, stipulating, via permissions, how the fieldworker could use the material. Additionally, contributors were sent draft chapters and were encouraged to raise any issues. No amendments were required. When the opportunity arose to submit to the RoSC, the author contacted the contributors quoted in this article to ask permission to submit it. Permission was given in writing and the article was submitted.

Contributors' Biographies

Dr Jennifer Barnes, University of Southampton, is Senior Teaching Fellow in Academic Practice. Prior this this, she spent a decade as Lecturer in English and Film Studies at the University of Dundee specialising in Shakespeare on stage and screen.

She is the author of *Shakespearean Star: Laurence Olivier and National Cinema* (Cambridge University Press, 2017) and she continues to work in this area, notably on the actor Richard Burton.

Dr Valentina Bold, The Crichton Trust Valentina is a creative ethnologist, currently Heritage Projects & Policy Officer on the site of the former Crichton Royal Asylum, Dumfries. Previously, she was a senior academic, working at the Universities of Stirling, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen. She is convenor of the Scots Language Centre and edits *Studies in the History and Culture of Scotland* for Peter Lang. Her books *include James Hogg: A Bard of Nature's Making; The Kinmont Willie Sword and Other Tales of Mettle; Robert Burns' Merry Muses of Caledonia; Smeddum, A Lewis Grassic Gibbon Anthology and Kitchen Conversations: A Women's History of Winchburgh*. Valentina enjoys creating new work inspired by shared stories with recent projects including 'Up the Middle Road: Crichton Stories of Resilience and Recovery' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xH1E0YXe9_U.

Dr Katherine Campbell, Honorary Research Fellow, Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen. A former Senior Lecturer at Celtic and Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, Katherine now works freelance, and has been focussing on the songs of Robert Burns for the past few years, culminating in the book, co-authored with Dr Emily Lyle, *Robert Burns and the Discovery and Re-Creation of Scottish Song* (Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2020) and the solo CD, *Robert Burns: Tune Unknown* (2019). Originally from Fochabers in Morayshire, Katherine is a keen traditional singer. She was fortunate to work with Emily Lyle as a joint editor on volume 8 of *The Greig-Duncan Folk Song Collection*, and then to continue her research on a one-volume edition for performers of songs from the collection. Katherine studied cello and piano at the RSAMD Glasgow, graduating BA Hons (Musical Studies), before undertaking a PhD in Ethnomusicology at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh (graduating 1999).

Professor Hugh Cheape teaches a postgraduate programme, MSc Cultar Dùthchasach agus Eachdraidh na Gàidhealtachd ('Material Culture and Gàidhealtachd History'), at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the National Centre for Gaelic Language and Culture. He has held a Research Chair in the University of the Highlands and Islands since 2009. The MSc has grown out of a career in the National Museums of Scotland (1974-2007) where he started as Sandy Fenton's Research Assistant in the former Country Life Section whose principal task was the creation of an

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Dr Murray Cook is originally from Leith, a graduate of Edinburgh University. He is an archaeologist currently working for Stirling Council where he lives with his family. He has excavated across Scotland and published over 50 articles and books. He is particularly passionate about public engagement and getting the public to engage with their past and runs a series of free walks and digs through the year all of which are advertised through his weekly blog https://stirlingarchaeology.substack.com/

Dr Piers Dixon, University of Stirling was an extra-mural adult education lecturer for the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne from 1978-1982, before moving to Scotland to excavate urban sites in the Scottish Borders. After obtaining his doctorate in 1985 on 'The Deserted Villages of North Northumberland' from Cardiff University, he became an Investigator with the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS) in 1989 and latterly with Historic Environment Scotland (HES) before retiring in 2018. He is currently affiliated to Stirling University as an Honorary Lecturer. Reflecting his particular interest in medieval rural settlement and landscape his publications include *Archaeological Excavations at Jedburgh Friary 1983-1992*, *Puir Labourers and Busy Husbandmen*, *Buildings of the Land: Scotland's Farms 1750-2000*, *A History of Scotland's Landscapes*, and *Seasonal Settlement in the Medieval and Early Modern Countryside*.

Joyce Durham has had an interest in archaeology for many years but it was only when she retired from her work in the National Health Service in 2001 that she was able to actively pursue it. She moved to Traquair in the Scottish borders in 1992 and joined the Peeblesshire Archaeological Society shortly after. In 2002 she enrolled in the part time archaeology course run by the Department of Adult and Continuing Education at Glasgow. Since then she has worked at various excavations and surveys in Scotland notably at Applecross broch, High Pasture Cave on Skye, the medieval village at Cromarty. She directed the PAS Camp Shiel excavations and, more recently, co-directed those at Shootinglee near Traquair in Peeblesshire.

Simon Gall is an ethnologist based in the North-East of Scotland whose research interests include family folklore, uses of Scots language, Christmas garden illuminations, and public folklore. He holds an MLitt in Ethnology and Folklore from the Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen.

Prof Dr Ábrahám Kovács, J. Selye University, Slovakia graduated from the Reformed Theological University of Debrecen in 1997 receiving an M. Div. In the same year, he obtained an MA in History at the Kossuth Lajos University of Sciences. Having completed his undergratuate degree, he got a Master of Theology (Th.M.) degree from Princeton Theological Seminary in the United States of America in 1998. He learned his Ph.D. in Theology with summa cum laude honors from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, United Kingdom in 2003. Subsequently, in 2011, Dr. Kovács obtained a habilitated doctorate (Dr. habil.) in systematic theology from the Evangelical Theological University of Budapest, Hungary.

Dr Emily Lyle, Honorary Fellow, University of Edinburgh graduated with an MA (Hons) in English Language and Literature from St Andrews University in 1954 and a PhD from Leeds University in 1967. Since 1970 she has been attached in various capacities to the School of Scottish Studies and its

later development, the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies, at the University of Edinburgh, and has engaged in fieldwork on Scottish traditions in Scotland and Australia. She has published a number of editions of Scottish folksongs, including Scottish Ballads (Canongate, 1994), and also the study Fairies and Folk: Approaches to the Scottish Ballad Tradition (WVT Trier, 2004). The present article follows on from Robert Burns and the Discovery and Re-Creation of Scottish Song (Musica Scotica Trust, 2020) which she wrote jointly with Katherine Campbell.

Dr Neill Martin is Senior Lecturer and Head of Celtic and Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. He studied at the universities of Stirling, Dalhousie, McGill and Edinburgh. His undergraduate and Masters degrees were in English and Music, later developing an interest in ethnology and folklore before competing his PhD in the field of ritual and language in Celtic-language societies. His publications extend across festive culture, oral poetry, ballads and traditional belief. He has been Director of EERC since 2020.

Dr Dorothy E. McGuire Honorary Fellow, University of Glasgow My interest in agricultural history was sparked while working for Falkirk Museums, at Bo'ness, and confirmed while working on a local studies project for Strathkelvin (later East Dunbartonshire) Libraries and Museums, and I was inspired by working with Sandy Fenton in the early days of The European Ethnological Research Centre. It was during my time at the E.E.R.C. that the diaries of Peter Turner and William Allison were brought to my attention, by an East Dunbartonshire contact. Subsequently the Turner diaries formed a central part of my masters dissertation. Although my Ph.D. research was concerned with a wider geographical area, and included other farm generated source material, the Turner diaries remained important. Due to its sketchy nature, the Allison diary was employed less. However, I have come to appreciate the distilled humanity of William Allison's diary.

Dr Stephen Miller Research interests in general are the folklore, folk song, and folk dance of the Isle of Man. Also, the Scottish folklorists the Rev. Walter Gregor (1825–97) and W.G. Black (1857–1932). A further area of research is the institutional history of the Folk-Lore Society. Previously held posts at the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Vienna. Recent publications are *Ghosts, Bugganes & Fairy Pigs: Karl Roeder's Manx Notes & Queries* (Culture Vannin, 2022 3rd edn) and *The Notes and Queries Folklore Column, 1849–1947: Subject Indexes* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2021). WWW site: www.chiollaghbooks.com. Awarded the Reih Bleeaney Vanannan in 2020 for contributions to Manx culture.

Prof Alistair Mutch is emeritus professor at Nottingham Trent University. His doctoral work was on the history of rural Lancashire and, while he worked for thirty years in Nottingham Business School, he retained an interest in rural history. He has published books on Scottish church governance and Scots in the East India Company, as well as work on agricultural practices in the northeast. His father was brought up on the farm of Mastrick, having been born on a nearby croft. His family still farm in the northeast hence his interest in the parish of Rayne. He is currently seeking to draw contrasts between nineteenth century rural Aberdeenshire and Lincolnshire, where his ancestors were farm workers.

Prof James Porter is a graduate of the universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh. He is presently Professor Emeritus, UCLA and Honorary Professor, University of Aberdeen. He has contributed articles to ROSC on the music manuscripts of Agnes Hume (1704)

and Margaret Sinkler (1710). His most recent book is *Beyond Fingal's Cave: Ossian in the Musical Imagination* (2019), the first study in English of the origin and impact of Ossian's poems principally on composers of art music in the long Romantic era.

Ieuan Rees is a Scottish Graduate School of Arts and Humanities funded PhD researcher at the University of Stirling. His research considers the intersection of heritage, identity and place based values in formalised planning contexts in Scotland, as well as having research interests in folklore, storytelling, critical horology and participatory approaches and methodologies.

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