

EXHIBITIONS

Elizabeth MacKintosh published her acclaimed crime novels under the pen name of Josephine Tey © Sasha/Hulton Archive/Getty Images



Making a name for themselves

Curators **Kirsty McHugh** and **Ian Scott** are designing the next major exhibition at our George IV Bridge building in Edinburgh – on authors who publish under pen names. Here, they focus on enigmatic Scottish author ‘Josephine Tey’

While researching authors who have published in Britain under pen names, we discovered that all types of writers use them – from prolific authors of romance or science fiction to the most highly regarded authors of literary fiction (11 Nobel laureates published mainly under pseudonyms).

The stories of why authors use pen names and how and why they chose them are often as compelling as their books.

Writing a book and managing to get it published is something most writers want to shout about from the rooftops. They want their own name on the cover, ideally as prominently as possible. Therefore, writers often have specific professional or personal reasons for publishing under a pen name. There are commercial advantages to writing under another name, which tap into reader and publisher expectations.

An author might have used a pseudonym because they lived at a time when a writing career was not seen as respectable, especially

for a woman. Even today we generally expect romances to be written by a woman and thrillers by a man. Research has shown many men are reluctant to read books by a woman, so for marketing purposes it can make sense to be ambiguous about the gender of an author by, for example, using initials.

Our upcoming exhibition tells the stories of writers working in Britain who have used pen names and explores their motivations.

One of the authors featured is Elizabeth MacKintosh (1896–1952) who is remembered today chiefly for her crime novels published under the name ‘Josephine Tey’.

While perhaps less recognisable a name than other authors of the golden age of British detective fiction, such as Agatha Christie, Tey has retained a reputation for well-written psychological mystery novels. ‘The Daughter of Time’, published in 1951, was voted the best crime novel of all time by the Crime Writer’s Association in 1990. Her books are seen as a bridge between the golden age crime novels of



It can make sense to be ambiguous about the gender of an author”

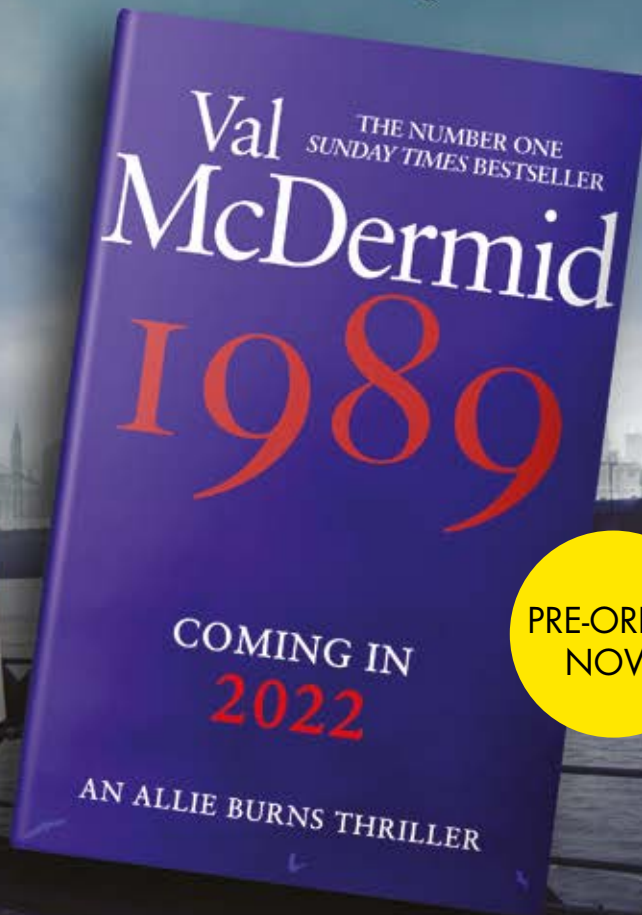


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the 1920s and 30s and the more psychologically sophisticated crime novels of today. Josephine Tey has also had a literary afterlife as a character in a series of crime novels by Nicola Upson, which began with the 2008 book 'An Expert in Murder'. But as crime writer Val McDermid has noted, MacKintosh herself was a mystery.

“Elizabeth MacKintosh, aka Gordon Daviot, aka Josephine Tey, was pathologically private. She never gave interviews, posed for publicity photographs only under duress and managed to keep her private life a mystery. In the last year of her life, when she knew she was dying, she avoided contact with her closest friends because she didn't want anyone to know.”

MacKintosh grew up in Inverness and began writing in her spare time as a hobby. After a brief career as a P.E. teacher, she took up writing professionally. From 1925 she published pseudonymous poems and short stories in newspapers. Her first detective novel, 'The Man in the Queue', written in response to a competition by the publishers Methuen, was published as by 'Gordon Daviot' in 1929. Her next crime novel 'A Shilling for Candles' appeared under the pen name 'Josephine Tey' and this would be used for all her future detective fiction.

'Josephine' was her mother's name and 'Tey' is thought to have been a family surname (possibly a misreading of 'Fry'). During her lifetime MacKintosh published 11 novels, eight of them crime fiction. She also pursued a career as a playwright (for stage and radio) and was a contract writer for Universal Pictures.

Her stage plays (she wrote around 20) were often in a historical setting. 'Richard of Bordeaux' is mainly remembered for its role in making John Gielgud a star in 1932. By this time, newspaper articles had revealed her use of pseudonyms, but she continued to resist media attention.

MacKintosh used a pen name partly because she was a very private individual, but also because she pursued two parallel, but very different, writing careers. For her crime novels she adopted the female 'Josephine Tey', as during the period she was writing many of the bestselling crime writers were women. For her plays and historical novels she chose a male pen name, 'Gordon Daviot'.

MacKintosh let her novels and plays speak for themselves, rather than leave extensive literary archives, such as that of Muriel Spark.

A short biographical sketch, 'The Enigma of Gordon Daviot', was published by a school friend in the 'Scots Magazine' shortly after MacKintosh's death, but the first major study of her life was published only in 2015. Jennifer Morag



Henderson's biography, through family papers and other historical sources, was able to shed light on the many different facets of MacKintosh's life.

MacKintosh, according to her friend John Gielgud, dismissed her Tey books as 'her yearly knitting' and thought the plays she wrote as Daviot were her best, most enduring works.

This shows that although writers might attempt to shape their career through pen names, it is down to readers how, and if, their work endures and the name by which posterity will know them. The Tey novels are enduring classics, the Daviot plays and novels are rarely performed and out of print.

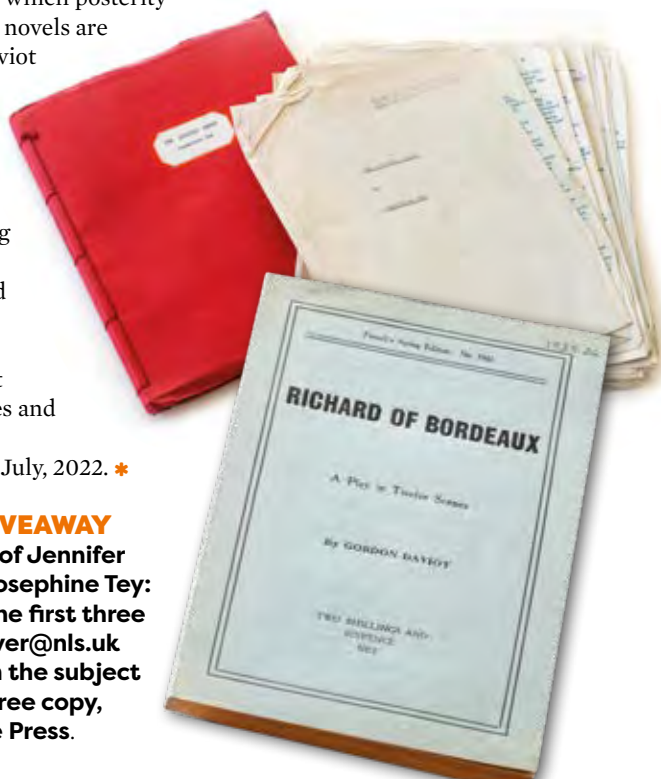
Our exhibition will explore the use of pen names by writers working from the 1800s to the present. Authors featured include George Eliot and Lewis Grassic Gibbon. On show will be rare first editions, pulp fiction titles and unique collections items.

Pen Names opens on 8 July, 2022. *

TEY BIOGRAPHY GIVEAWAY
We have three copies of Jennifer Morag Henderson's 'Josephine Tey: A Life' to give away. The first three people to email discover@nls.uk with 'Josephine Tey' in the subject header will receive a free copy, courtesy of Sandstone Press.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

MacKintosh published her crime fiction, above, as Josephine Tey but used 'Gordon Daviot' for her stage plays, which she believed were her most enduring works



Introducing you to some favourites from our collections, all freely available online

An **unsung hero** of the Scottish literary canon



Catherine Carswell, 'The Camomile: An Invention'

CHOSEN BY: Helen Vincent, Head of Rare Books, Maps and Music

It will not come as a surprise to readers that I've chosen a novel with a library at its centre. Catherine Carswell's 'The Camomile' (London, 1922) is set in early 20th-century Glasgow and the Mitchell Library plays a vital part in the heroine Ellen's voyage of self-discovery.

In many ways, 'The Camomile' is a Scottish fictional counterpart to Virginia Woolf's feminist classic 'A Room of One's Own', which it predates by several years – 1922 to Woolf's 1928.

Woolf talks about how women of the past did not have such a room and how hard it was for women of her day to find one. Carswell gives us the



I'm seizing the opportunity of the school holidays, which are still on, to go oftener than ever to the Mitchell Library to read"

embodiment of this dilemma in her protagonist Ellen, stuck in a middle-class tenement flat amid the conventions of the Glasgow social life for a young lady of her day – the church and school socials, prayer meetings, young men looking to make a career that will probably take them abroad, and women of all ages walking the tightrope between dressing respectably and, horror of horrors, making too much of themselves.

"This afternoon, as you might see advertised in to-day's Glasgow Herald, the Monthly Tea-and-Prayer Gathering was held in our dining-room (not in the drawing room, because the piano is not so suitable as the harmonium), and was addressed by our dear friend, Miss Davida Jones, who has always so many interesting things to tell us of Work in the Zenanas. Last night I was kept busy writing post-cards to members of the Tea-and-Prayer Gathering just in case they might not read their 'Heralds'

closely enough, and this morning Aunt Harry called on as many of them as she could, lest, I suppose, they should not have noticed my post-cards. In Glasgow we are nothing if not thorough."

Ellen's struggle to find a mental and physical space away from her family, even while she loves them, will surely resonate with many people's lockdown experiences over the past couple of years, and it is this which leads her to a library.

"I'm seizing the opportunity of the school holidays, which are still on, to go oftener than ever to the Mitchell Library to read. It is not a convenient place to get at – especially in this weather – quite a long car journey to a dismal little street full of warehouses and cranes that keep hoisting and lowering piles of wooden crates full of goods, so that one can hardly walk on either pavement ... But I must have books ... So I go to the old Mitchell, and from the very distance and discomfort,

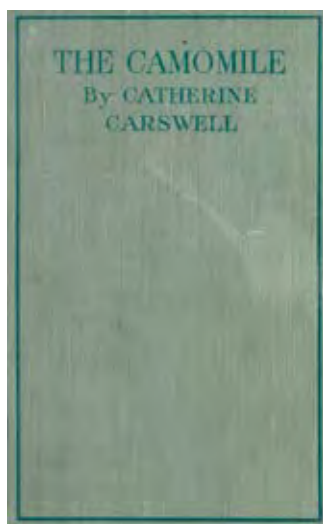
and the fact that I can't take the volumes home, I am compelled to pick out only the books I vitally want."

I first read this novel as a student and instantly fell in love with it, so much so that on my first visit to Glasgow I made a special pilgrimage to the Mitchell Library.

I'm constantly surprised that 'The Camomile' doesn't hold a higher place in the Scottish literary canon. Is it the chatty style of writing in which Ellen discusses everything from the weather to the mysteries of other people's inner lives?

This narration is in fact deceptively simple and part of the pleasure of this book is reading between the lines of Ellen's narration to see more of her world than she sees herself.

Ironically for a writer whose



TRANQUIL HAVEN

Glasgow's Mitchell Library, below and right, between 1911 and 1913, as it would have been seen by Ellen in 'The Camomile', above. Photos courtesy of Glasgow Life/ Museums and Collections



fiction articulates how hard it is for a woman to exist as a fully realised independent being, Carswell is all too often defined by her relationships with two men whose biographies she wrote – D.H. Lawrence, also reflected in her other novel 'Open the Door', and Robert Burns, with her 'Life' of him still criticised today by those who disapprove of her take on Jean Armour. 'The Camomile',

by turns funny about the mundane and insightful about the human incapacity ever truly to know oneself, let alone others, is perhaps the best introduction to her writing, and a delight to read, hopefully without the interruptions that plague Ellen's own literary endeavours. ✦

You can read or download this book from the Digital Gallery on nls.uk




FURTHER INFORMATION

- Appropriately enough, the Mitchell Library houses Carswell's archive.
- Digitised copies of the first editions of all Carswell's books can be found in our Digital Gallery feature, Works By Selected Scottish Authors.
- For a picture of what life was like in Glasgow at the time of the novel, see the contemporary short film Great Western Road 1922 from our Moving Image Archive.

A burning injustice

**The legal battle to pardon and
remember the thousands of
victims of Scotland's witch trials**



The Witches of Scotland (WoS) Campaign was launched on International Women's Day 2020 by Claire Mitchell QC and Zoe Venditozzi. The campaign has three aims: to obtain a pardon for those convicted as witches under the Witchcraft Act 1563, to obtain an apology for all those accused and to secure a national, state memorial to remember those killed as witches. Here, they tell us more...

The Witchcraft Act 1563 resulted in just shy of 4,000 people being accused as witches in Scotland.

As elsewhere in Europe, the vast majority of those accused, some 85 per cent, were women.

England had a slightly lower rate of women accused – 80 per cent – and there is discussion around why Scotland had a higher figure.

Confessions to allegations of witchcraft were routinely obtained by torture, both physical and mental. The stripping and pricking of women was common, as was sleep deprivation. Physical torture was not allowed, but there are examples of this happening.

Unsurprisingly, a large number of those who were accused and tortured confessed, and that was used as the basis for their conviction.

Of the 4,000 accused, academics estimate that approximately 2,500 were executed. The method of execution was by way of

strangulation and then burning at the stake. Shockingly, Scotland killed five times as many people as witches than elsewhere in Europe.

In 2021, we lodged a public petition with the Petitions Committee asking for the aims of the campaign to be met, which gained thousands of signatures of support from home and abroad.

To raise broader public awareness, we started the WoS podcast, in which we speak to experts in their field about the witchcraft trials. The series was supposed to last for six episodes, but such was the public interest and number of experts willing to talk about the witch trials that the series now has more than 55 episodes, with a long list of experts still to interview.

We have spoken to academic experts from Scotland and abroad, artists, lawyers, citizen historians, campaigners and writers about their perspective on the witchcraft trials.

The Scottish Government responded to the petition in March 2021 and stated it



The method of execution was by way of strangulation and then burning at the stake”



INNOCENT VICTIMS

The stories of the women burned as witches “has been lost in a history written by men”

“acknowledges that those accused and convicted of the offence of witchcraft were women who faced discrimination and had very little protection in law from allegations of criminality including witchcraft”.

It also accepted: “There are clearly similarities between the injustices of those convicted in a discriminatory manner for same-sex sexual activity and the injustices of women classed as witches many centuries ago which could justify legislative steps being taken in this area.”

We have both given evidence to MSPs about the history of witchcraft trials in Scotland and why we believe it is important to properly remember these people not as witches, but as innocents who suffered a terrible miscarriage of justice. We also wrote to First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, asking her to consider issuing

a formal state apology to all those accused of witchcraft and suggested that International Women’s Day would be an appropriate time to do so.

We wrote: “The First Minister’s National Advisory Council on Women and Girls (NACWG) was established in 2017, with a mission to ‘be bold’ where it needed to do better to challenge gender inequality.”

The Mission Statement for the Council is:

“For generations, our history has been written by one gender. One perspective, one vision, one half of the population. Half of history is missing. For years, we’ve been striving for change. But now is the time to change for good. To design a future where gender inequality is a historical curiosity. With the voice of everyone we want to create a Scotland where we’re all equal – with an equal future. Together, we are generation equal.”

We agree. Until recently, there had been no official apology for those people who suffered this brutal miscarriage of justice. Their story has been lost in a history written by men.

Now is the time to be bold, to record and acknowledge our history, to learn from it, and to vow to continue the work to gain gender equality. It is only by recognising our past that we can move forward and do better. A most terrible injustice was done to those killed.

On International Women's Day 2022, the First Minister made a speech to Parliament about misogyny, both historic and present. In reflecting on the need for legislation in respect of misogyny she reminded those that its history is long and, as invited, issued a formal apology on behalf of the state to all those convicted of witchcraft under the 1563 Act.

While we are delighted with the apology, the campaign continues. We have been approached by Natalie Don MSP, who discussed raising a Private Members' Bill in respect of the pardoning of those convicted. That Bill is currently being progressed, with a consultation paper seeking the views of the general public soon. We will also return to the Scottish Parliament to seek to persuade the Public Petitions Committee to write to the Government in support of funding a public memorial to all those accused and killed as witches. ✨

For more information, visit witchesofscotland.com, where you can listen to the podcasts. They are also freely available on all podcast platforms.

LEARN MORE IN OUR COLLECTIONS

Some items from the Library's collections relating to witch trials include:

The earliest (in Latin): 'De Ianiis [sic] et phitonicis mulieribus: Teutonice Vnholden vel Hexen' [Reutlingen: Johann Otmar, not before 10 Jan. 1489]

One of the most famous [of its time]: Jakob Sprenger's 'Malleus Maleficarum' (we have the first edition from 1486). For nearly three centuries, 'Malleus Maleficarum' (The Witches' Hammer) was the professional manual for witch hunters. This work by two of the most famous Inquisitors of the age is still a document of the forces of that era's beliefs. Under a Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, Kramer and Sprenger exposed the heresy of those who did not believe in witches and set forth the proper order of the world with devils, witches, and the will of God. Even if you do not believe in witchcraft, the world of 1484 did.

Relating to Scotland

'A rehearsall both straung and true, of hainous and horrible actes committed by Elizabeth Stille, alias Rockingham, Mother Dutten, Mother Deuell, Mother Margaret, fower notorious witches, apprehended at Winsore in the countie of Barks. and at Abbington arraigned, condemned, and executed, on the 26 daye of Februarie laste Anno. 1579'

King James VI's 'Daemonologie' (1597) – a dissertation on contemporary necromancy and the historical relationships between the various methods of divination used from ancient black magic. The book endorses the practice of witch hunting, and is also alleged to have

influenced William Shakespeare's 'Macbeth', thought to have been first performed in 1606.

George Sinclair's 'Satan's Invisible World Discovered' (Edinburgh, 1685) features an alleged poltergeist incident known as the Devil of Glenluce.

'A true narrative of the sufferings and relief of a young girle; strangely molested, by evil spirits and their instruments, in the west: collected from authentick testimonies there- anent. With a preface and post-script containing reflections on what is most material or curious; either in the history, or trial of the seven witches who were condemn'd to be execute in that countrey'. Cullen, Francis Grant (Lord); MacGilchrist, John (Edinburgh, 1698). Relating to the Bargarran Witch Trials (1697). Christian Shaw, then aged 11, made allegations against people in Paisley, Renfrewshire. Seven people – both men and women – were sentenced to death. Deemed the last mass execution for witchcraft in western Europe.

'An answer of a letter from a gentleman in Fife, to a nobleman: containing a brief account of the barbarous and illegal treatment, these poor women accused of witchcraft, met with from the Baillies of Pittenweem and others, with some few observations thereon. To which is added an account of the horrid and barbarous murder, in a letter from a gentleman in Fife, to his friend in Edinburgh, February 5th. 1705' (Edinburgh, 1705). Relating to the treatment of five women accused of witchcraft in the small fishing village of Pittenweem in Fife, 1704.

Tracing LGBT history through our collections

Alex Wilson, LGBTQ+ History intern, has spent most of the past year searching the Library's archives for hitherto unearthed stories relating to LGBT individuals. Here, they present a character who pops up time and time again in the national archives



Alex Wilson

Almost 100 years ago, on Saturday, 27 February 1926, an individual identified as Joseph Luckman appears in 'The Scotsman' newspaper for the first time, charged with having stolen items from lodging houses while working as a lady's maid. Luckman is described as "being dressed as a girl with a dainty hat and jumper, coloured stockings and suede shoes".

By March, they had been sentenced to six months' hard labour. Over the subsequent 10 years, we are able to follow Luckman through various newspaper accounts as they are repeatedly arrested for crimes ranging from cruising to housebreaking, sentenced to multiple counts of hard labour, framed for a crime they did not commit, and escaped police custody while on the way to jail, only to be recaptured.

[For the purpose of this article, we will refer to the individual as Luckman, and the gender-neutral 'they', as we have evidence of Luckman presenting in a variety of ways and no way to determine what their preference would be today.]

Throughout these repeated appearances, instances of Luckman's voice are few and far

between. Aside from claims of their innocence in relation to various crimes in court, we have little access to their motivations to dress in skirts, frocks and make-up, or even their decision to take a job as a lady's maid, with many of their reasonings running contradictory to their later actions. So how are we able to track someone for 10 years with little insight into their behaviour?

In contrast to famous names from this time period, such as Virginia Woolf and her lover Vita Sackville-West, our only access to Luckman is through the newspaper reports of criminal trials.

Unlike these high-profile authors, Luckman is an unknown. Any of their own writings on their motivations are unlikely to be retained, due to a lack of obvious interest or monetary value, or are unlikely to be filed in a way which would allow us to easily locate them. So we are left with only the outside perspectives found in the newspapers.

While these newspaper accounts are actively hostile, they do offer us some benefits in the present day. As someone identified as a man in the eyes of the law, Luckman was open to prosecution for their sexual relationships with men, something we have records of occurring.

Because of a newspaper account of Luckman's prosecution for cruising, we can say for certain they were interested in sexual relations with men.

This keeps Luckman from being placed in the ambiguous space many figures fall into, with present-day researchers unable to determine a clear picture of a person's sexual or gender identity. But this comes at great personal cost to Luckman. In each incident we see Luckman at their lowest, with little context for their actions and motivations, resulting in their suffering and imprisonment.

This danger of prosecution and the harm it inflicts also affects the type of material to be found on Luckman. Letters, diaries or identifying tokens of affection all ran the risk of being used in court during a prosecution. Thus, many items such as these were less likely to be created or kept by individuals in order to protect themselves and others. We must, therefore, question how we write about someone whose voice is absent, when talking about something as nebulous as identity. We do not have the information to know how Luckman viewed themselves – if they identified as a man, woman or anything else. Neither can we know for certain what motivated their repeated gender non-conformity in the face of societal condemnation and criminal charges.

Many fictional detective stories from this time period present cases involving men presenting as women to commit theft or burglary, and the newspaper reports on Luckman echo this reasoning. This would be a sufficient explanation if Luckman's gender non-conformity appeared only in circumstances when it was to their advantage. However, we have plenty of evidence that Luckman's presentation as a woman was not confined to their criminal activity. Descriptions of arrests from 1926 through to 1933 all refer to them being arrested either presenting as a woman or at the very least wearing make-up.

Luckman is also repeatedly described as appearing in court dressed as a woman. This is significant. We know from other articles that appearing in court in women's clothing would prejudice the jury against the defendant, and that this form of dress would encourage humiliation by the crowd at court.

Faced with this, defendants would often shred their clothing in custody to force the court to present them with men's clothing. The fact that Luckman continued to dress in women's clothing throughout what is known of their life suggests they had internal motivations to do so, which were more important to them



This stock image shows the type of clothing Luckman wore

than self-protection. It is because of this that I avoid using gendered terms for Luckman and refer to them by their surname to avoid referring to them by a gendered first name.

So where does that leave us? Is Luckman simply an unknowable figure we can never understand? Well, no. There is plenty we can learn about Luckman as a person from these reports.

We know they were resourceful and opportunistic. From the few records of their voice, we can see they had a sense of humour and were actively defiant towards reporters, police officers and judges. We know they had a brother with whom they sometimes partnered during housebreaking, that they never used violence in their criminal activities and that they worked hard for their employer, stating that they gave every satisfaction as a lady's maid even after their arrest. In this way, elements of Luckman's personality are able to bleed through the reporting their life is framed within.

Luckman may have been atypical in the dramatic nature of the events in their life, but figures who can be found only framed through a hostile lens are unfortunately commonplace in the context of LGBT history. When approaching this history, it is vital we remember to treat those such as Luckman with more dignity and care in the present than their peers ever did. *



As someone identified as a man in the eyes of the law, Luckman was open to prosecution for their sexual relationships with men, something we have records of occurring”

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Showcasing Scotland's finest literary Treasures

Our new Treasures exhibition features rare gems that provide insight into Scotland's history, culture and people



Rare books, video installations, medieval manuscripts and fascinating maps are among the gems now on display at our new permanent exhibition, 'Treasures of the National Library of Scotland'.

It features items including a complete Gutenberg Bible (left), Robert Burns's handwritten 'Ae Fond Kiss', belongings of pioneer Isobel Wylie Hutchison, and the sounds of James Scott Skinner – 'King of Speyside' – captured on wax cylinder.

There is also a letter from Charles Darwin about 'On the Origin of Species' and a letter from Ludwig van Beethoven

about arrangements for a Scottish song. The Burns and Beethoven items are on long-term loan from the National Galleries of Scotland. Some displays will be refreshed every six months to help fully showcase our archives.

New work is also on show thanks to a partnership with Neu! Reekie!, with artists responding to the Treasures via poetry, prose, song or film. See nls.uk for more details.

Thank you to all our supporters who helped make this exhibition happen.

Open now

Pen Names

This exhibition explores why novelists, playwrights and poets working in Britain from the 1800s to the present day have used pen names.

Their reasons may be practical, personal, professional – or to create a public persona or meet society's expectations.

We invite visitors to explore how ideas of gender, genre, privacy, reputation, authorship and authenticity

influence authors' use of pen names.

The exhibition features authors writing under pen names, from George Eliot to Lee Child, including Scottish writers such as Josephine Tey, Alexander Trocchi, Frank Quitely and Lewis Grassic Gibbon.

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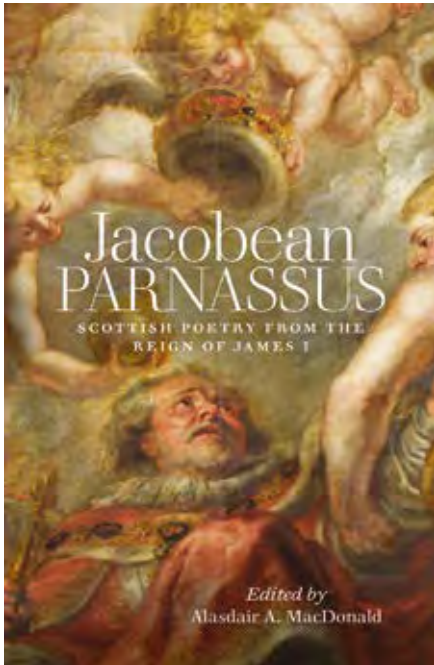
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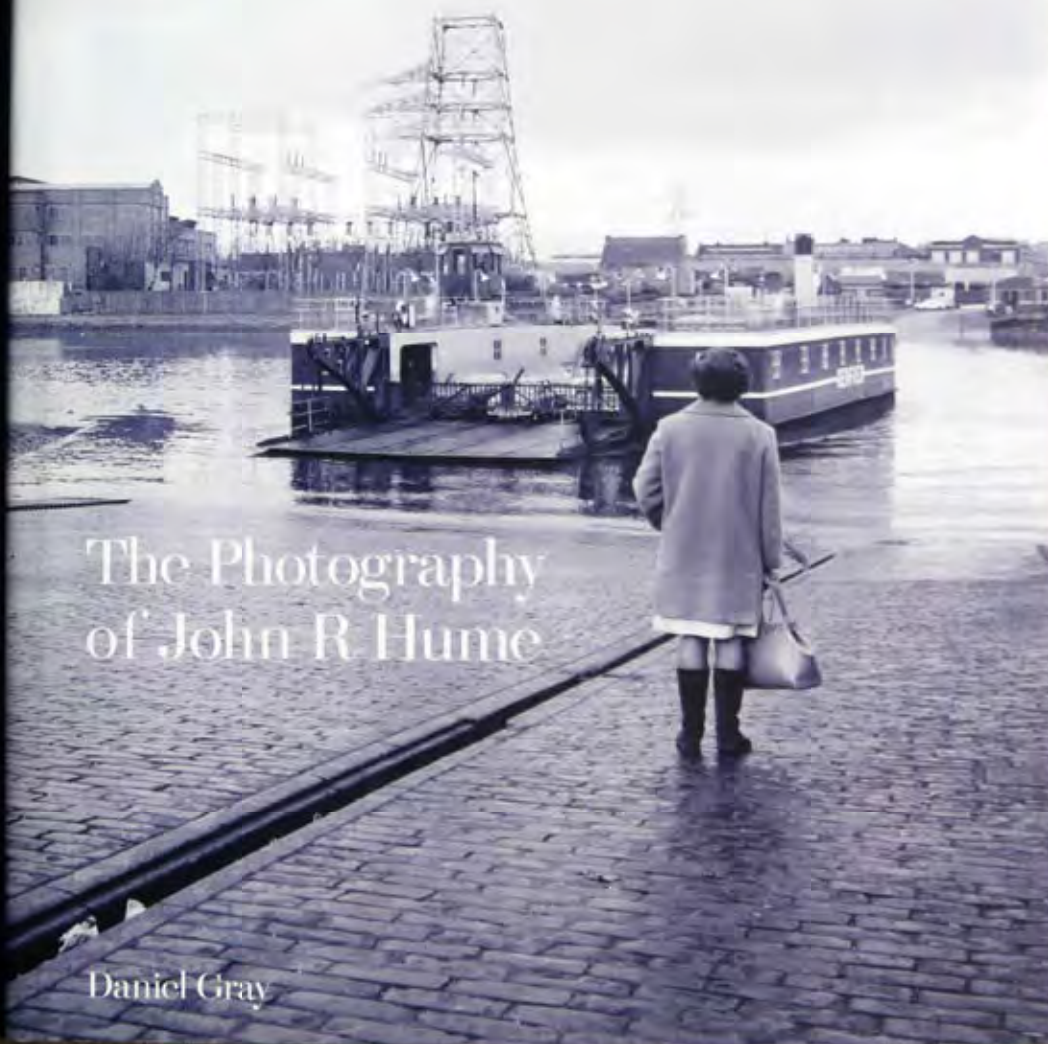
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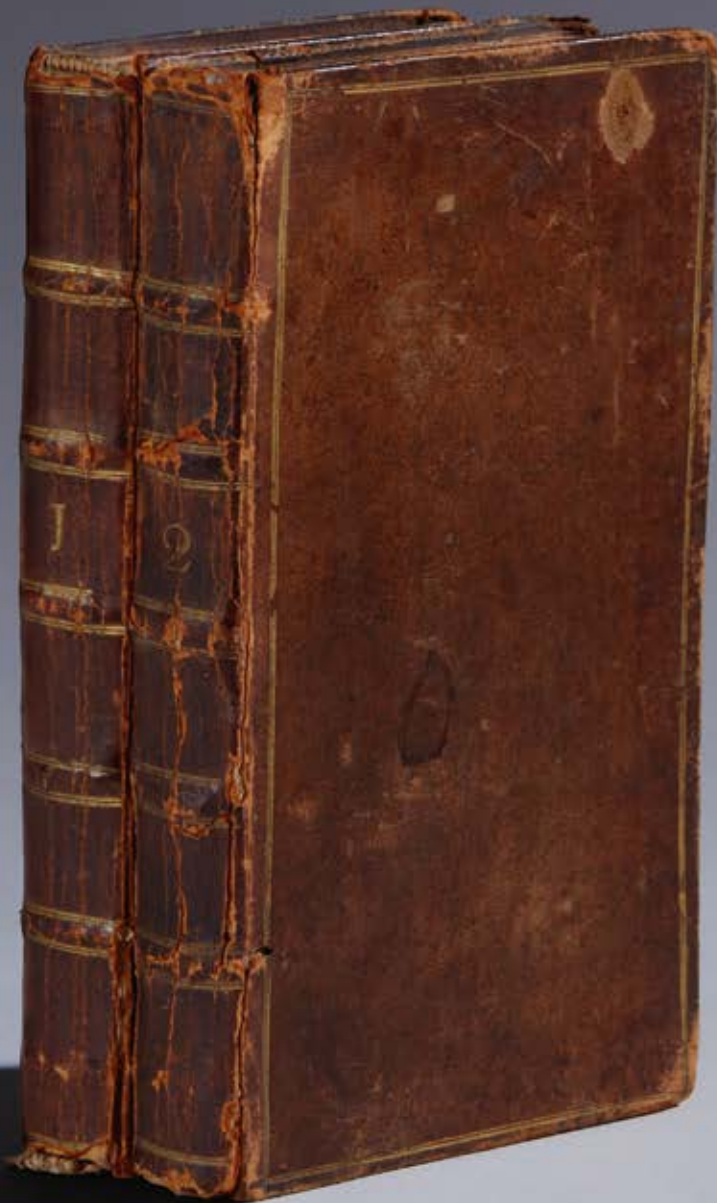
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MEMOIRS OF *****
[A WOMAN OF PLEASURE]

London: printed for G. Fenton in the Strand, [?1755]

Note: A very early edition of the first and the most famous erotic or pornographic novel in English.

The novel, consisting of two letters addressed by the fictional character Frances "Fanny" Hill to a "Madam," recounts in vivid and explicit detail Fanny's transgressive sexual experiences from her adolescence through her middle age. The first edition, which was entitled *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, contains an important two-paragraph description of a male homosexual encounter deleted from this and all subsequent editions. The novel was perhaps the most heavily challenged book in court, in both England and the United States.

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