CANNABIS AND EMPIRE
Sativa Surveyed

MERMAIDS AND MONSTERS
Tall Tales, or True?

WEB OF CONNECTIONS
An Artist’s Archive

WEDDED BLISS?
Marriage Under the Microscope
Among the India Papers

The Ganja Photos

Of all the photographs included in the National Library of Scotland’s copy of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission Report, it is the one of the Bairags that seems to me to be the most striking, in that it perfectly captures the relationship between cannabis consumers and government officials in the modern period, and it at once demonstrates what a long history this relationship has had. In among the images showing how cannabis was produced for the Indian market in the nineteenth century, and how it was prepared and presented for sale, there is the picture of a group of Indian mendicants. The incomprehension or amusement on their faces is not entirely attributable to the cannabis that they have been using. After all, the question as to why a government photography team had gone to the trouble of traipsing out into the Indian hinterland to assemble such a group would not have been an unreasonable one. The answer would not necessarily have made sense to the men pictured. They were not of interest to the colonial government because of who they were or what they represented. They had been gathered together simply because of what they consumed. The British wanted to capture on film a new social problem. They had come to examine pictures of cannabis consumers.

The photograph was one of a series that is included in the eight volumes of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission Report, compiled by the British government of India in 1893–94. Although all the volumes are available at the India Office Library in London and at the National Archives of India in New Delhi, as far as I can establish it is only in the pages of the National Library of Scotland copy that the photographs have been preserved.

The India Hemp Commission report is part of the Library’s massive India Papers collection – the most extensive record of the British government of India in existence, outside the original colonial archives in London and India. A quantity of fine detail, from the monthly meteorological records of the country’s hill-stations, to the utterings of inmates of the colony’s asylums, is stored in the India Papers, alongside the dramatic and the significant. The collection is a source for such important documents as the police reports on Gandhi’s meetings and the eye-witness accounts of the Partition riots that divided the country into the modern nation of India and Pakistan.

The Commission was set up as the result of a controversy in the House of Commons in the 1890s about cannabis. Its scope was clearly defined. It had to establish the extent to which both wild and cultivated hemp was grown, define the different drugs made from the crops and identify who was using these substances. The Commissioners were told to distinguish the physical effects of the different cannabis preparations and consider the issue of insanity arising from them. (They were also reminded to bear in mind that the drugs might be harmless.) They had to report on the system of taxing the trade of the drugs in each part of India and show how the various administrations there raised revenue from the trade. They were told to come up with recommendations, but if they chose to prohibit cannabis intoxicants they had to report on the possibility of social and political unrest that might arise as a result of this, and also on the alternative intoxicants that those deprived of their dose of hemp drugs might turn to.

The Commission was most thorough and compiled eight volumes of witness statements and conclusions in the seven months of its life. Indeed, the work at times seemed to threaten the health of some of the Commissioners. Raja Soshi Sikhareswar managed only forty-four of the eighty-three days of the first tour, while Lala Nihal Chand managed a slightly better forty-nine. Kanwar Harnam Singh did all of them, but seemed to suffer for it, as he then took on only seventy-eight of the 183 days of the second tour. Raja Soshi Sikhareswar Roy fared better, but only did 112 days of the stint, while Lala Nihal Chand seemed entirely exhausted by illness at this point and in fact attended interviews for only a fortnight in November and a week in April. The British officers all seem to have stubbornly soldiered through full helpings of both tours, clocking up 266 days of Commission each. All Commissioners had, however, regained their health in time for the writing up of the report in Simla in May 1894.
Many stories emerged, emphasising just how diverse was the picture of cannabis use in India. In Bombay, for example, the Collector of Land Revenue and Customs wrote a lengthy report in which he regaled the Commission with details of exactly how embedded cannabis preparations were in Indian culture. Preparations of cannabis were central to Hindu legend, he said: ‘Shiva on fire with the poison churned from the ocean was cooled by bhang [cannabis]. At another time, enraged by family worries, the god withdrew to the fields. The cool shade of a plant soothed him. He crushed and ate of the leaves, and the bhang refreshed him. For these two benefits bhang is shankarpriya, the beloved of Mahadev’.

Because of these religious properties, the drugs were used in all manner of rituals and celebrations. Marriages were sealed with the use of cannabis preparations:

During the great spirit time of marriage in Bombay among almost all of the higher classes of Gujarat Hindus, of the Jain as well as of the Brahmanic sects, the supplies sent by the family of the bride to the bridegroom’s party during their seven days’ sojourn includes a supply of bhang. The name of the father who neglects to send bhang is held in contempt. Again, after the wedding when the bridegroom and his friends are entertained at the house of the bride, richly spiced bhang is drunk by the guests. The Gujarat Mussalman bride before and after marriage drinks a preparation of bhang.

Muslims in the west of India also approved of bhang: ‘to the follower of the later religion of Islam the holy spirit in bhang is not the spirit of the Almighty. It is the spirit of the great prophet Khizr or Elijah’. Both Muslims and Hindus believed, according to Campbell, that cannabis preparations dulled the pangs of hunger, helped to cure madness, calmed panic, gave comfort in times of trouble and, indeed, allowed even the most humble to experience heaven. He ended his note by quoting a local saying, ‘we drank bhang and the mystery I am, [it] grew plain. So grand a result, so tiny a sin’.

However, while the IHDC report does contain plenty of evidence that cannabis preparations were a welcome and integral part of Indian culture it also shows that elements in various communities rejected them. In the North West Provinces, there was a saying that, ‘if one smokes charas, one’s learning is diminished, the seed is burnt up within, coughing goes on till one’s belly bursts, and one’s face grows red like that of a monkey’. In the Punjab, it was not redness of face that was the problem but quite the opposite: ‘Whoever smokes ganja, his face grows pale, His wife will complain he is impotent, His brother will say he is afflicted with pain, But the smoker will turn to his chillum again’. Of the rhyming warnings, the best comes from Sind:

‘Preparing flat ganja, Naogaon, 16th February 1894’.
noting his initial reluctance to enter the gas chamber, the scientist noticed that his objections gradually diminished and were ultimately replaced by a positive desire for the treatment. He then readily entered the chamber, resisted any attempts to remove him from it before he had had a full dose, was restless and uneasy on days on which the treatment was omitted, and on two occasions on which he managed to make his escape from his cage, showed an evident desire to enter the chamber on his own account.

Cunningham observed that the impact of the drug on the animal was to make him drowsy, unsteady on his legs and eventually to put him to sleep. Upon waking, the animal seemed to have trouble focusing and the medical man suspected that he had some sorts of ‘optical delusions’ as he seemed to stare in directions where there was little to interest him. On a few occasions the monkey failed to go drowsy for a while and then suddenly was seized by convulsions, upon which he fell profoundly unconscious. Cunningham could not make up his mind whether this was linked to variations in the quality of the drug or to peculiarities in the animal. ‘In what but death, ends its sad tale?’ went the Sindhi rhyme, and this was all too true in this instance. Cunningham decided after eight months of getting the monkey stoned that he wanted to have a look at the physical impact of the drug on the animal’s body, so he killed it and put it on the post-mortem slab. His main observation was there were large collections of fat in the monkey’s body. As the monkey had been given to eating less while caged, Cunningham reached the conclusion that smoking ganja may slow the processes of tissue waste in the body. He made the point that in humans this would mean that those on poor diets undertaking hard work would benefit from smoking the drugs as it would slow the rate at which their bodies wore out. His experiments seemed to have identified a very important and beneficial effect of regular cannabis use.

Indeed, the conclusions of the IHDC as a whole were positive. It estimated that in cannabis-consuming regions of India about one in 200 consumed cannabis preparations and that of these users only about 5% might be considered to be ‘excessive’ users. The annual consumption of a moderate user was established as 9/10lb. There appeared to be little evidence that use of the drugs was on the increase, although in areas where alcohol taxes had been increased, consumption of spirits had decreased while use of cannabis preparations had gone up.

Overall, however, moderate use of the drugs was not felt to cause physical harm: ‘there is no evidence of any brain lesions being directly caused by hemp drugs as they have been found to be caused by alcohol and dhatura’; and on the question of addiction, the IHDC declared that, ‘the habit of using hemp drugs is easier to break off than the habit of using alcohol or opium’. Indeed, the Commissioners even offered the observation that, ‘it has been clearly established that the occasional use of hemp in moderate doses may be beneficial’, especially for those living in malarious regions and for those whose lives involved hard work or constant exposure. Excess, however, would lead to physical damage but they were keen to emphasise that this was the case with all intoxicants rather than just with hemp.
Bronchitis and dysentery were the fate of those who indulged rather too freely.

The conclusions on the mental consequences of using hemp drugs were similarly attached to distinctions between moderate and excessive use. The IHDC declared that, ‘in respect to the alleged mental effects of the drugs, the Commission have come to the conclusion that the moderate use of hemp drugs produces no injurious effects on the mind’. However, the IHDC also concluded that, ‘it appears that the excessive use of hemp drugs may, especially in cases where there is any weakness or hereditary predisposition, induce insanity’.

The IHDC felt that there were few social consequences of a population indulging in moderate doses of the drug: ‘As a rule these drugs do not tend to crime and violence’ and even the excessive user was hardly likely to threaten public order, except in the rarest of circumstances. The IHDC approached the question of prohibiting the use of the drugs very cautiously. Quoting precedents from 1798, 1872 and 1892, it pointed out that prohibition had been considered at various times over the last century of British rule in India and that it had always been rejected. The grounds for this rejection was that the plant grew wild and that therefore it would be difficult to stop preparation of drugs from these natural sources, and that any attempt to stop such a common habit threatened both to provoke the local population and to force them into using more damaging intoxicants.

However, there is good reason to be wary of these conclusions. Such were the doubts about them that two of the Commissioners who were Indians (overall five were British and three were Indian) refused to sign them, and insisted that the published report include their objections. Raja Soshi Sikareshwar Ray stated, ‘I believe that the injurious effects of the hemp drugs are greater and their use more harmful than one would naturally suppose to be the case after reading the concluding portion of Chapter XIII of our Report’. Lala Nihal Chand insisted that evidence of the relationship between cannabis use and insanity had been rejected too readily. Cannabis was taxed by the British in India, as was opium, and with revenues from the latter under threat from Anti-Opium campaigners, the suspicion lingers that the British officers of the Commission, all employees of the imperial administration in India, were simply protecting the revenues that paid their wages.

Which brings us back to our Indian mendicants, staring out of the photographs in the Library’s copy of the report. Although the picture was taken in the 1890s, it can be used to represent the whole history of cannabis and the British up to the present day. It is a simplification, an attempt to render comprehensible a complex society and its interactions with a potent substance in a series of easy to use images. Because the photograph is buried deep in the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission Report, the simplification does not work, as we know that it is tainted with the politics and the controversies of the period. These controversies remain as unresolved today as they were in India over a century ago, partly because the issue remains rooted in politics, and partly because those involved in the debates continue to confuse themselves with a search for such simplifications.

Note on sources

Those who wish to research themes raised by James Mills in this article may wish to consult his Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade and Prohibition (S.204.0115), published in 2003 by Oxford University Press. The catalogue of the India Papers at the National Library of Scotland (Issue Hall. Publ.9.1.7.1) is available on the open access shelves. It includes the India Hemp Commission Report 1893–94 (IP.DA.1) among publications of the central (Imperial) government and of many Indian states, most but not all of which came under British rule. Items published by the India Office in London, however, will be found among the British official papers. The great majority of the papers date from between the post-Mutiny reorganisation of the Indian government and Indian independence in 1947.'
Stranger than Fiction?
Fantasy in Fact

‘Read All About It!’ the billboards scream, but common wisdom has it that you should never believe what you read in the newspapers. Whatever the case, we do rely heavily on the news media to form a picture of the world.

The primary means of transmitting news has undergone radical transformations through the ages – from word of mouth, to printed broadsides, to supplement-rich newspapers, to radio and television. With the internet in its infancy but evidently poised to deliver a bells and whistles multimedia experience, the National Library has chosen an apt moment to take a rain check on the history of the ‘news’ in Scotland.

One broadside reports how a mermaid came to the aid of Lauchland Mackintosh, a shipwrecked Cromarty merchant. The account, while presented as a true story, is full of familiar fairy-tale motifs.

Mackintosh dreams he is in a mountain-top castle where he tastes water from a well that is ‘as sweet as honey and white as milk’. He encounters a beautiful mermaid, surrounded by seven serpents. The mermaid helps Mackintosh return safely to shore, and for good measure throws in the prediction that the reigning monarch, King George III, will triumph over his enemies. Dates, places and named individuals are cited to give the impression that this encounter was a real event, but no doubt it was all an elaborate hoax. Over fifty years later, in 1814, a number of sightings of mermaids were reported in newspapers as far apart as Belfast, Aberdeen and Margate. It was subsequently discovered that all the names mentioned were fictitious – sadly, all these fishy tales were false.

From mermaids in the north-east, to cannibals in the south-west – if mermaids have an established place in folklore and oral tradition, the same cannot really be said for the ‘myth’ of Sawney Beane. This tale about a family of cannibals who lived in a cave on the Ayrshire or Galloway coast during the reign of King James VI and I was for centuries popularly held to be historical fact. Sawney Beane, his wife

Embellished with attractive but crudely executed woodcuts, this broadside (APS.4.87.45) tells of a supposedly factual encounter between a shipwrecked Cromarty merchant and a beautiful mermaid.
and their forty-six offspring were reputed to have waylaid, murdered and eaten hundreds of people over the course of twenty-five years, until their own eventual capture and grisly execution in Leith. It has been speculated that two anonymous chapbooks about the cannibal family (L.C.2746.E(19)) and (L.C.2737(7)) may have been penned by Daniel Defoe, in order to suggest the Scots were uncivilised and savage – Defoe is known to have worked as a spy for the English government.

The Sawney Beane myth spawned at least two English imitations, featuring similarly dastardly families: The History of John Gregg, and his Family, of Robbers and Murderers who took up their abode in a cave near to the sea-side, in Clavaly in Devonshire (L.C. 2833(3)), Glasgow, c. 1789 and The Dreadful History of John M’Claud, and his Crew of Thieves, Robbers, and Murderers who were all taken in a cave, near by the sea side, in Devonshire (RB.s.826(4)), which was published in Scotland around 1800.

Mythical and indeed historical figures were frequently the subject of chapbooks, though it has to be said that when it came to tales of derring-do, William Wallace, Robert the Bruce et al were outnumbered by Robin Hood, the Seven Champions of Christendom, Valentine and Orson and Sindbad the Sailor.

Freaks of nature still hold fascination for some people, though arguably not as much as a century ago, when the freak show was in its heyday. One striking early nineteenth-century instance from Cambusnethan (now part of Wishaw) describes an eleven-month-old baby boy who weighed nearly ten stone. This infant is described as ‘one of the greatest wonders ever witnessed among the human race’. His existence was said to have been verified by ‘great numbers of persons … of the most respectable order’. The unknown author insists, ‘the diet of this child is similar to that which is given to other children of the same age, consisting of bread-berry made up in the usual manner, and of which he takes but a very moderate quantity’. The account concludes with a reflection on the wonder of the works ‘of Him who called us into existence’. Opposite this item, which is bound in a volume with a number of other broadsides, is a note, transcribed from the Edinburgh Evening Courant, recording the ultimate fate of the unfortunate infant:

Died at Paisley on the 20th Aug (1821) James Weir, 17 months old known by the name of the Gigantic child when 13 months old, and he continued to increase ever since – he weighed five stone – his girth round the neck was 14 inches, the heart 31 inches, the belly 39 inches, the thigh 20 inches and around the arm 20 inches …

Another instance of using a ‘human interest’ story to carry a political message – in this case, to exhort the Scots to remain loyal – is recorded in a broadside printed in Edinburgh around 1770 (APS.4.96.36). A woman is said to have given birth to a son who immediately on entering the world delivered a stream of predictions – and then expired. He said that John Wilkes, a firebrand campaigner for press freedom and thorn in King George III’s side, would soon be ‘brought to disgrace’ and that the Scots would be praised for their loyalty. By and large, the Scots did stay loyal to the crown, but Wilkes remained a prominent critic of the authorities for years to come.

Moving on from strange stories about birth to strange stories about death, or rather, near-death, another broadside touches on the practice of grave-robbing on behalf of medical students and anatomists in Edinburgh, made famous (or more accurately, infamous) by the murderers Burke and Hare in the late 1820s. The case of Jane Tomkinson is headlined ‘Extraordinary Case!’ (F.5.a.13(2)) and it presents a purportedly verbatim account by Mrs Tomkinson of a terrifying experience. Having fallen into a trance, bereft of the power of speech or motion, but being able to hear everything, she is taken to be dead. She describes being fully aware but unable to communicate as her coffin is placed in a vault. Some time after the undertakers have departed, ‘robbers who live by plundering the graves, and selling the bodies of parents, children and friends’ break into the vault and drag her unceremoniously from the coffin. They steal her body and eventually she finds herself in the hands of medical students who proceed to pass an electric current through her supposed corpse. (Around this time, such galvanic experiments were sometimes carried out on the bodies of people who had been executed.) The electric shocks having failed to bring Mrs Tomkinson out of her trance, the poor woman regained the power to speak on being pierced with a knife – presumably in prelude to being dissected. She reports the terrified consternation of the students when they realise she is alive. Whether or not this ‘near-death’ experience actually occurred, the many incidents of body-snatching in Edinburgh from the 1790s to the 1830s caused widespread public alarm, and Mrs Tomkinson’s graphic account must have heightened the fears for the fate of loved ones interred in local cemeteries.

These days, ghost tours are regarded as a bit of fun for Edinburgh tourists. But in 1827, the sighting of a ghost in the city’s High Street caused some alarm, as reported in a contemporary broadside entitled ‘Ghosts, &c.’ (L.C.1268(10)),

A broadside (L.C.1268(9)) report that a Cambusnethan baby reached the weight of an adult before reaching his first birthday.

A True and Correct Account of that MOST WONDERFUL CHILD, Only 11 months old, which weighs between 9 and 10 stone, with a description of his length, thickness, and appearance, what diet he takes, &c. he was born at Cambusnethan, 15 miles from Glasgow.
This early nineteenth-century Edinburgh broadside (L.C.1268(15)), printed by ‘R. Reynolds’, tells how orphaned Catherine Wilson, obliged to fend for herself at the age of fourteen, donned her brother’s clothes and found employment as a man.

The broadside below (F.3.a.13(70)) describes how a farmer sold his wife at a ‘hiring fair’ in 1831.

reprinting an extract from the Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle – described as a respectable Edinburgh paper, presumably in an effort to add credence to the report. While there is an implication that the ‘ghost’ may have been some kind of prankster, this is not stated overtly. Two appearances are reported: on one Sunday, 500 people witnessed ‘a spectre-like figure, arrayed in white’ (observed to have a shadow), walking about, while a few days later in another house, two maid-servants were petrified by ‘a tall, gaunt and unearthly figure, much resembling a certain lank hosier, which had become pregnant by a butcher of that neighbourhood’. To escape this bizarre, forced marriage, Catherine made a swift exit and returned to Edinburgh, where she took employment as a bricklayer. It didn’t take long for her vengeful landlady to track her down; Mary, her daughter, wrote to the builder (maintaining the pretence that Catherine was a male), stating that she had been jilted by ‘him’. Catherine was sacked and succumbed to the pressure on her to marry Mary and protect her reputation! Eventually, it seems that she escaped the clutches of the Gray family and ‘resumed her Petticoats’. She is praised for her ‘industry, sobriety and honesty’, and the broadside ends with the prospect of her going to Glasgow ‘in search of employment among the factories, which will be more suited to her sex’.

The tale of the enterprising Jean Murphy, a ‘robust and rambling’ girl from Limerick, is given in another broadside (L.C.1268(18)). It recounts that she took an active part in the ‘late rebellion’ (possibly that of 1798), dressed as a man, and was wounded for her trouble. She then left Ireland and made her way to Scotland where she travelled the roads as a pedlar and later worked as lamplighter in Glasgow – all the time masquerading as a man. Jean then set about ‘marrying’ one of her neighbours, ‘Water Jenny’, in order to get her hands on her wealth, which amounted to one hundred pounds. The ‘bride’ is described as aged ‘upwards of sixty-eight, with only one tooth, and one of her legs as thick as her waist below the hump of her back, which the other was as small as her wrist’. After the wedding had taken place and in the midst of a mass brawl, Jean escaped to elope with the sought-after loot in the company of the dubiously named Blarney M’Shane. This is another great romp of a tale, and Jean’s exploits clearly meet with the approval of the writer. That women in the early nineteenth century were sometimes regarded as little more than men’s chattels is demonstrated in the Extraordinary and Curious Sale of a Wife by her own husband at Carlisle, on Saturday last, 1831. This broadside recounts the sale at a ‘hiring fair’ by John Caxton, a farmer, of his wife, Mary Anne. Wearing a halter made of straw, she was made to stand on a chair in the market square in Carlisle in front of a huge crowd, while Caxton both extolled her attributes – her ability to read, milk cows, make butter, and sing Moore’s melodies – as well as enumerating her faults. Perhaps the asking price of 50 shillings was on the optimistic side, given his description of her as ‘a bosom serpent … tormentor, a domestic curse, a night invasion, a daily devil’. In the end, he settled for 20 shillings and a ‘New Foundland dog’. According to the broadside, husband, wife and purchaser were satisfied with the outcome!

This article gives something of the flavour of Read All About It! and concentrates on a single strand of the exhibition, which as a whole gives a vivid sense of the birth of the news media in Scotland, and demonstrates how many staples of today – horoscopes, celebrities, sport, humour and current affairs – were also staple fare 200 years ago.

Note on sources

Within the National Library, the Lauriston Castle Collection and the Rosebery Collection are especially rich in broadsides and chapbooks, although there are many other examples of these ephemeral items scattered throughout the collections. Though modest and often crudely printed, they provide an immediate, contemporaneous connection with popular culture in Scotland that retrospective histories cannot offer. As a result of the Resources for Learning in Scotland digitisation project, ‘Popular Print in Scotland 1650–1850’, funded by the New Opportunities Fund and completed in spring 2003, many are available online at www.rls.org.uk. The Library also plans to display them on its website from June, to complement the Read All About It! exhibition.
PRIOR TO THE SUMMER of 1888, it is unlikely that anyone would have recognised the name of Mona Caird. She had published two novels under the pseudonym of G. Noel Hatton, *Whom Nature Leadeth* in 1883 and *One That Wins* in 1887; with the exception of a few reviews, they did not receive much attention. The first known piece published under Caird’s own name, an essay with the simple title of ‘Marriage’, appeared in the August 1888 issue of the *Westminster Review*. Within six weeks, Mona Caird’s opinions were being ferociously debated in the pages of the national press, not only by journalists but by the entire range of the Victorian middle class. Caird herself was simultaneously hailed as a pioneer and condemned for her unwomanly approach to the sacred institution of marriage. Only when the murders of Jack the Ripper claimed the public’s attention in late September did the furore subside. Well into the twentieth century, the question ‘Is Marriage a Failure?’ remained a catch-phrase of the fin-de-siècle’s obsession with the position of married women. Why should an article by an unknown writer have caused such an uproar?

An essay which upheld conservative attitudes towards marriage would not have caused a sensation; that Caird’s approach to the topic was less than conventional is clear from the slant of the review which published it. John Chapman, who took over editorship of the *Westminster Review* in 1852 and maintained that position for a good forty years, was professionally and personally a model for radicalism. His magazine attracted the work of such notable thinkers as John Stuart Mill and T.H. Huxley – the latter dubbed it ‘the wicked *Westminster*’ – and some of his contributors accepted lesser payment than they would have received elsewhere, for the distinction of being published by him. Chapman is best known today for his personal life, a paean to sexual freedom which made him an important figure in the life of one of the greatest English novelists. In the early years of his editorship, he was conducting simultaneous relationships with three women under his own roof – his wife, his children’s governess, and Marian Evans, who was later to gain fame as George Eliot.

Chapman’s *Westminster Review* therefore seems an eminently suitable place for Caird to have published an essay attacking the foundations of marriage. Interestingly, however, her essay was included within the ‘Independent Section’, which was reserved for ‘able Articles which, though harmonizing with the general spirit and aims of the *Review*, may contain opinions at variance with the particular ideas or measures it advocates’. Perhaps in the later years of his life, even such a libertine as Chapman did not wish to embrace Caird’s views too closely. On the other hand, labelling certain articles in this manner might have been a ploy to draw even greater attention to them. If so, it succeeded; the issue in which ‘Marriage’ was printed was the first issue of the *Westminster* to sell out its entire print run.

Caird’s articles do not read as though they are being written for mere shock value. In both ‘Marriage’ and ‘Ideal Marriage’ (published in the *Westminster* later the same year), she turned a keen eye and a well-read mind to the institution of marriage, and determined logically and sympathetically that for women, marriage was little better than socially-sanctioned enslavement. Drawing on the theories of John Stuart Mill, who pointed out that even female slaves had the right to refuse the sexual advances of their masters (which no married woman could legally do when approached by her husband), Caird traced the development of the modern system wherein a woman was trained to believe that marriage was her duty, and that she had no other alternative.
The greatest tragedy, for Caird, was that because women were taught that such restrictions reflected their natural character, women themselves came to believe that they had no purpose in life except to marry, bear children, and abnegate themselves for their families. Such a viewpoint not only restricted women to the domestic sphere, but also ensured that any variation from the ‘natural’ expression of female nature was treated as an aberration instead of an evolutionary development. As a result, Caird argued, modern women had largely adapted themselves to the nature of their cages – which was generally perceived as evidence that these cages were what suited women best!

According to Caird, such a system was not only a disaster for women, but for society as a whole. Instead of being a communion of two like-minded individuals, marriage became an uneasy partnership between unhappily-yoked victims. The woman, trained to serve the ideal of marriage, spent her life trying to keep her husband at home; he, in turn, found himself deprived of liberty in exchange for a dull existence. In this regard, modern marriage, for Caird, was indeed a ‘vexatious failure’. The cure was freedom for both partners, a contract made between individuals without the interference of society or the state; the financial independence of women, so that they could marry if they like but not be required to sell themselves out of sheer necessity; and equal education of the sexes, allowing for individuality and self-expression for both men and women. Equal partnership and women’s independence would ensure that marriage was not a failure.

There is not enough known about Caird’s own marriage to judge whether her views were derived from personal experience, but it seems unlikely. Katherine Tynan, in her 1913 memoir Twenty-Five Years: Reminiscences, looked back on the ‘Is Marriage a Failure?’ sensation and suggested that Caird’s anger was derived from a sense of social injustice rather than from a private grievance: ‘I think she was dissatisfied with marriage vicariously: someone, a sister perhaps, had made an unfortunate marriage. Her own, I am sure, was happy enough.’ It does seem that the Cairds had quite an advanced marriage in which each partner pursued their own career; for several months a year, Caird lived in London and travelled on the continent, while her husband (the author of a work on sheep farming in New Zealand) lived on their Galloway estate. Whatever her views on her own marriage, therefore, for copy is unknown. It does seem, though, that the newspaper had no particular foresight that this topic would result in such a dramatic response. The Telegraph’s commentary on Caird’s essay was one of several short pieces published on 8 August 1888; the newspaper, like many other publications, needed to fill space during the slow ‘silly season’ when Parliament was not in session. In this case it drew from a wide selection of contemporary issues. Its response to ‘Marriage’ does not even lead the page, but follows a piece on the acquittal of nineteen-year-old Sabina Tilley for the murder of her two infant children, and precedes commentary on declining attendance in the House of Commons and the third reading of the Parnell Commission Bill, which had been passed the previous day. The placement of Caird’s views can therefore be seen as a recognition that the issue of marriage, like that of infanticide and political terrorism, was highly topical.

The Telegraph’s response to ‘Marriage’ is notably dismissive, undercutting not only the convictions expressed but the author herself. Caird and her opinions are ‘peculiar’ and ‘amusingly lofty’, her style is marked by ‘female irony’, and her solution to the ‘the extremely difficult and very ancient problem’ of marriage is deemed to be light-hearted. Although the word ‘degeneration’ is not used (except in quoting Caird’s own usage), the article implies that Caird’s historical discussion is entirely backwards – her insistence that the position of women has become worse, not better, means that society is reversing its evolutionary steps. This is an unacceptable conclusion for the Telegraph, implying as it does that society is not becoming more civilised, but rather, reverting to barbarism. Reading between the lines, one might infer that the newspaper finds offence with the suggestion that the British empire might be sliding backwards rather than achieving the pinnacle of eminence, and that for women, such developments had been little better than a descent into the savagery which British civilisation was intended to conquer. This is substantiated by the suggestion that Caird’s views would be more appropriately received ‘in a more enterprising hemisphere’ – in America, perhaps, such heresies would not endanger enlightened society.

British readers had much to say about this aspect of marriage, and many others; between 9 August and 29 September, the Telegraph attracted over 27,000 letters on the topic. By the end of 1888, Harry Caird seems to have been a far cry from the ‘angel in the house’ who suffered the degradation of domestic bondage.

Whether the reputation of the Westminster Review had any influence on the Daily Telegraph’s decision to trawl it for copy is unknown. It does seem, though, that the newspaper had no particular foresight that this topic would result in such a dramatic response. The Telegraph’s commentary on Caird’s essay was one of several short pieces published on 8 August 1888; the newspaper, like many other publications, needed to fill space during the slow ‘silly season’ when Parliament was not in session. In this case it drew from a wide selection of contemporary issues. Its response to ‘Marriage’ does not even lead the page, but follows a piece on the acquittal of nineteen-year-old Sabina Tilley for the murder of her two infant children, and precedes commentary on declining attendance in the House of Commons and the third reading of the Parnell Commission Bill, which had been passed the previous day. The placement of Caird’s views can therefore be seen as a recognition that the issue of marriage, like that of infanticide and political terrorism, was highly topical.

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Quilter had selected dozens of letters which he felt to be representative of the debate, and published them (along with several essays) in a book titled – unsurprisingly – *Is Marriage a Failure?* These included the heartfelt:

> I am one of those who have most unhappily found marriage a most dismal failure. Married when only a girl, after a few years I am practically a widow, having been obliged, from my husband's brutality, to seek a separation. This was not until, through his brutality, I lost an eye, principally owing to the very merciful law which compelled me to live with a man until I was maimed for life.

Another, from 'A Maid with a Mind of her Own', humorously rebuts Caird’s assertion that relations between the sexes are distorted by the fact that girls are conditioned to see themselves primarily as marriage material:

> Mrs. Caird says about this – I have read the whole article right through to the end – there are equally absurd social prejudices which hamper a man's freedom by teaching girls and their friends to look for proposals, instead of regarding signs of interest and liking in a more wholesome spirit. What is this 'more wholesome spirit' I should like to know? I have plenty of dear, good men friends – 'chums,' I might call them – and I know all about their little affairs, and no more expect a proposal from them than I expect to be a duchess – not that I wouldn't make a good duchess, if the duke was a really nice and honourable duke, with a taste for music and lawn tennis.

Providing a condensed overview of popular and cultural thought on the issue, the collection of views presented in *Is Marriage a Failure?* indicates that the specifics of Caird’s opinions were quickly lost within the waves of public response. Many of the letters, as Quilter himself noted, looked at marriage through the narrow lens of the writer’s own experience; poignant letters from a man unable to divorce his incurably insane wife, and from a woman married to a habitual drunkard, indicate the despair faced by those who married in good faith but found themselves without recourse. Caird herself, in a response published in this book, accepted with no small degree of stoicism that although some letter-writers understood her ideas, others attacked straw men bearing her name:

> At present, though I have myself received some hard blows, my views have really remained almost untouched. What I advocate is one thing; what most of the letters in your paper attack is quite another; and not merely is it not the same, but often is accurately the reverse. ... Most of the letters are written by people who have evidently not read the article.

Indeed, the majority of people may well have known only the opinions of the *Telegraph* and their fellow letter-writers. Clearly, the topic of marriage was both broad and volatile enough to accommodate theoretical recommendations for the good of society as well as specific arguments based on personal experience.

The question quickly spread to other sectors of the Victorian press. On 9 August, the *Pall Mall Gazette* presciently commented that the *Telegraph* was likely to have a few columns of letters for the next month, and suggested that it would be most helpful if correspondents would give specific examples of the good and bad sides of marriage, rather than commentary in the abstract. This did in fact occur, though both Quilter and Caird felt that such letters did little to address the fundamental issues.

The *Gazette* continued to follow the debate closely; not only did it fill its ‘Occasional Notes’ and literary column with tidbits about Caird and the various manifestations the debate was taking, but within a fortnight of the *Telegraph*'s commentary, the *Gazette* ran an interview with her. This piece carefully establishes Caird’s country home and her own persona as holding the utmost propriety; Caird herself is a ‘bright and lively figure in sage green’ who might easily pass for a ‘mere society lady’, were it not for her passionate arguments against the abuses and horrors of modern marriage. The *Gazette* is clearly riding the bandwagon, supplementing the original essay with a dialogue in which Caird’s expression of her views are made even more forceful through being spoken in her own direct quotations. The *Gazette*’s editor at this time was W.T. Stead, perhaps as much of a radical as Chapman, and certainly...
The Punch cartoon ‘Is Detection a Failure’, 1888 (X.231-233), takes a swipe at the failure to arrest the serial murderer, ‘Jack the Ripper’. The full caption reads: Is Detection a Failure? In the interests of the Gutter Gazette and of the Criminal Classes, the Sensational Interviewer dogs the Detective’s footsteps, and throws the strong light of publicity on his work. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Detection should prove a failure.

An Is Marriage a Failure? game, featured in the Pall Mall Gazette, September 1889 (CB.Wall.2/51-): the ‘little world on which the question is solved is a shallow circular box in which the entire population consists of six married couples in the shape of six pairs of marbles ... these have their dwelling places in the centre of the game.’ The couples trying to reach ‘home’ have to negotiate pins, representing ‘the vices and allurements of life’.

For those wishing to research the writings of Alice Mona Caird (1854–1932), the National Library of Scotland has an extensive collection of her publications. Her first novel Whom Nature Ledeth (Vts.15.h.1-3), 1883, appeared under the pseudonym G. Noel Hatton. It was followed by One that Wins: The story of a holiday in Italy (Vts.19.c.3.4), 1887, ‘by the author of Whom Nature Ledeth’. Of the books she wrote as Mona Caird, the Library has the following titles: The Wing of Azrael (Vts.15.g.1-3), 1889; A Romance of the Moors (Vts.20.b.5), 1891; The Daughters of Dasnaus (Vts.22.f.2), 1894; The Pathway of the Gods (Vts.23.i.3), 1898; and The Great Wave (T.207.e), 1931. A passionate opponent of vivisection, her Sentimental View of Vivisection (1895.28/9) appeared in 1895 and Beyond the Pale. An appeal on behalf of the victims of vivisection (M.11.2.h.[alpha]) in 1897. Morality of Marriage, and other essays on the status and destiny of woman (L.20.b), 1897, collects her polemical essays on the subject, while Harry Quilter’s Is Marriage a Failure? (T.394.g), 1888, gathers together representative opinions from the debate. Mona Caird also wrote a travel book, Romantic Cities of Provence, illustrated from sketches by Joseph Pennell and Edward M. Synge (S.178.d), 1906. Katharine Tynan discusses Caird’s views on marriage in Twenty-five Years: Reminiscences (S.169.d), 1913. The Library has only volume 2 number 10 of the feminist periodical, Shafis (6.14/19), December 1893. Full details of the Library’s runs of Freedom, Cosmopolitan, Westminster Review, Pall Mall Gazette and the Daily Telegraph are to be found in its catalogues, online at www.nls.uk.
Sprouting out of the Frame

Arabesques of Memory

LETTERS HAVE FLOWED in my direction from many remarkable people and some of my deepest friendships have developed out of this tide of correspondence. One was with Fr Brocard (Michael) Sewell, who had worked with the typographer Eric Gill at the St Dominic’s Press. In 1972, I was invited to design a pamphlet marking the centenary of the foundation of Llanthony Monastery at Capel-y-ffin. My first exchange with Brocard was about this modest project and from then our correspondence blossomed, continuing, back and forth, over a period of eighteen years.

Brocard wrote marvellous letters on topics ranging from the status of women, to birth control (he told me, when I got married, that he was not in agreement with the Catholic church’s ban on contraception), to literature, art, theosophies, politics, and his own numerous publications and literary works – he founded and edited the Aylesford Review. He used to come to Edinburgh to celebrate the old Latin Mass for a lady who had a private oratory in her house. Around that time – the mid-Seventies – he was reading ‘a huge History of Scotland by someone called Scot, printed in 1727: title-page and plates missing, so I can’t identify author or publisher’. Some things have been placed in the archive because they should remain together: I felt that my copy of Wood Engraving by R. John Beedham should be kept with Brocard’s letters, and so it has gone to the Library. Inscribed: ‘Angela Lemaire d.d. Michael Brocard Sewell sometime compositor at St Dominic’s Press (1932–37) 3rd June 1975’, it was printed and published at St Dominic’s Press in 1925, and is illustrated with engravings by David Jones and Eric Gill. I put my own engraved ex-libris in it; around this time I also engraved an ex-libris for Brocard. Another book I thought it best to keep with the letters was Frances Horovitz, 1938–1983: A Tribute for her Friends delivered by Father Brocard Sewell ..., a limited edition printed by the Whittington Press.

The archive also contains my letters from the wood-engraver, letterer and craftsman, Michael Renton. In fact, the first time I met Brocard, it was with Michael. While showing us around...
God indeed is concerned with the quality of our lives and our personalities, but the quality of our work still comes into it very much because it is likely to have something to do with the quality of our lives, if we take our work at all seriously. How often have I heard it said, ‘People matter!’ Well of course they do, but what people do and how they do it matters also, because it is probably some evidence of what they are … (Rye Marsh Farm, 18.6.67)

Your stillness must be a positive thing; not as it were a place of private refuge carved out of the wilderness of worldly clamour and chaos but a source of putting out beams of light into the world. (Rye Marsh Farm, 4.4.64)

This could be said of Michael himself.

George Mackay Brown was another of my correspondents. I first wrote to him in 1974, with no idea that he would reply. He did, and we continued writing to each other from then on. In a letter written in February 1974 he commented, ‘we are very fortunate that we can do the work we most enjoy doing – that is when we can do it – for we all have times of dryness and frustration, I experienced it myself yesterday’. George Mackay Brown knew Kevin Crossley-Holland, whose poem, ‘The Wake’, I illustrated for the Frontispiece and decorative title page of The Journey of Thomas the Rhymer, Old Stile Press, 2000. (FB.5.762)

archive is a memoir which, although short, gives vivid cameos of life in the Western Isles around the start of the twentieth century. In 1982, I went to my father-in-law, John Macaskill (I always called him Grandpa) and asked if he would talk about his life, just as the thoughts came to him. I realised that when he died, something would be gone forever. (Indeed, he died later that year.) He was a Gaelic speaker of course – as were all the family – born in North Uist in 1890, where he spent his childhood. I simply wrote down what he said; it wasn’t too difficult because he spoke quite slowly. His English had a beautiful, rhythmic quality, from the Gaelic.

He and his family lived on the croft at Inverinate, Kintail, Wester Ross for many years. Before that, the family had lived further down the village, near the head of Loch Duich, where my husband Roddy was born, the youngest of seven children. (Roddy’s mother had died when he was seventeen.)

Grandpa was happy to talk about his life. He remembered having a strong religious sense from a very early age. He told me there was ‘a place out of view of our house, an old peat-cutting place, and I went and built a shed for myself with the sods and I built a wall right round me, with nothing covering the top, and I used to pray there at the age of six.’

In his early twenties he had moved to Glasgow and taken work in the Govan shipyard. At this time he met his wife to be:

… on the opposite side of the house where I was staying there was a married couple from Lewis and I used to call on them every Wednesday so as to go to the prayer meeting at the Free Church. This night when I went over, who was in the house along with them but three nice good-looking girls, and I was introduced to them, and I was shaking hands with my future wife, and a voice spoke to me quite loud, ‘This is your wife.’ Within a fortnight we were engaged – she heard the voice as well …

He was already known for his preaching and after the First World War, during which he served as a lorry driver with the Royal Flying Corps, he was sent to the Island of Coll as a ‘missionary’, or lay preacher, following this with a spell on Mull, where his fervent ministry seems to have attracted so many people from the other churches in the area that one minister challenged him with ‘stealing’ his congregation:

Then I was transferred to the Island of Mull. I got a house from the Factor there, with no manse, and no Free Church. I started to keep the services in the school at 4 o’clock. In Mull there was a parish minister and a Baptist minister, both with their congregations, and after I was there preaching for three sabbaths in succession, the school had become practically packed every week – they were sitting in the windows. And there was no Free Church before that (There had been, fifty or sixty years ago, but it had come to nothing.)

The reason that I held the service at 4 o’clock was to give the people a chance to attend their own churches.

One of these days, who comes down but the minister of the parish church to out home. And the words that he used were very clear. ‘You’re after stealing my congregation – I now only have three or four.’ I said ‘But I am allowing them to go to their own churches.’ ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘but you’re after capturing their hearts.’

He also mentions instances of the second sight. Here is one:

My mother’s brother [a Campbell from Griomsaig] had about 50 or 60 sheep on the hill. There was a loch between him [his house] and where the sheep were, and he used to go out to a certain place, looking out high ground to where the sheep were. He had a dream – what he saw in the dream was himself standing looking at the sheep, and all of a sudden he looked down, and there was ice on the loch, and, why, he was wondering, why was there ice on the loch at such a time as this, when he noticed
the ice breaking up here and there, and what came through the holes but the heads of live people coming through the ice. And he awakened up. He told his mother when he got up of the wonderful dream that he had … ‘Oh well,’ she said, ‘your dream has a real meaning, and you go down to the Godly man at Ballyclass, and he will tell you the meaning of your dream.’ He did, and told him of his dream, and the Godly man said, ‘Just exactly where you were standing, there’s going to be a church built there, but you or I will never see it, but it will be there, and there will be a good few converts coming out of that church … And do you know who built that church – my late brother Neil …

Whenever I visited the house at Inverinate, Grandpa used to give me little presents – an orange, or a dram, or a pie. I remember him most fondly, and although his reminiscence now lodged at the Library is brief, it gives a sense of his world view and deeply religious sensibilities.

Of my own work placed in the archive, there are over a hundred wood-engravings and around sixty other relief prints and etchings, as well as drawings and sketches, some of which relate to the prints; nineteen sketchbooks, journal papers, nineteen large illustrations to King Lear with hand-written extracts from the text, manuscripts of poetry and other writing, and my own artist’s books. There is also correspondence and copies of talks relating to a meditation group I initiated, Edinburgh Unit of Service (1979–2000), and the forums we held in Edinburgh. These were ‘Building Wholeness’, at which the late Claude Curling of the Teilhard Centre spoke (1989); ‘One Humanity’, talks given by several speakers on sustainable world development (1992) and ‘Building Right Relations’ with Professor Frank Whaling and others speaking on the movement of interfaith (1997).

Artist’s books deposited in the archive include The Plague (1967) a large work of eight etching-aquatints and two woodcuts, based on the 1665 plague and fire in London, which I designed and printed myself. Also, The Monk’s Life (1970), printed with the encouragement of John Smith of the Latimer Press, who allowed me to use their Arab press in the basement of the house they used in North London. I did all the work in the evenings and it took me about a year; this book contains my first engravings.

Another of my books in the archive, Her Day, was a commission from the Mother Superior of Holy Cross Priory, Sussex, where I went on retreat in 1972 during a time of confusion in my life; it consists of fifteen wood-engravings and ten line drawings, with quotes from my own and other hands. The Mother Superior, Mother Mary Garson, was from Edinburgh; I turned to her for advice, and subsequently kept her letters; they are now in the archive.


There are further sprouts to this plant, but I am growing out of frame here …

Note on sources

Angela Lemaire’s archive (Acc.12221) gives a flavour of her creative interchange with a wide circle of artists, typographers, publishers and friends. The Library has several books illustrated by her, including: Journey of Thomas the Rhymer, Old Stile Press, 2000 (FB.s.762); More Proverbs for Jacobins by Ian Hamilton Finlay, Wild Hawthorn Press, 1992 (shelf mark to be allocated); and Temenos: Seven Poems by John Meade Falkner selected and introduced by David Burnett, Edinburgh Unit of Service (1997). It also holds a number of private press books which contain examples of her work, including R. John Beedham’s Wood Engraving, 1920 (H2.86.1560); Sixteen Contemporary Wood Engravers edited and published by David Esslemont, Newcastle, 1982 (HP3.83.4); and 45 Wood-engravers by Simon Lawrence, 1982 (H5.82.52).
Notes on contributors

ANGELA LEMAIRE is an artist and writer based in the Scottish Borders, near Jedburgh, who has exhibited widely and whose work can be found in collections and libraries in the UK and abroad. The Old Stile Press has published three books with her; these include Stile Press has published three books with libraries in the UK and abroad. The Old Stile Press has published three books with her; these include *The Pyed Peper* (2002), which provided the theme of an illustrated talk she gave earlier this year for the C.G. Jung Seminars Scotland; and *Joys: Passages from the Works of Thomas Traherne* (2004), with images, afterword and selection of passages by Angela Lemaire.

JAMES MILLS is a Research Fellow and Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Strathclyde, whose research interests focus on the social history of Britain and its empire. He has published widely on the history of drugs and also on issues of sport and imperialism. The first volume of his history of hemp drugs and the British, *Cannabis Britannica: Empire, Trade and Prohibition, 1800–1928*, was published by Oxford University Press in September 2003. His previous work includes *Madness, Cannabis and Colonialism* (Palgrave, 2000) and (with Paul Dimeo) *Soccer in South Asia: Empire, Nation, Diaspora* (Cass, 2001). Contact jim.mills@strath.ac.uk

TRACEY S. ROSENBERG is a PhD candidate in English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, having previously studied at Berkeley and Oxford. Her doctoral dissertation is the first full-length study of Mona Caird. She has entries on Caird forthcoming in *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh University Press) and *The Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Philosophers* (Thoemmes Press). In addition to her academic work, she is a fiction writer who spent a year as a Fullbright scholar to Romania, where she worked on a novel set in the Communist era.

Eoin Shalloo, a curator in the Rare Book Collections at the National Library of Scotland, is one of the team organising the Library’s summer 2004 exhibition, *Read All About It!: The Story of the News in Scotland*. He previously worked on the Library’s 2002 children’s book exhibition, *This Book Belongs to Me*, and has particular interest in popular print and early Scottish photography. In previous incarnations he worked in the National Art Library at the Victoria & Albert Museum and at the Museum of Childhood at Bethnal Green, London.

Cover: ‘Group of Bairigs, preparing and smoking ganja, Khandesh’, from the Report of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission 1893-94. (IPDA.1)

NLS diary dates

JUNE
Bookselves
Inspired by his On the Fly-Leaf series of poems, Ken Cockburn, poet and Assistant Director of the Scottish Poetry Library, holds a workshop for young adults on writing poems inspired by a favourite book. Wednesday 16 June 10.00–12.00

JUNE-OCTOBER
Read All About It! from Saturday 5 June to Sunday 31 October 2004. Opening hours: Monday – Friday 10.00–17.00 (Edinburgh Festival 10.00–20.00); Saturday 10.00–17.00, Sunday 14.00–17.00

*Read All About It!*, the Library's new summer exhibition, tells the story of news in Scotland over the last 400 years, from the production of the first single-page news-sheets and 'broadsides' through the establishment of regular newspapers in the 18th and 19th centuries, and onto contemporary newspapers and the latest online news.

A number of public events on a news theme are also planned.

OCTOBER
Hallowe’en Fare
Prepare for Hallowe’en and hear about Hallowmases-rade, the Hallowe’en-bleeze, Hallow-fair and a whole host of customs associated with the Hallowe’en tradition. Try your hand at some Hallowe’en spells! Friday 29 October 19.00

For full information about all events and exhibitions, or to book tickets, please phone 0131-622 4807 or email events@nls.uk.

BE A FRIEND

The Friends of the National Libraries is dedicated to helping the libraries and record offices of Britain acquire books, manuscript treasures and archives for the nation, especially those which might otherwise be exported. It has been doing this valuable work since 1931, and has helped the National Library of Scotland on many occasions. Annual membership is £15: contact Dr Iain G Brown of the Manuscripts Division for information on joining the Friends.

Autumn 2004

LOUISE BOREHAM, a retired college lecturer, describes how research into her grandfather’s life led to a fascination with the accomplished Scottish sculptor James Pittendrigh Macgillivray (1856–1938). Sifting through pages of copperplate handwriting and typewritten sheets, she encountered an extraordinary, multi-faceted character who displays flashes of unexpected tenderness, yet has such a quid conceit of himself that he encouraged the revival of the office of Sculptor in Ordinary for Scotland so that he could occupy it himself.

IAN GORDON BROWN, Principal Curator of Manuscripts in the Library, considers the fame of Sir Walter Scott as the most celebrated writer and arguably the greatest Scotsman of his day, but does this from an intriguing angle and through literary detective work involving minute examination of evidence. He discusses the contemporary reproduction of Scott letters and documents, and finds that some of these ‘manuscripts’ are more than simply copies: they inhabit a debatable land between fake and facsimile. When does a souvenir of Scott amount to a scam?

CHARLES W.J. WITHERS, Professor of Historical Geography at the University of Edinburgh, discusses the publishing history, content and importance of Joan Blaèu’s *1654 Atlas Novus*, Scotland’s first atlas; Chris Fleet, Deputy Head of the Map Library, provides an extended Note on Sources, including information on the Library’s Blaèu website; and Ian Cunningham discusses translating the text of the atlas. The Library will host a one-day seminar on 22 September 2004 in the Map Library on Blaèu and his work.

BILL ZACHS recounts his adventures in the Murray Archive over a ten-year period. His excavation of a mass of material there resulted in the publication of two books: *Without Regard to Good Manners*, the story of Murray author Gilbert Stuart, who restored the reputation of Mary Queen of Scots and transformed the literary review into a work of entertainment; and *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade*, which recounts the achievements of the remarkable man who founded the great publishing house.

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If you have any comments regarding Folio, or would like to be added to the mailing list to receive it (or if you would prefer a large print version), please contact Jackie Cromarty, Marketing Services by telephone on 0131-622 4810 or via e-mail at j.cromarty@nls.uk