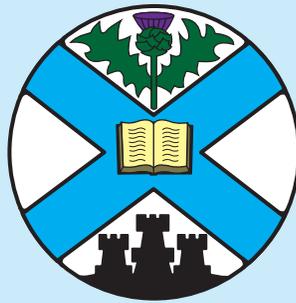


# UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH JOURNAL



Volume 49, Number Three

Summer 2020

## General Council Meetings

As you will be aware, or will have guessed, the General Council Half Yearly Summer 2020 Meeting has had to be canceled because of the Coronavirus pandemic.

*The Billet*, which would normally have appeared in print, can be consulted online at:

**[www.general-council.ed.ac.uk/publication/billet-magazine](http://www.general-council.ed.ac.uk/publication/billet-magazine)**

The next Winter Half-Yearly Meeting, at which the Principal will present the Annual Review of the University, has been scheduled for

**Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> February 2021**

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## Forthcoming UEGA Events

Given the current global situation, and the restrictions placed on organisations such as ours, we have taken the decision to cancel or postpone our forthcoming events until further notice.

Members can find information on all rescheduled events, including regular coffee mornings, and new events for the winter programme on our website at:

**[www.uega.co.uk/events](http://www.uega.co.uk/events)**

Or on our Facebook page at:

**[www.facebook.com/uegradassoc](https://www.facebook.com/uegradassoc)**

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## Members' E-mail Addresses

As a result of government restrictions, the UEGA office is not currently staffed regularly. To ensure we can communicate any important information quickly, we would like to request that all members send us a copy of their e-mail address for future use.

Please contact us with your e-mail address at:

**[gradassoc@ed.ac.uk](mailto:gradassoc@ed.ac.uk)**

You can view our Data Protection regulations on our website for more information on how we will use your e-mail address.

We will always use your data with care.

**Notice to Members of the  
University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association  
and to other Subscribers to the  
*University of Edinburgh Journal***

**Subscription Rates to Increase from 1<sup>st</sup> October 2020**

At the Annual General Meeting of the University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association on 13<sup>th</sup> February 2020, it was agreed:

- That the subscription rate for Annual Membership should increase by **£5 to £40** from October 2020.
- That any member who preferred to receive a paper copy of the *Journal* (as opposed to an on-line PDF version, distributed by e-mail) should be asked to pay **£15 per annum** towards the cost.

The cost of sending out printed copies of the *Journal*, especially to overseas members, continues to rise each year and can no longer be covered by annual subscription rates or, for Life Members, by the portion of their subscriptions transferred each year to the Association's current account.

Annual Members and Subscribers who pay their subscriptions by a bank standing order are asked to update their instructions to their banks by 1<sup>st</sup> October 2020.

Life Members who wish to continue to receive printed copies of the *Journal* are asked to set up standing orders for **£15 per annum** by 1<sup>st</sup> October 2020.

Annual Members who wish to continue to receive printed copies of the *Journal* are asked to set up standing orders for **£55 per annum** by 1<sup>st</sup> October 2020. For those who prefer to receive the *Journal* online in PDF format, the annual sum will be **£40**.

Alternatively, members can pay by online bank transfer:

**Account Name: University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association**

**Account No: 00278709; Sort Code: 83 51 00**

**Bank: RBS plc, 142-144 Princes Street, Edinburgh, EH2 4EQ**

**BIC RBOS GB 2L; IBAN GB24 RBOS8351 0000 2787 09**

Please communicate your intentions to the Honorary Secretary of UEGA at:  
**UEGA, 1fR 18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN**

Or by e-mail to:

**[gradassoc-admin@ed.ac.uk](mailto:gradassoc-admin@ed.ac.uk)**

We appreciate your continued support.

# The Way Forward: Review of the Future of UEGA

Members will be aware that the Association is reviewing its role in the University and how it achieves that role, in discussion with Vice-Principal Chris Cox and the Development & Alumni Department of the University. Because of the lockdown required by the Coronavirus epidemic, discussions are at present on hold, and will resume when the University reopens. The Association has put the following points to the University:

1. UEGA is accepted and listed as one of the clubs and associations recognised by D&A. It has been a University association since 1924, when it was founded with the support of the Principal, the Chancellor, and the Rector at a much-publicised and packed ceremony in the McEwan Hall.
2. UEGA will alter its name to avoid the any confusion among alumni with D&A, subject to the approval of a general meeting of the Association and agreement with D&A.
3. UEGA will continue to publish, and to develop, the *University of Edinburgh Journal* as a recognised asset to the University. It will be distributed online in PDF format, or, to those who wish to pay for it, as a printed *Journal*.
4. UEGA will continue, and seek to develop, its present programme of events: lunches with guest speakers, occasional evening events including its Annual Reception and Buffet, and the St Andrew's Night Dinner, visits to places and collections of interest to and connections with the University.
5. UEGA thus seeks to provide a service of collegiality to alumni and others from all Colleges, Schools, and Faculties of the University and beyond.
6. UEGA will extend its full membership to include UofE students and interested non-members of the University and its alumni and will review its rates of subscription accordingly.
7. UEGA will seek assistance from the University to spread information through the University and alumni communities about the Association and the *Journal* and to invite applications for membership.
8. UEGA will invite greater involvement by students as guest speakers to members' events and as contributors to the *University of Edinburgh Journal*.
9. UEGA will continue to employ two half-time members of staff supported by voluntary Office-bearers and Executive and Editorial Committee members.
10. UEGA will seek to increase its revenue by increasing annual subscriptions, and by seeking donations from life and annual members, especially those who wish to continue to receive the *Journal* in printed form, and by seeking increased subsidies from the University for producing a University asset and increasing its distribution to external organisations and individuals.

Members are asked to consider these points, and to advise the Officers and Executive Committee as to how they would like to see the Association's role continue, and what its new name might be. Please contact the Honorary Secretary at the usual address or by e-mail to: [gradassoc-admin@ed.ac.uk](mailto:gradassoc-admin@ed.ac.uk)

# *University of Edinburgh Journal*

Volume 49: Number Three

Summer 2020

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The *University of Edinburgh Journal* is published twice a year in Summer and Winter, and is sent to all members of the University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association. Tel. +44 (0) 131 650 4292 (Monday - Friday, 9.00-12.30); Website: [www.uega.co.uk](http://www.uega.co.uk); E-mail: [gradassoc@ed.ac.uk](mailto:gradassoc@ed.ac.uk). The price to others is £14.00 each number, payable in sterling. Full payment details can be found on page 240.

## **Submissions to the *University of Edinburgh Journal***

The Editor of the *University of Edinburgh Journal* welcomes any contributions from students, alumni, staff, or those interested in the University of Edinburgh and its heritage.

Scholarly, serious, and creative contributions are all welcome; the *University of Edinburgh Journal* publishes a wide range of work from all disciplines, including articles, reviews, prose, and poetry.

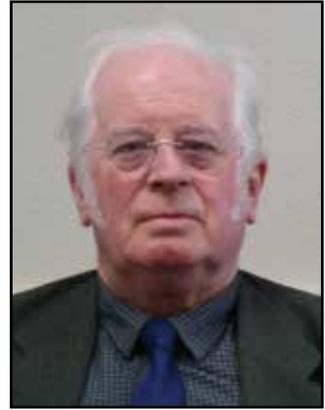
Copy deadlines are **30<sup>th</sup> March** for the Summer issue, and **30<sup>th</sup> September** for the Winter issue.

Contributions should follow the MHRA Style Guide. Further notes for contributors and editorial advice can be found on the OBC, at [www.uega.co.uk/editorial-guidelines](http://www.uega.co.uk/editorial-guidelines), or by e-mail at:

**[gradassoc@ed.ac.uk](mailto:gradassoc@ed.ac.uk)**

## From the Editor

Not since the Second World War have the United Kingdom and the University, and with them the Graduates' Association and the *University of Edinburgh Journal*, had to face so many grave implications for the future, all at the same time. The University's *Strategy 2030*, the latest in its series of ten-year visionary plans, was the first; and its launch was carefully and deliberately planned by the Principal and Vice-Principals dictated, of course, by the ending of the current decade and its strategic plan. **Brexit**, the UK's and its Government's decision to leave the European Community on 31 January 2020, was expected and anticipated by the University, tempered by the faint hope that it might, at the last minute, be cancelled and called off. Then in February came the growing awareness that the full force of a pandemic, **Coronavirus** or **COVID-19**, was going to overtake us all for an indefinite period. Of the three, only *Strategy 2030* has a definite end and expected targets. The full outcomes of Brexit and Coronavirus will not be known for a long time, if ever, and we have to go with the flow and do the best we can under changing circumstances.



It is gratifying to learn that much of the University's academic expertise has been involved in identifying COVID-19 for what it is, and is working with many others on solutions to its problems, and that much of its creative thinking, by students as well as by staff, is already alleviating some of the worst problems faced by peoples the world over. Another pride which we can experience is in the number of Edinburgh alumni journalists and media presenters who are working on the front lines of these 'interesting' times. Laura Kuenssberg, Alan Little, Helen Pidd, Carrie Gracie, Imogen Foulkes, Paris Gourtsoyannis, Sally Magnusson, Kirsty Wark, and others are out there for us. We wish them well, hope for their safety in what they do, and would like to hear from them when the present crisis has run its course.

The need has also emerged for the Graduates' Association to review its own future, driven partly by the coming of its own Centenary in 2024 and that of the *Journal* in 2025 and partly by the University's plans, channelled through the Development & Alumni Office, for its relationship with its alumni in all parts of the world in line with the University's *Strategy 2030*. The Association's Officers are talking to Vice-Principal Chris Cox and other senior members of D&A staff, but these discussions are currently on hold during the current Coronavirus lockdown; they will resume when the opportunity arises. The issue was also reported briefly at the Association's AGM on 13 February. More will appear in the *Journal* when the talks resume, and at the next AGM, whenever that will be, the membership will be called upon to take some challenging decisions.

Peter B Freshwater

# From the President

*David R Gilmour BSc PGCE worked as a teacher from 1971 to 2008, in Portobello, Craigmount, and Linlithgow. From 1974 to 2003, he has also worked as a marker for the SQA, and from 2004 to 2015, as an examiner. In the late 70s and early 80s, Gilmour was a member of the Edinburgh Gilbert & Sullivan Society, and still enjoys music and theatre. During the Edinburgh Festival, he helps steward lunchtime concerts at St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, and acts as a guide for tours of the Phoebe Traquair murals in the song school. He was elected President of the University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association at the 2020 AGM.*

Dear Member,

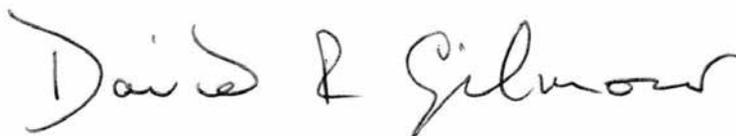
As I am writing this letter, we are still in the midst of the lockdown, and wondering how long it is going to last. I hope that you have all managed to avoid going down with the virus and are able to get exercise and shopping. I was very interested to read at its start that one of our professors had warned about this virus three years ago. Professor Mark Woolhouse was one of three to identify a Disease X as a potential threat for which there was no diagnosis, no therapy, and no vaccine. Perhaps it is a shame that the WHO did not take it as seriously as other possibilities.

Much of the work of the Association has ground to a halt and, as you may be aware, all of the events scheduled for this term have been either cancelled or postponed until next year. The Association office is closed, but the Officers and the Editorial team are picking up e-mails and able to reply to them, so please e-mail one or all of them if you need to. Emails to [gradassoc@ed.ac.uk](mailto:gradassoc@ed.ac.uk) will be directed to the appropriate person.

At this time we are in the unfortunate position of not knowing whether the events organised for September through to December are going to be able to take place. Depending upon the length of the lockdown, with suggestions ranging from a few weeks to twelve months, perhaps the best way of checking is to use the Association's website [www.uega.co.uk](http://www.uega.co.uk) where up to date information will be posted as and when we are able.

Many thanks are due to Peter Freshwater and John Sutherland, who are working hard from home to get the *Journal* ready and keeping the website up to date for us.

I hope that you continue to keep safe and well. Who knows? Perhaps by the time that you read this the situation will have improved and you are able to get out and about.



David R Gilmour  
President

# University and Alumni Notes

## The University's Responses to Current Strategic Issues

*Since December last year, the University has been facing three major issues which affect its future and that of the country. Only one, **Strategy 2030**, is of its own making. The other two, **Brexit** and the **Coronavirus pandemic**, are international. We note here the University's published short responses to each of these issues and advise readers to visit the University's web pages for information on its full plans for managing them, and their implications for its students, staff, and alumni.*

### Response to Brexit: A European University

**A**s a world-leading research-intensive University, we are here to address tomorrow's greatest challenges. We celebrate and strengthen our deep-rooted and distinctive internationalism, attracting the world's best minds and building innovative global partnerships for research, teaching, and impact.

Edinburgh is a truly global university and we have always had a commitment to diversity and a community in which students and staff feel valued and welcome. Our international students now represent 44% of our total community, coming from 180 nations, including more than 4,800 students from the EU, while 29% of our staff come from outside the UK. We are currently the top UK University for incoming Erasmus+ exchanges and have agreements with over 250 universities across Europe. We are an active member of international organisations, including Universitas 21, the League of European Research Universities, the Coimbra Group, Eurolife, UNICA, UNA Europa, and the U7 Alliance of over 30 universities from G7 countries.

The University of Edinburgh has stood proudly for 436 years and it will continue to be a beacon of excellence, with a determinedly international outlook, for generations to come.

For further information, visit [www.ed.ac.uk/news/eu](http://www.ed.ac.uk/news/eu)

### Response to Coronavirus (COVID-19)

**T**he University of Edinburgh has been closely monitoring the Coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak and liaising with government and NHS agencies to get their latest advice on public health guidance.

Following lockdown restrictions implemented by the UK and Scottish Governments, only 'essential-services' have operated on campus since Tuesday 24 March 2020.

Online provision of teaching and administrative support is now in place and will be improved further, with counselling, research, and study spaces adapting to the changing situation to ensure the health and safety of our students and frontline staff is protected as much as possible.

In his latest message, Principal Peter Mathieson thanks all members of the University community for their courage, conviction, passion, and

innovation in responding to the challenges of the pandemic and looks forward to a strong future.

For further information visit [www.ed.ac.uk/covid-19-response](http://www.ed.ac.uk/covid-19-response) and read the FAQs (Frequently Asked Questions) which provide the latest health advice and support, along with additional guidance for applicants, students, and staff. The University updates these pages daily and continues to e-mail students and staff with the latest guidance.

## Strategy 2030: Bold vision

The new strategy sets out a vision for the University, which is led by distinctive, honest, and realistic guiding principles and goals.

Among the University's priorities for delivery over the next decade are goals to strengthen interdisciplinary research, improve student satisfaction, and foster a welcoming community.

The strategy also highlights an aim to ensure actions and activities deliver positive change locally, regionally, and globally.

I am delighted to share our strategic plan for the next decade. By focusing on our values, on the civic purpose for which we were founded, and the changes we want to deliver, we can provide a rationale for the University's future. We have more than 400 years of excellence behind us. Working together, we can make the next 400 years even better.

**Professor Peter Mathieson**  
**Principal and Vice Chancellor of the University**

For further information visit the University's website at:

[www.ed.ac.uk/about/strategy-2030](http://www.ed.ac.uk/about/strategy-2030)

*As Graduates' Association members know, with its own Centenary forthcoming in 2024, the Association is reviewing its own future in line with the University's Strategy 2030. Further information on this will appear in the Journal.*

## Edinburgh's Swedish Rune Stone Installed in George Sq

Edinburgh's Swedish Rune Stone has been moved from its previous site high up in Princes Street Gardens below the Castle wall, where few people ever saw it, to a new site in George Square, in a small garden behind No 50 George Square (formerly the William Robertson Building) close to the Department of Scandinavian Studies. Here it is readily accessible to all. A public unveiling is planned for some time in the future (**see image on page 214**).

Originally from Lilla Ramsjö, Vittinge, in Sweden, it was donated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1787 by Sir Alexander Seton of Preston and Ekolsund (1738-1814), and was presented to the Princes Street Proprietors by the Society in 1821, and is now on indefinite loan to the University. It is one of three Swedish runestones in Britain; the other two are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. A grave marker, the carving on the stone features a centrally located cross, encircled by a serpent. The runic

inscription is carved within the serpent, whose head and tail are linked with the shaft of the cross. Transliterated into Old Norse, it reads '*Ari ræisti stæin æftir Hialm, faður sinn. Guð hialpi and hans*' which, translated into modern English, reads 'Ari raised the stone in memory of Hjalmr, his father. May God help his spirit.' For more information on the stone and this project, visit the website of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland's at:

[www.socantscot.org/research-project/runestone-project-2017-18](http://www.socantscot.org/research-project/runestone-project-2017-18)

## University Rolls of Honour: Scope and Non-inclusion

### World War I: the Case of Billy Abbott BL

**D**onald M Abbott MA PhD, *archivist*, writes: First thoughts on Edinburgh University and World War I are naturally towards those who gave their lives and others who served. The war had further implications for the University, such as reduced fee income and the need to make appropriate adjustments to the curriculum. Divinity students, for instance, came under a Church of Scotland General Assembly Committee on War Service. Staff redeployed included a pathology lecturer working in a London hospital and H W Meikle, later Librarian of the National Library of Scotland, in the Ministry of Munitions.

Military service was at first voluntary and became compulsory in 1916. Application for exemption (for example because of employment or domestic circumstances) went to a military tribunal. Some records for Lothian survive in the National Records of Scotland (HH30) and include a few requests from Edinburgh University students as conscientious objectors.

Significantly, the University's Roll of Honour was originally intended to include all forms of national service, but, in fact, it was restricted to service in the armed forces. Those who 'attested' their willingness to serve were under the direction of authorities. We might think that men would be relieved to continue in civilian work, but at a time when they were expected to serve some may have been frustrated at being prevented from volunteering and perhaps unfairly criticised by acquaintances.

Some of these factors are illustrated in Billy Abbott's graduation as Bachelor of Law in 1919, which may seem surprising. He was given exemption from most of his exams on account of war service. As a prominent footballer, he cannot have been unfit for service. For many years, the degree of BL did not require full-time study but could be combined with an apprenticeship. In fact, he had joined the civil service after schooling in Peebles and been assigned to the Board of Agriculture, established in 1911 with responsibility for land settlement. Civil servants were not automatically exempt (for example a colleague Lt Alexander Fraser, Black Watch is commemorated on the Blackhall War Memorial) but the Board was entitled to limit enlistment. After graduating, Billy Abbott left the Board and began an accounting apprenticeship.

## World War I: the Case of James Risien Russell MBCM MD

**A**rthur Torrington CBE, Director of the Windrush Foundation, writes: I have recently been informed that Guyanese-born Dr James Risien Russell, Neurologist (1863-1939), is to be honoured with an English Heritage Blue Plaque at 44 Wimpole Street, London W1. The date is to be announced soon.

His father, William Russell, a Scotland-born sugar planter in Demerara (later British Guiana, now Guyana) sent him and his brother William (born 1867) to Dollar Academy, Scotland, in 1880. James studied at Edinburgh University from 1882 to 1886, adding a gold medal-winning MD (1893) to his MB CM (1886), qualifying MRCP (1891) then becoming a FRCP (1897). He was awarded a BMA scholarship in 1895 with which he studied in Berlin and Paris. His first hospital appointment was in Nottingham, then he worked at the Brompton tuberculosis hospital and St Thomas' (London). He was a staff member of University College Hospital, then a professor from the 1890s when he was 'the best known of the younger neurologists.' An officer in the RAMC, his WWI war service was the diagnosis, care, and treatment of shell-shocked soldiers returned from the trenches; indeed, he is believed to have first identified the condition, and then coined the term, 'shell shock'. Skilled at the diagnosis and management of diseases of the nervous system, his private practice was in London's West End until his death in 1939.

*(Editorial note: Like Billy Abbott, James Risien Russell is not included in the University's WWI Roll of Honour)*

## World War II: Dr Donald Caskie OBE DD OCF 'The Tartan Pimpernel'

**T**he University Roll of Honour for WWII is limited to those alumni and members of the University who died on war service and does not, and cannot, include those who took action against the enemies, and survived; but it is always interesting, and moving, to learn of their wartime activities and how those activities are remembered and honoured. One such was the Reverend Dr Donald Caskie, Minister of the Scots Kirk in Paris and later at the British Seamen's Mission in Marseilles, whose activities in helping over 500 allied servicemen to escape from occupied France earned him the nickname 'The Tartan Pimpernel'. His work is well-documented in his biography, but in February this year his memory was honoured by the performance of a play based on his life which, having toured Scotland, was performed to great acclaim in his kirk, the Scots Kirk in Paris.

*(Editorial note: we at the Journal would be very interested to receive accounts of war service by World War survivors themselves or their families, with permission to publish them in an appropriate format. Please contact us at the Journal office, preferably by e-mail to [gradassoc@ed.ac.uk](mailto:gradassoc@ed.ac.uk))*

# The Peffermill Sports Village

by Mr Alan Chainey

*Alan Chainey is a retired member of Sport and Exercise at the University (April 1972 to October 2002) and was Director 1983 to 2002. He coached the Men's University Football club (1972 to 1982) and has remained involved with the Club, currently serving as Honorary President. His interests include family, football, golf and tennis.*

The early months of 2020 saw the public launch of the Peffermill Sports Village scheme, which will bring student residence to the University's Peffermill playing fields for over 500 undergraduate and postgraduate students. The scheme will also deliver a major re-configuration and re-development to the sporting facilities, which comprise a major part of the 27-acre site. A 'sports village' for the University and the City of Edinburgh, this University-owned development will cost in the order of £25 million to realise. The village will be a new home for many of the University's high-performance athletes, a new space for University playing field-based sports clubs, and will be made available for schools and community use. The aim is to deliver a player and spectator experience of the highest quality, and this well-located facility will complement the other University Sports facilities at the Pleasance and Holyrood, at King's Buildings, at Easter Bush, at Strathclyde Park, and at Firlush Point (on Loch Tay).

The planned Sports Village will encompass a landmark Sports Pavilion in the centre of the site, a twelve-court Sports Hall, a four tennis-court centre, a community gym, a dedicated strength and conditioning gym, extensive changing accommodation for the indoor and outdoor users, a reception area, staff offices and welfare facilities, café and bar facilities, and a conference hall and meeting room. Re-configuration of the outdoor facilities will now include four floodlit premium quality outdoor grass pitches, two floodlit FIFA/RIB accredited 3G pitches with eight MUGA five-a-side pitches, two FIH accredited floodlit water-based hockey pitches with training D, a new dedicated archery practice facility, and a community trim trail.

The contrast could not be more startling to someone who came to the University in April 1972 from teaching at a public school in Kent well-provided with a good stock of sports faculties. The University's sports facilities, as at many other Universities, were, at that time, modest though often spacious. There was the prospect in Edinburgh of the University building a dedicated Sports Centre within the Bristo Square student amenity developments. This was a commitment dependent on the proposed Inner Ring relief road generating compensation funds arising from the proposed demolition of the Pollock Gymnasium which lay in the path of the proposed route. In general, there was no substantial provision for planning and adding sports and recreation facilities within the University. The 1970 Commonwealth Games, held within the city, had brought modern facilities on stream at Meadowbank (athletics and cycling tracks and indoor sports facilities), at the

Commonwealth Pool (swimming and diving), and the University. Relevant sports clubs and the general University community gained access to these facilities post Games as part of the local provision for sport.

At that time, the Pollock Gymnasium, the Peffermill Playing Fields, the King's Buildings Union, and Firbush Field Centre (opened in 1967) probably serviced no more than a core of about 2,000 students and staff of a University where these numbered less than 10,000 in total. Uncertainty surrounding the relief road continued, along with the absence of capital funds, throughout the 1970s. However, on the plus side, there were additions to the Peffermill playing fields with East Peffermill and South Peffermill fields added to the original Peffermill field.



*Alan Chainey*

Today's much enlarged University community of around 33,000 students and 8,000 staff has an attractive and exciting level of sports and fitness activity provision. Many of these facilities have been invested in and developed over the past twenty years and in line with the change of culture in respect of society's and especially young persons' attitudes towards health and wellbeing. This cultural change has been fully embraced by our University and lies centrally placed within the University's ongoing strategy. We have facilities open from early morning until late evening, seven days a week. Any visitor to the Pleasance Sports Centre will be greatly impressed by the numbers actively engaged and by the range of activities and opportunities available within this former brewery complex. The linking of the Pleasance Sports Centre with the remodelled and extended St Leonard's sports facilities offers students and staff – and the community in this central South Side area – a truly vast range of exercise and wellbeing opportunities and services. In addition to major opportunities for the University's sports clubs and their teams to train and play their sports, and for individuals to attend instructional classes, there are also valuable services for the sporting community such as FASIC. This sports injuries service has been available to the community since its opening in 1984. Ongoing investment has ensured that the high standard of provision is replicated at the playing fields, Firbush Point outdoor centre, at King's Buildings, and at the Easter Bush fitness gymnasium opened in 2019. The Boathouse development at Strathclyde park will provide a further boost for rowing at the University following the superb Olympic achievements of Katherine Grainger and the setting up of a Rowing training facility bearing her name at the Pleasance.

The Peffermill Sports Village is the culmination of 40 years of successful operation of sports facilities with allied income generation to offset operating costs. Inevitably, this process has required major additions to the staffing of facilities within Sports and Exercise, under the Directorship of Jim Aitken MBE. His work has earned strong backing from the University and has greatly enhanced the role of sport, health, and wellbeing within and beyond the University of Edinburgh.

*(Editorial Note: The Peffermill Sports Village Development has been put on hold for at least a year by the COVID-19 pandemic.)*

# A Tale of Two Domes: The Edinburgh-America Connection

by Prof Stephen G Hillier

*Prof Stephen G Hillier OBE was Director of Postgraduate Studies and International Relations in the College of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine from 2002 to 2009 and Vice-Principal International from 2009 to 2014. Prof Hillier has written two previous articles for the Journal, and was elected as Vice President of the Association at the 2020 AGM.*

## 1. Introduction

2020 marks the 230<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Residence Act of 1790, a Federal statute signed into United States law by President George Washington, which ordained the establishment of a seat of government for the newly-constituted United States and selecting Washington DC as the US capital.

The significance of the Residence Act to the University of Edinburgh is hard to overstate. It not only resulted in the appointment, in 1793, of an Edinburgh alumnus as the first architect of the Capitol, but also culminated in the iconic Capitol itself, a building that shares enduring cultural and architectural connections with the University's own 'Capitol': Old College.<sup>1</sup>

The College and Capitol construction projects were begun within four years of each other (1789 and 1793) at the height of the Scottish Enlightenment, when American *cognoscenti* were on the Edinburgh scene, and the University was a favoured destination for American scholars (Box 1). Both buildings were styled on reigning neoclassical themes, according to plans drawn up by Edinburgh-educated architects Robert Adam (Old College) and William Thornton<sup>2</sup> (US Capitol), neither of whom lived to see their designs completed. Both projects were frustrated by serial delays and revisions, spanning several decades, before their 'completion' by the erection of a monumental dome above their designed palatial facades.

Finally, as a crowning glory, each dome was topped with an iconic statue, broadcasting the purpose and importance of the host building: the 'Torch Racer' (Old College) and the 'Statue of Freedom' (US Capitol), facing outwards and eastwards, to cap the stunning landmarks we see on South Bridge and Capitol Hill today (Fig. 1).

Previous historical narratives have examined Edinburgh's Old College and the US Capitol in isolation, yet these buildings share common roots, and arguably neither would exist without the other. Their combined story has never been told. The 230<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Residence Act 1790 allows an opportunity to redress this situation, and in so doing celebrate the University's 'special educational relationship' with America.

<b>Old College</b>	<b>US Capitol</b>
<b>1785</b> Edinburgh Town Council resolves to rebuild the Tounis Colledge ↓ <b>1789</b> Robert Adam [Edin] appointed College architect ↓ <b>1789</b> College foundation stone laid ↓ <b>1790</b> Construction of east façade commences ↓ <b>1792</b> Robert Adam dies ↓ <b>1793</b> Napoleonic wars begin; building stops ↓ <b>1812</b> 1812 War with America	<b>1790</b> US Residence Act passed; Washington DC designated permanent location of the Capitol ↓ <b>1793</b> William Thornton [Edin] appointed 1 <sup>st</sup> architect of the Capitol ↓ <b>1793</b> Capitol foundation stone laid ↓ <b>1800</b> North wing completed (Senate sits) ↓ <b>1803</b> Benjamin Latrobe appointed 2 <sup>nd</sup> architect of the Capitol ↓ <b>1811</b> South wing completed (House of Representatives)
<b>1814 British forces sack Washington DC, and burn the Capitol down...</b>	
<b>1815</b> Battle of Waterloo; French wars end ↓ <b>1816</b> Building recommences; William Playfair [Edin] appointed College architect ↓ <b>1820</b> College formally named 'Old College' ↓ <b>1827</b> Old College quad finished ↓ <b>1872</b> Robert Cox bequest: 'for the erection of a dome' ↓ <b>1886</b> Old College dome commissioned (Robert Rowand Anderson, architect) ↓ <b>1887</b> Old College dome erected ↓ <b>1888</b> Torch Racer statue installed on the Old College dome	<b>1815</b> Capitol restoration begins ↓ <b>1818</b> Charles Bullfinch appointed 3 <sup>rd</sup> architect of the Capitol ↓ <b>1819</b> Restoration 'complete' ↓ <b>1824</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Capitol dome erected ↓ <b>1834</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Capitol dome re-coppered ↓ <b>1851</b> Thomas U Walter appointed 4 <sup>th</sup> architect of the Capitol ↓ <b>1856</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> Capitol dome removed ↓ <b>1863</b> 2 <sup>nd</sup> Capitol dome erected; Statue of Freedom installed

**Box 1:** *Timelines for the construction of the Old College and Capitol domes.*

## 2. The American Era

You are now in a place where the best courses upon earth are within your reach [...] I would therefore strongly press on you to fix no other limit to your stay in Edinburgh than your having got thro this whole course.

**Thomas Jefferson, 1786<sup>3</sup>**

The fifty-six signatories to the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 included several individuals with Scottish connections, three of whom were Edinburgh alumni: James Wilson, John Witherspoon, and Benjamin Rush. They and other Founding Fathers with Edinburgh links – notably Benjamin Franklin – shaped American politics and culture, and radically influenced the development of the US education system. Franklin in particular thought very highly of the University, writing to Benjamin Rush and Jonathan Potts, in 1766:

You have great Advantages in going to study at Edinburgh at this Time, where there happens to be collected a Set of as truly great Men Professors of the several Branches of Knowledge, as have ever appeared in any Age or Country.<sup>4</sup>

The previous year, an Edinburgh alumnus, John Morgan, had founded the first medical school in the USA (Philadelphia, 1765),<sup>5</sup> and, across America, the four-year (i.e. Scottish) undergraduate degree became the norm.

It was two-way traffic. American students flocked to Edinburgh during the mid-eighteenth century, with John Moultrie (1729-1798) being the first US-born student to graduate from the University, in 1749 (medicine). It has been estimated that 'one in nine or ten of the students who took the Edinburgh MD before 1776 was an American, while many other graduates emigrated to the American colonies after their graduation.'<sup>5</sup> (Most students never actually completed a degree in those days. According to Roderick Graham, Robert Adam's biographer, in 1745, the year that Robert Adam left the University, 'only three students took the trouble to graduate'.)<sup>6</sup> Thus, when the foundation stone of Old College was laid in 1789, Principal William Robertson could proudly observe that as well as students from throughout the British Dominion and Europe, the University attracted students from 'every state in America'.<sup>7</sup> 'For him, this was the culmination of over twenty years effort to have the University rehoused in a building worthy of its intellectual and academic standing.'<sup>8</sup>

American enthusiasm for the 'Edinburgh experience' was also no doubt a major reason for locating the first US Consulate in Scotland, in Leith, in 1798.<sup>9</sup> Two centuries on, Edinburgh's special relationship with America thrives with over 3,000 American students from forty-eight US states currently registered at the University. According to Principal Officer Ellen Wong of the US Consulate Edinburgh, 'Education is just one aspect of the truly vibrant ties that [still] exist between the United States and Scotland, ties that stretch across our shared history, culture, business, and security.'<sup>10</sup>

### 3. The College Rebuild

[...] The apartments appropriated for the accommodation of Professors and Students were so extremely unsuitable to the flourishing state of the University that it has long been the general wish to have buildings more decent and more convenient erected [...]

**Principal William Robertson**  
**Old College Foundation Stone Ceremony, 16 November 1789**

**D**espite its international reputation as an elite place of learning, the original Edinburgh 'Tounis Colledge' buildings had fallen into extreme disrepair by the late eighteenth century, when, paradoxically, Edinburgh's attractiveness to America was still increasing. According to Fraser's history of the University, in 1769, at least one American visitor found the buildings 'a most miserable, musty pile, scarce fit for stables',<sup>11</sup> and by 1789, when the rebuild began, it was in such a sad state of repair that it was normal 'to dissuade visitors from going to visit the buildings of the Colledge'.<sup>12</sup>

As ever, money dictated events. Principal Robertson had repeatedly and unsuccessfully lobbied the Town Council for funds to rebuild the College, ever since taking office in 1762. But the Council's priorities were



**Fig. 1:** The domes of the US Capitol (left) and Old College (right) viewed from the southeast.  
 (Credits: Left: Wikipedia, Right: Photography by S Hillier)



**Fig. 2:** Robert Adam's design for the East front of the New Building for Edinburgh University [Old College]. Watercolour by F Dukes, after R Adam. 1791. Accession number P 6461.  
 (Credit: Scottish National Portrait Gallery)

always elsewhere, and not until a scheme surfaced in 1785 to build South Bridge – incorporating a fit-for-purpose College building – did a new build seem likely. Eventually, the South Bridge and College building projects diverged, and Principal Robertson was able to inform the Senate that a new build would go ahead, funded by public subscription and income from feu holders of properties lining the new South Bridge.

Things finally took off with a vengeance in 1789, the year in which the US Constitution came into force. Start-up funding was in place, and Robert Adam's design was accepted (Fig. 2). He was automatically appointed the College architect and surveyor on 14 November 1789, and the foundation stone was laid two days later.<sup>13</sup> Work on the east façade began in 1790, and by 1791 the triple gateway on to the quadrangle from South Bridge was in place, framed with the six monolithic plain-shafted, Doric columns of Craigleith sandstone that stand there now.<sup>14</sup> But despite the King himself having contributed £5,000 to the new College, the project faltered at the end of 1793 (Robert Adam had died in 1792, the Napoleonic Wars had begun, and public funds dried up).<sup>15</sup> Little else happened until the French wars were over and money for building began to flow again. In 1816, another famous Edinburgh-educated architect, William Henry Playfair, was commissioned to re-interpret Adam's original plan and bring the project to fruition. This mainly involved forming a single open quadrangle instead of the two small courtyards separated by a cross-cutting chapel that Adam had envisaged. By 1827, the square was finished.<sup>16</sup> And through it all, the Americans *kept a-comin'* to Edinburgh, despite Britain's partially successful attempt to burn down the Capitol on 24 August 1814.<sup>17</sup>

Fast forward to 1840. Playfair's final contribution is the erection of the three sets of cast-iron gates, which still secure the main entrance today. Old College was complete, but without a dome.

## 4. A Capitol Case

Grandeur, simplicity and convenience appear to be so well combined in this plan of Dr Thornton's.

**President George Washington  
Letter to the Commissioners, 1793<sup>18</sup>**

**W**hen the US Constitution came into force in 1789, attention turned to where the Capital should be based. The Residence Act of 1790 mandated an initial temporary spell in Philadelphia, followed by permanent location on the Maryland side of the Potomac, at the head of tidewater where it would presumably be less vulnerable to marauding British warships. This swampy wilderness partly covered with trees would eventually accommodate one of the most dignified and impressive capital cityscapes in the world, with the Capitol as its centrepiece.<sup>19</sup>

The competition to produce an architectural plan for the Capitol, announced in 1792, resulted in a flurry of entries, which were all deemed inadequate.<sup>20</sup> Then, three months after the competition had officially closed, there came an unsolicited submission from one Dr William Thornton, which succeeded.

The Thornton concept, based on the Pantheon, involved a central pedimented seven-bay portico topped by a low dome; flanked by two rectangular six-bay wings housing the Senate (north) and House of Representatives (south) (Fig. 3). This not only fitted Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson's desire that Congress should be 'housed in a replica of an ancient Roman temple' but also proved highly agreeable to President Washington.<sup>21</sup> Thornton's design for the Capitol was duly accepted, whereupon he was awarded the \$500 prize, and became the first architect to the Capitol.

The Capitol cornerstone was laid by President Washington at the southeast corner of the north wing on 18<sup>th</sup> September 1793, with full Masonic rites, as had the Old College foundation stone, four years earlier in Edinburgh. This was only the beginning. Many important changes and additions to the building would be required, overseen by three more architects (Latrobe, Bulfinch, and Walter) and fifteen Presidents, before the Capitol could be finished. The project was concluded in 1863 with the erection of the current dome, replete with the Statue of Freedom (see below), even though the American Civil War (1861-1865) was still on. President Abraham Lincoln had insisted that work on the Capitol be continued, as a metaphor for the permanency of the Union.

It is important to emphasise that the first Capitol architect, William Thornton, had been a student at the University of Edinburgh, from 1781 to 1783, when the renowned Edinburgh-educated architect Robert Adam's reputation was at its peak. As a self-taught 'gentleman architect', keen to learn from the published works of others, who had also been on their Grand Tours, it seems unlikely that Thornton would have been unaffected by the 'Adam style' during his time at Edinburgh.<sup>22</sup> [Perhaps they even met?] Certainly, it seems reasonable to suggest that, whether directly or indirectly, 'Edinburgh' would have impacted on Thornton's winning Capitol design.

## 5. Dome is Where the Heart Is<sup>23</sup>

[...] a classical dome carried on a drum would be something new and grand. It would help give the Capitol prestige and would be a welcome addition to the city's skyline.

**President George Washington, 1792<sup>24</sup>**

The Old College and Capitol domes are internationally celebrated architectural constructs, which grace the Edinburgh and Washington DC skylines.<sup>25</sup> Yet neither is quite as intended.

Robert Adam's original plan for the College (1791) featured a modestly-domed clock tower above the main entrance (Fig. 2), which he had intended to be constructed of lead covered timber, capped by a weathervane. However, it seems there was never enough money to provide for this aspect of the design during the Adam-Playfair era, so a temporary slate roof was placed above the central entrance, awaiting further developments.

Funds to erect the College dome were not forthcoming until 1872, when a local (Gorgie) philanthropist, Robert Cox, left a specific bequest for this purpose.<sup>26</sup> By 1886, the financial capital accrued from his bequest (£4,400)

was sufficient to commission the University Architect, Sir Robert Rowand Anderson, to bring forward plans for the dome that caps the College entrance today. Anderson's is a larger and more imposing feature than that originally sketched by Adam, with grander drum, fuller dome, and a circular lantern, which would eventually receive the gilded figure of Youth at its apex (Fig. 4).<sup>27</sup>

The Edinburgh dome was duly completed in 1887 at a cost of some £3,700, creating 'a splendid landmark, sitting easily on the old building and effectively drawing the eye down to Adam's magnificent façade in the street below'.<sup>28</sup> Not all thought it such a good use of money though, with *The Builder* opining, 'money which would be spent upon applied ornament could be better appropriated to different objects connected with the University, aesthetic or otherwise'.<sup>29</sup> [*Plus ça change?*] Nevertheless, 130 years on, Old College is still celebrated as one of the most beautiful university buildings in the UK.<sup>30</sup>

Rejection of Adam's original College dome resonates with the fate of Thornton's Capitol dome. Thornton's design included a central, low saucer dome and portico, styled on the Roman Pantheon (Fig. 3). However, it was criticised for being too low, so was never built. Instead, in 1824, a much larger copper sheathed wooden version (complete with oculus) was erected over the Capitol's re-designed central section, overseen by the third architect of the Capitol, Charles Bulfinch. But this one only lasted until 1855, when Congress authorized its replacement with a still larger, fireproof cast iron dome, installed 1856-1863 (Fig. 4). This, the Capitol dome we see today, was designed by the fourth architect of the Capitol, Thomas Ustick Walter, 'containing 8,909,200 pounds of cast iron girders, plates, columns and ornaments, lifted into place on the existing Rotunda walls by steam-powered derricks'.<sup>31</sup>

## 6. The Torch Racer

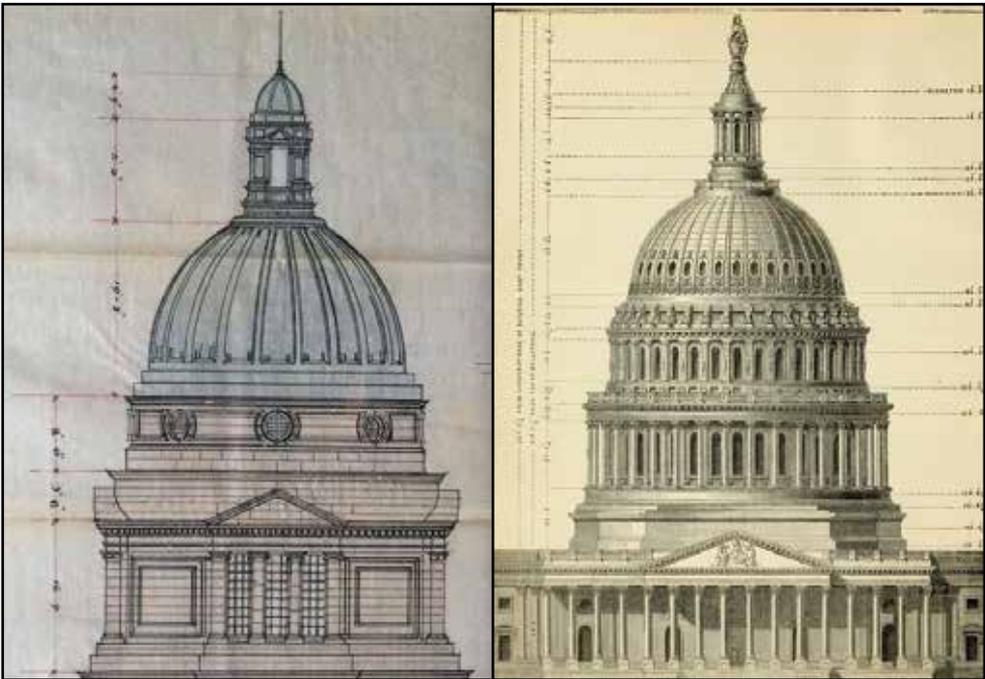
[...] Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans [...]

**President John F Kennedy**  
**Inaugural Address, 20<sup>th</sup> January 1961**

Unquestionably, Edinburgh's Old College *pièce de résistance* is the Torch Racer. Known colloquially as the Golden Boy, he was commissioned as a finial for the Dome from the Scottish sculptor, John Hutchison RSA, at a cost of 400 guineas.<sup>32</sup> The dome itself had been finished in April 1887, 'with the exception of a figure of Youth bearing the torch of Knowledge, which is to form the culminating feature of the lantern [...]'.<sup>33</sup> The following year, the 6 foot high gilded statue of a Torch Racer was duly installed at a cost of 80 guineas for 'exhibiting, hoisting and fixing it on the summit of the dome' (Fig. 5).<sup>28</sup> Fully restored and re-gilded with 23.5 carat gold leaf in 2014, the Racer stands resplendent, symbolizing the transmission of knowledge from each generation to the next.



**Fig. 3:** William Thornton's plan for the US Capitol. East elevation, low dome. Architectural drawing: ink, watercolor, and graphite on paper. 1793. Library of Congress. (Credit: Creative Commons – CC by NC)



**Fig. 4:** Architectural elevations of the domes of the US Capitol and Old College. **Left:** Old College dome. Ink and watercolour on paper, by W Cook after R Anderson, 1886. **Right:** Elevation of dome of US Capitol. Ink and watercolour on paper, by Thomas U Walter, 1859. (Credit, Left: Edinburgh City Archive; Right: Architect of the Capitol <<https://lccn.loc.gov/2005695752> Library of Congress>.)



**Fig. 5:** *Finials atop the Capitol and Old College domes.*

**Left:** *The Torch Racer (Golden Boy).* Gilded bronze, by James Hutchison RSA, 1887.

**Right:** *Statue of Freedom.* Bronze, by Thomas Crawford, 1863.

*(Credit, Left: Photography by S Hillier; Right: Architect of the Capitol <[www.aoc.gov](http://www.aoc.gov)>)*

## 7. The Statue of Freedom

Freedom stands tall over one more monument. This one. This Capitol.  
This living monument. This is the monument to the American people.

**President Donald J Trump**  
**State of the Union Address, 30 January 2018**

The statue crowning the Capitol dome has never been gilded. But at three times the height of the Golden Boy and several times its weight, ably carried on the dome's cast iron pedestal, it is nonetheless impressive (Fig. 4). Originally named 'Freedom Triumphant in War and Peace,' it is also styled 'Armed Freedom'. The massive bronze by Thomas Crawford (1814–1857) depicts a classical female figure wearing a crested helmet, with her right hand resting on the hilt of a sheathed sword, and her left holding a laurel wreath of victory and US shield (Fig. 5). The huge cast-iron pedestal upon which she stands is inscribed with the Latin motto '*E Pluribus Unum*'

(Out of many, one). Above all, she signifies Freedom, the ethos which lies at the heart of the US Constitution.<sup>34</sup> She was positioned at exactly 12.00 noon on 2 December 1863, to a 35-gun salute ‘fired from Capitol Hill echoed by similar salutes from a dozen forts about the city’, signalling the abiding place of the Capitol and its Dome in the national psyche.<sup>35</sup>

The Golden Boy’s pedestal is much less elaborate than Freedom’s and bears no formal inscription. However, close inspection of the lead flashing on one of the Old College dome’s pedimented lantern windows reveals a *graffito* in the form of a carved name, reading ‘J. (or T.) H. Hall’. The significance of this observation remains obscure, but it is perhaps noteworthy that Hutchison’s model for the Golden Boy statue was one Anthony Hall.<sup>36</sup>

## 8. Envoi

We have built no national temples but the Capitol; we consult no common oracle but the Constitution.

Senator Rufus Choate, 1833<sup>37</sup>

History informs us that early American arrivals to Edinburgh brought with them a practical desire to ‘get cracking’ with their new country.<sup>38</sup> With hindsight, the continuous flux of Americans to Edinburgh throughout the eighteenth century was a major reason why the new University building was required in the first place. Conversely, the reverse stream of Edinburgh trained medics, politicians, educators, administrators – and Founding Fathers – took Edinburgh values back with them to America. Patriotic zeal, tempered with Enlightenment ethos, was the basis of the Constitution. It also shaped the socio-political climate in which the new seat of government was built, on the banks of the Potomac.

The Edinburgh of 1790 was one of celebrated professors, gentleman architects, and grand tourists. Robert Adam’s advocacy of neoclassicism – not least its domes – also spread west. Hence William Thornton’s Capitol, which, to all intents and purposes, was an Adam [Edinburgh?] design.

The timelines for the Capitol and Old College are remarkably close. Both projects survived interruption and geopolitical upheaval due to the War of 1812 (between Great Britain and America), the Napoleonic Wars, and the American Civil War. Yet both were concluded, in style, providing the imposing edifices defined by the magnificent domes that stand today.

Finally, the finials: Old College’s embodies Education; the Capitol’s connotes Freedom. These shared values have united Scotland and America, for nearly three centuries. Long may they continue to do so.

## Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Ingal Maxwell OBE (International Consultant in Architectural Conservation) and Frank Cogliano (Professor of American History, University of Edinburgh) for their helpful comments during the preparation of the manuscript that formed the basis of this article.

## Notes:

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37. Allen, frontispiece.

38. Riggs.

# Scottish Contributions to Early Electrical Standards

by Prof Peter M Grant and Prof John S Thompson

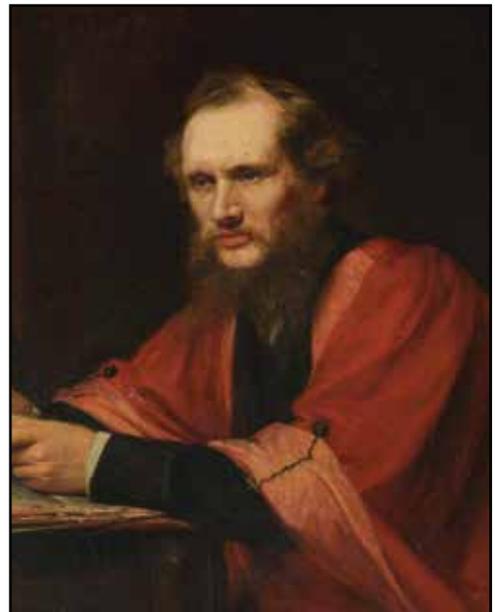
*Peter Grant is Regius Professor Emeritus of Engineering, and John Thompson is Professor of Digital Communications. This is a summary of a full paper on this topic which has been published by the IEEE.<sup>1</sup>*

## Telegraphic Communication

With the development of the railways, such as Isambard Kingdom Brunel's opening of the Great Western Railway from London to Bristol in 1841, there was a growing need for faster methods than post for implementing long-distance communication. William Cooke and Charles Wheatstone had introduced, in 1837, their first commercial electric telegraph. Further developments followed and, in 1850, the first undersea telegraphic cable was laid across the English Channel linking Great Britain with France. The first (unsuccessful) attempt at laying a transatlantic telegraphic cable was made in 1857. In 1858, the Atlantic Telegraph Company finally succeeded in linking Ireland to Newfoundland by undersea cable.<sup>2</sup> Regrettably, this cable was only in operation for one month. Subsequent attempts in 1865 and 1866 were successful. William Thomson (Fig. 1) was intimately involved in the specification of these cables and he personally sailed on many cable-laying expeditions.<sup>3</sup> He had been appointed, in 1846, as Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, when aged only 22, and was later ennobled as Lord Kelvin in 1892.

In these long-distance undersea cables, only a very small current was available at the receiver. This was often implemented with a galvanometer, which produced a rotary deflection of a pointer, in response to the electric current flowing through a coil. Thomson designed the galvanometer which was the more successful detector used on the 1858 transatlantic telegraphic cable. In the 1850s and early 1860s, such transatlantic telegraphic coded messages were limited to only one character every four seconds!

To exploit his inventions for signalling on long submarine cables, Thomson entered into a partnership with Cromwell Varley of the Electric



**Fig. 1:** William Thomson, Lord Kelvin

and International Telegraph Company. The other partner was Henry James Fleeming Jenkin (Fig. 2), a distinguished engineer in Newall's Birkenhead cable factory who had been responsible for fitting out the *Elba* cable-laying ship at Greenock. Jenkin was, for several years, the engineer in charge of international cable-laying operations, and he delivered the public Cantor lectures on Submarine Telegraphy to the Royal Society of Arts in 1866.<sup>4</sup> Jenkin was appointed in 1866 as Professor of Engineering at University College London prior to his appointment, from 1868 until 1885, as the first Regius Professor of Engineering at the University of Edinburgh. Today's parliamentarian, Sir Bernard Jenkin, is the great-great-grandson of Fleeming Jenkin.

Varley was an astute businessman, and the partnership that he formed with Thomson and Jenkin (who by this time held more than thirty-five international patents) to exploit their respective telegraphic inventions yielded these individuals significant personal profits. For example, they shared £2,500 of annual payments from one transatlantic cable company<sup>5</sup> with Thomson and Jenkin using this revenue to supplement their university salaries and fund their laboratories.



Fig. 2: *Fleeming Jenkin*

This rapid rise in intercontinental telegraphy and electrotechnology created a demand for a rational, coherent, consistent, and international system of units for electrical quantities. Telegraphers and other early users of electricity needed a practical standard unit of measurement for resistance. These telegraphic cables continued to develop over the years. The 1956 TAT1 cable, laid from *HMTS Monarch*, stretched for 2,240 miles from Oban to Clarenville in Canada. It allowed for thirty-six simultaneous telephone conversations which typically cost £3 per minute! TAT1 was retired in 1978 and today we use fibre optic cables which offer enormous capacity for carrying communication and internet data traffic.

## Electrical Resistance Standards

In 1861, the British Association (BA) for the Advancement of Science meeting suggested that standards for electrical units must be established, and they thus appointed the British Association Committee on Electrical Standards, with Fleeming Jenkin as secretary. This committee initially included: William Thomson; Fleeming Jenkin; Charles Wheatstone; Augustus Matthiessen; Alexander Williamson; and William Miller. Later members included: Charles Bright; Charles Hockin; Latimer Clark; James Joule; James Clerk Maxwell (who studied under Professor James D Forbes at Edinburgh

from 1847 to 1850 before completing his University education and graduating at Cambridge); Carl Siemens; Balfour Stewart; and Cromwell Varley. The committee thus comprised predominantly distinguished individuals whose scientific achievements had been recognised by the award of Fellowships of the Royal Society or the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

At this time, several artifact *material* standards, such as wire coils proposed<sup>6,7</sup> and calibrated in feet of copper wire, had been introduced for laboratory use in the 1840s by Wheatstone and others. In 1860, Werner Siemens had proposed another resistance standard based on a spiral or folded column of pure mercury. An alternative to these arbitrary *material* standards of resistance had existed since 1851 in the 'absolute' system based on the units of force and motion of Wilhelm Weber, building on Carl Friedrich Gauss's earlier magnetic work, but this had a value which was far too small to be of practical use to telegraph engineers.

The committee considered these possibilities as they created their 'BA unit of resistance'.<sup>8,9</sup> Here they deliberated as to the relative magnitude of their unit of resistance, and finally they decided on a unit whose magnitude was appropriate and convenient for use by the above cable engineers and, further, it was close in value to the Siemens mercury proposal.

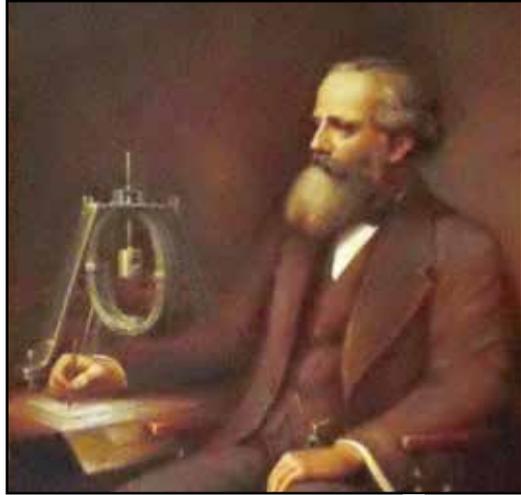
The actual instrument proposed by Thomson in 1863 to define the BA unit of resistance is shown alongside Maxwell in his portrait (Fig. 3). Jenkin rotated the coil and Maxwell took the measurements. These measurements were made at King's College on the Strand in London, when Maxwell was a Professor there. The portrait in Fig. 3, painted in 1929 by R H Campbell, was based on a photograph of Maxwell that was in the possession of the eminent engineer Sir Ambrose Fleming. The painting was commissioned by the Institution of Electrical Engineers member L B Atkinson and donated by him in 1929. L B Atkinson confirms<sup>10</sup> that the revolving-coil apparatus shown on the table was that designed by William Thomson and was the one used to first determine the value of the unit of resistance. A copy of this portrait also resides in the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

In the third report (1864) of the committee, their resistance unit was then referred more simply as the BA unit or Ohmad.<sup>11,12</sup> The committee progressed to develop a set of resistance coils for use as international standards. Their standard coils consist of loosely wound wire resistors (made from the precious metal alloys with copies from an alloy of platinum and silver)<sup>13</sup> mounted in annular copper cans which were then filled with paraffin wax. These coils were prepared for measurement of the BA unit and, after many painstaking measurements, the committee finally issued its official resistance standards in its 1865 committee report.

The committee now had ten standards, all adjusted as closely as possible, with further copies. Seventeen such standard coils were donated to the Directors of Public Telegraphs in nine continental states as well as India and Australia, with a further sixteen copies being sold. Jenkin intimated that copies of the standard resistance were available, and that 'A unit coil and box will be sent on receipt of the remittance of £2 10s'.<sup>14</sup> These standard resistors were located first in the Kew observatory, then the Cavendish Laboratory,

etc, before eventual transfer, in 1955, to the London Science Museum, where the set of nine original 1865 standard resistance coils resides today.

The Committee reports later proposed the adoption of the unit with the symbol  $\Omega$  because of the similar sound between ohm and omega.<sup>15,16</sup> Later, in 1872, the committee recommended a change to the name from 'BA unit' to the 'Ohm', naming it after the German physicist and mathematician Georg Simon Ohm, in recognition of his earlier discovery of the direct proportionality between the potential difference or voltage applied across a conductor and the resultant electric current, as he had published in 1827.<sup>17</sup>



**Fig. 3:** James Clerk Maxwell

The fact that electric current is proportional to the potential difference was first discovered by Henry Cavendish in 1781, but he failed to publicise these observations. Most of Cavendish's electrical experiments remained unknown until they were collected and published in 1879 by Maxwell, who had established and directed the Cavendish Laboratory in Cambridge from 1874.

## Recognising these Early Historical Developments

**A**n Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers (IEEE) historical bronze milestone plaque on 'The Standardisation of the Ohm as the Unit of Electrical Resistance 1861-1867', was unveiled on 17 September 2019 in the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow, and it resides alongside the permanent exhibition of Lord Kelvin's scientific apparatus.

On 20 September 2019, a further copy of this IEEE plaque was received by the James Clerk Maxwell Foundation and is now located in the entrance foyer at Maxwell's birthplace in Edinburgh, at 14 India Street, which houses a small scientific museum. Today, the definition of the Ohm is expressed from the Quantum Hall effect for which Klaus von Klitzing received the Nobel prize in 1985.

### Notes:

1. P M Grant and J S Thompson, 'Standardization of the Ohm as a unit of electrical resistance, 1861-1867', *Proceedings of the IEEE*, 107, 11 (November 2019), pp. 2281-2289. <DoI:10.1109/JPROC.2019.2945495>.
2. M Guarnieri, 'The Conquest of the Atlantic', *IEEE Industrial Electronics Magazine*, 8, 1 (2014), pp. 53-56/67.
3. C Smith and M N Wise, *Energy and Empire: a biographical study of Lord Kelvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

4. *Reports of the Committee on Electrical Standards Appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, ed. by F Jenkin (1873; repr. Delhi: SSM books International, 2008).
5. Smith & Wise, 2009.
6. A C Lynch, 'History of the electrical units and early standards', *IEE Proceedings*, 132, Pt. A, No. 8 (December 1985), pp. 564-572.
7. B J Hunt, 'The Ohm is where the art is: British telegraph engineers and the development of electrical standards', *Osiris*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 9 (1994), pp. 48-63.
8. Jenkin, *Reports*, 1873.
9. C. H. L., 'Reports of the Committee on Electrical Standards', *Nature*, 92, 91 (1913) <<https://www.nature.com/articles/092091a0>>.
10. L B Atkinson, *IEE Proceedings*, 68, 397 (January 1930), pp. 198-201.
11. Jenkin, *Reports*, 1873.
12. C. H. L., 1913.
13. Hunt, 1994.
14. F Jenkin, 'Electrical Standard' [letter to the editor, 7 Feb. 1865], *Philosophical Magazine*, 29 (March 1865), p. 248.
15. Jenkin, *Reports*, 1873.
16. C. H. L., 1913.
17. G S Ohm, *Die galvanische Kette: mathematisch bearbeitet* [The Galvanic Circuit Investigated Mathematically] (Berlin: Riemann, 1827), p. 245.

**Images:**

**Page 183, Fig. 1:** William Thomson, Lord Kelvin, by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, University of Cambridge

**Page 184, Fig. 2:** Fleeming Jenkin, courtesy University of Edinburgh.

**Page 186, Fig. 3:** James Clerk Maxwell with the apparatus to measure the ohmic coil resistance, courtesy Institution of Engineering and Technology archives.

# New Years Honours List

## *Knight Bachelor*

### **Prof Sir Duncan Wingham Kt**

Professor of Physics, University College London.

### **Sir Dennis Gillings Kt CBE**

For services to the advancement of Dementia and Life Sciences research.

## *Order of the British Empire*

### *Commanders*

### **Prof Rowena Arshad CBE**

Staff

Lately Head of Moray House School of Education.

### **Dr Colin Thomas Currie CBE**

BSc 1967 MBChB 1970

For charitable and political services.

### **Mr Victor L L Chu CBE**

Chairman of the First Eastern Investment Group, Hong Kong.

### **Ms Joanna Baker CBE**

Lately Managing Director of the Edinburgh International Festival and Chair of the National Youth Choir of Scotland.

## *Officers*

### **Dr Martyn James Blissitt OBE**

PhD 1990

Veterinary Adviser on Animal Health and Welfare to the Scottish Government.

### **Dr Helen Mary Mckay OBE**

BSc 1974 PhD 1979

Head of the Centre for Sustainable Forestry and Climate Change.

### **Prof Sheila A Manson Mclean OBE**

LLD 2002

Professor Emerita of Law and Ethics in Medicine, University of Glasgow.

### **Dr Helen Louise Munn OBE**

PhD 2004

Lately Director of the Academy of Medical Sciences.

### **Prof Helen Sang OBE**

Staff

Head of Division, Functional Genetics and Development, Roslin Institute.

## *Members*

### **Mr Michael Kuldip Johal MBE**

BCom 1979

Director at Johal, Munshi & Co. Ltd.

### **Lady Jill Kirkwood MBE**

Founder and Chair, Daisy Chain Trust.

### **Mr Colin Simpson Todd MBE**

BSc 1974 MSc 1975

Fire Safety Consultant.

## *Medallists*

### **Mrs Susan Ann Croall BEM**

BMus 1961

For services to music in Swansea.

### **Dr Sheena Ritchie Dykes BEM DL**

MPhil 1988

For voluntary services to the homeless in High Wycombe.

### **Mr Barry Macaulay BEM**

MSW 1995

For services to Disability Sport.

### **Mrs Helen M Macrae Shanahan BEM**

BSc 1981

Infant Feeding Coordinator, Royal Cornwall Hospitals NHS Trust.

### **Miss Kathryn Lindsay Singh BEM**

MA(Hons) 2014 MSc 2015

For services to Art and the Asian community in Scotland.

# John Conolly: Nineteenth-Century Physician and Reformer

by Dr John Wilmot

*Dr John Wilmot is a Birmingham graduate, and was for many years a GP in Leamington Spa. After retirement, he developed interests in local and medical history, pursuing a part-time Master's degree at Oxford. He is currently a PhD candidate at Warwick University, his thesis dealing with the nineteenth-century history of medical dispensaries in Warwickshire.*

**D**r John Conolly (1794-1866) was a significant nineteenth-century figure, widely acclaimed for his leading role in introducing more humane methods to the care of the mentally ill. During recent decades, revisionist historians have challenged such views, suggesting that his true role was less significant than previously believed.<sup>1</sup> This article will concentrate on the first two decades of his professional life, before he arrived at Hanwell Asylum in Middlesex with his plan for change. Even without his work in mental health, Conolly's varied earlier career makes him an interesting figure in the 'Age of Reform'.



**Fig. 1:** *Dr John Conolly*

John Conolly was born in Market Rasen, Lincolnshire, in middling circumstances, but with connections to the English and Irish gentry. His father died when he was aged five years, unsettling his education and upbringing. He was separated from his brothers and sent several miles to a small village school, evidently a rather Dickensian institution. Aged thirteen, he returned to live with his mother, now remarried and conducting a girls' school in Hull. His stepfather (a Mr Stirling, who had spent some years in Paris) helped to foster in the adolescent Conolly a love of French culture and literature.

His first attempt at a career was aged eighteen, when he started three years' service as a junior officer in a militia regiment. A few months after its disbandment in 1816, and without any employment, he married Elizabeth Collins, the daughter of the late Sir John Collins, a distinguished but impecunious naval officer. This showed a lifelong tendency to take important decisions on impulse, as was later observed by his son-in-law Henry Maudsley (who also became a prominent psychiatrist).<sup>2</sup> The couple spent an idyllic year in a cottage close to the French city of Tours (where his brother William was then in medical practice). Now with a young daughter

and a dwindling inheritance, he needed to find a respectable means of living. He settled on medicine and decided to study in Edinburgh, attracted by its university, the highly regarded medical school, and the possibility of living very economically.

At least part of his first year of medical study was passed in Glasgow, studying under Dr Robert Cleghorn and observing patients at the Glasgow Royal Asylum. Alongside his medical classes in Edinburgh, he attended the philosophical lectures of Dugald Stewart.<sup>3</sup> He also became active in the leading students' discussion group, the Royal Medical Society. There he became noted for his personal charm and articulacy, being elected in his third and final year as one of the four student presidents. He also formed a close friendship with John Darwall (MD 1821), the son of an Anglican clergyman in Birmingham. He was never an outstanding scholar but his final dissertation on 'insanity and melancholia' pointed to his later interests. Like many contemporaries, he followed his graduation with a stay of several months in Paris to study with some of its leading medical figures. His MD diploma in 1821 admitted him to the ranks of physicians, who dealt with internal disorders and were the normal medical attendants to the wealthy. The much more numerous surgeon-apothecaries (the emergent general practitioners) were trained by apprenticeship, usually with one or two years at a medical school. These practitioners treated injuries and varied illnesses among a wider but mainly middling group. Conolly then decided to settle in Sussex, spending a few months in Lewes before moving to the larger town of Chichester. There he formed a firm friendship with the Scot John Forbes (MD Edinburgh 1817), recently settled in the town after an earlier career as a naval surgeon. Conolly's gregarious nature meant that he became a social favourite, but Forbes, reserved and serious, was preferred for medical advice.

After about a year there, in early 1823, Connolly decided that there was insufficient local practice for two physicians and moved to Stratford-upon-Avon. Why did he choose Stratford? Conolly was always a Shakespeare enthusiast, while his brother William then lived in Cheltenham, thirty-two miles distant. Stratford was then a small market town of about 4,000 people, and Conolly soon became a public figure. Again, in Maudsley's words, he was 'a reformer by nature and a hearty liberal in politics [and] ardently devoted himself to [...] every measure of progress.'<sup>4</sup> He developed friendly relations with several local surgeon-apothecaries, his probable supporters in his election to the borough



**Fig. 2:** *Dr John Wilmot*

council. He later became an alderman and, in 1826, the town's mayor. Together with these colleagues and other prominent citizens, he founded a public dispensary to provide poor people with charitable medical treatment. Such institutions were established in many towns, especially those lacking hospitals; the citizens of Stratford funded its activities through subscriptions and an annual charitable ball. In 1824, Conolly published a pamphlet to encourage smallpox vaccination among local people. A few months later, the disease broke out, first in a fifteen-year-old labourer's daughter who developed a severe rash. Despite this alarming start, the outbreak subsided a few weeks later with few victims. Conolly also established a 'workmen's library' in Stratford that hosted lectures for local artisans as well as providing books and newspapers. In these years, Conolly kept in touch with his Edinburgh contemporary John Darwall, now building a practice in Birmingham. Among other shared ventures, the pair paid a brief visit to London in 1825, spending time with the surgeon John Abernethy of St Bartholomew's and with George Birkbeck (MD Edinburgh 1799), the Quaker physician and pioneer adult educator. They approached these eminent figures with ideas for a national medical association but failed to gain the support needed. However, the two young Midland doctors clearly made an impression, soon being asked to act as assistant editors of a journal, the *London Medical Repository and Review*. Their laborious editorial duties included reading lengthy books and papers from varied countries (in different languages) to prepare detailed reviews and digests of their content.

John Conolly's next step was a surprise to many. In June 1827, he was invited by the council of the new University of London (later known as University College, London) to become the institution's first professor of medicine. The earlier meeting with George Birkbeck seems likely to have influenced Henry Brougham, the Whig politician and lawyer (and alumnus who in 1859 would become the first Chancellor of Edinburgh University) who was the council's leading figure. The new university, the first in England since the Middle Ages, was closely modelled on Edinburgh, investing much authority in its professors and adopting a strictly non-denominational entry policy. This secular approach, unremarkable today, aroused hostility from the ancient English universities and many in the established church (who railed against the 'godless institution'). Nor did the existing London medical schools and the medical Royal Colleges welcome their new rival. The infant institution also had abundant internal problems, with shortages of funds and disagreements about policy direction. In terms of educational content, Conolly argued for instruction of medical students in mental illness, mainly to be gained through observing affected patients. His proposal was rejected by the council as premature, but in fairness to them, the medical faculty then lacked facilities for clinical instruction; only in 1834 did it gain a teaching hospital (the forerunner of University College Hospital). Following the riposte from the council, Conolly offered practical hints for students and practitioners in dealing with mental illness in his *Indications of Insanity* (1830). The work also urged reforms in mental healthcare, including an increased role for the state. In

1828, Conolly joined his colleagues in establishing the University dispensary, where poor patients could receive treatment from the professors and medical students could learn through observing these encounters. The professors were also impeded in their work by difficult personal relationships, not least with the able but abrasive Warden (and Edinburgh graduate), Leonard Horner. Funding difficulties meant that, in 1830, the professorial stipends, already a hardly generous annual £300, were halved. Conolly's relative lack of medical experience also became apparent in uninspiring lectures and falling student attendances. Various slights prompted his resignation in late 1830, followed in early 1831 by a return to Warwickshire.<sup>5</sup>

Conolly settled in Warwick with his family, although, after the capital, the town seemed a backwater. He resumed medical practice, while continuing his writing and public speaking. He became a physician to the Warwick Dispensary and collaborated with his old Chichester friend John Forbes in editing two publications (a new review journal and a part-work textbook of medicine, the *Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine*). His broader interests included adult education and natural history, especially those aspects relevant to medicine. He lectured at Mechanics' Institutes in Warwick and elsewhere on medical and related topics, often to some acclaim. He wrote books and pamphlets for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a publishing body founded by Brougham and Birkbeck to support mechanics' institutes.

Medical practitioners in the provinces still felt the absence of a wider professional association, the deficiency that had prompted Conolly and Darwall's trip to London in 1823. In Worcester in August 1832, about fifty of them assembled to debate suitable proposals. The local physician, Charles Hastings (MD Edinburgh 1818) gained wide support when he advocated a new Provincial Medical and Surgical Association, both Conolly and Darwall joining its council. Later evolving into the British Medical Association (the BMA), in its early years, this was a purely professional and scientific body that avoided contentious or trades union-like activities. In Warwick, Conolly pursued his scientific interests, co-founding a local phrenology society and, in 1836, the new Warwickshire Natural History and Archaeology Society. But Shakespeare was always his main interest. He became an active member of the Shakespeare Club of Stratford-upon-Avon, leading efforts to restore the chancel and the poet's memorial in Holy Trinity Church in Stratford.

In 1839, Conolly was appointed physician in charge of the large asylum at Hanwell, to the west of London, where he remained about ten years. He abolished the use of physical restraints, introducing 'moral treatment' based on sympathy and understanding (and some psychological pressure). Similar changes had been made earlier by Philippe Pinel in Paris, by the Tuke family at the York Retreat, and at the small county asylum in Lincoln. However, Conolly's writing and lecturing ensured that in Britain his name became particularly associated with the movement.

Persistent rumours have suggested that Elizabeth Conolly, *née* Collins, may have suffered from mental illness herself, an idea receiving some tentative support from recent research. They married in 1817 when John

Conolly was 23 and she was 33, the couple going on to have four children. Conolly was always reticent about personal matters, but challenges for Elizabeth would have included her husband's mercurial nature, persisting money difficulties, and frequent changes of abode. Her name was notably absent from newspaper lists of those attending social occasions, such as Stratford's first Dispensary Ball in 1823. After 1841, she was evidently not living at the family home, dying in lodgings of 'old age', aged 82, a few months after Conolly.<sup>6</sup>

The Warwickshire people expressed warm appreciation to John Conolly in 1828, presenting him with a fine silver dish at a valedictory breakfast. When he left in June 1839 for Hanwell, speakers at a farewell dinner commended his medical skills, his courtesy and his kindness, above all to the poor. He was also praised for his contributions to 'philosophic' institutions and for his efforts to honour the name of Shakespeare.<sup>7</sup>

#### Notes:

1. Andrew Scull, 'Conolly, John: Physician and Alienist (1794–1866)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (May 2006) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.pugwash.lib.warwick.ac.uk/view/article/6094>> [accessed 8 Dec 2014].
2. Henry Maudsley, 'Memoir of the late John Conolly, MD', *Journal of Mental Science*, 12, 58 (1866), 11-25, 151-74, pp. 161-2.
3. Richard Hunter and Ida Macalpine, 'Editorial Introduction'; John Conolly, *An Inquiry concerning the Indications of Insanity* (1830; repr. London: Dawson, 1964) esp. pp. 9-10.
4. Maudsley, 'Memoir of John Conolly', p. 164.
5. The events at University College were discussed from different viewpoints by Scull, Conolly, *ODNB*; Maudsley, 'Memoir of John Conolly', pp. 164, 166-8; and by Hunter and Macalpine, 'Editorial Introduction', pp 19-31.
6. Elizabeth Burrows, 'Alienists' Wives: The Unusual Case of Mrs John Conolly', *History of Psychiatry*, 9 (1998), 291-301.
7. 'Farewell Dinner to Dr Conolly', *Warwick and Warwickshire Advertiser*, 8 June 1839.

#### Images:

**Page 189, Fig. 1:** T M Bayes after T Kirkby, *John Conolly*, c. 1835, lithograph, Wellcome Library no 1960i, *Wellcome Collection*, Creative Commons 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0), <<http://www.wellcomecollection.org/works/ke7mwqty>>.

**Page 190, Fig. 2:** Dr John Wilmot, photography by J Wilmot.

## A Wintery Tree

*We are pleased to include the following poem by UEGA member Robert Barker with this issue of the Journal. The Editor would like to encourage more such submissions for consideration in a future issue.*

A wintery tree, solitary,  
Storm struck, age stricken,  
In a frosty sea  
Shipwrecked, stranded  
Standing, grounded  
Split in two  
Listing, leaning,  
Holding its icy breath  
Not quite lifeless  
Hope remaining  
Sleeps, awaiting  
Spring's awakening.

Robert Barker

## Little Sparta

*We are pleased to include the following poem by SUISS alumnus Sumantra Baral with this issue of the Journal. The Editor would like to encourage more such submissions for consideration in a future issue.*

Petals galore and syllables mix  
for the structure and to fix  
the rain; they knew no fixity  
will be there, but there will be  
perfume, of sacrifices and betrayals  
and love, of narratives and desire.  
Words crowd like clouds and  
love evolves through structure.  
Syllables suffocate like fog pollute  
love promises like water dilute  
in the metropolis-memories of advertisements.  
But in the garden there will be you(s) and clouds  
and rain to justify every effort is in vain  
to understand what you meant  
lying in the green adorned in daisies.  
All of you is there in the garden  
in the garden of Ian Hamilton Finlay  
Little Sparta  
where I found you in Pentland Hills  
In petals and stones  
on a sunny Scottish afternoon.

Sumantra Baral

# The Polish School of Medicine at Edinburgh

## Part 2: Legacy and Heritage

by Dr Maria Dlugolecka-Graham, Dr Jacek Kwieciński,  
and Prof Krzysztof Tomaszewski

*Dr Maria J Dlugolecka-Graham MBE is a University of Edinburgh graduate several times over and, since retiring in 2002, has been a Post-retirement Honorary Fellow in the College of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine. Her active involvement with the Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund Scholarship Programme began in the mid-1990s. In 2001, she was appointed Polish School of Medicine Coordinator for the University of Edinburgh. She has received a number of awards from the Polish Government, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Polish medical universities in recognition of her charity work and Polish School of Medicine related activities.*

*Dr Jacek Kwieciński is a Cardiologist in training and a former Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund Scholar who graduated from the University of Edinburgh as MSc by Research in 2015 and PhD in 2019. He currently works at the Department of Interventional Cardiology and Angiology in Warsaw's Institute of Cardiology.*

*Prof Krzysztof Tomaszewski is a consultant orthopaedic surgeon at Scanmed St Raphael Hospital in Krakow and a former Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund Scholar who graduated from the University of Edinburgh with a Masters in 2016, and ChM in 2018. He is Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Orthopaedics, Trauma Surgery, and Rehabilitation at Krakow University, and Associate Professor in Jagiellonian University Medical College's Department of Anatomy.*

*Part 1 of this article appeared in the Winter 2019 issue of this, the University of Edinburgh Journal.*

**N**otwithstanding the apparent finality of the closing of the School in 1949, many of the graduates and staff of the Polish School maintained strong links with the University. The spirit of the Polish School of Medicine at Edinburgh lives on.

While annual reunions of graduates were organised in Birmingham from 1961 (the twentieth anniversary of the opening of the School) and afterwards, the first world-wide reunion was held in June 1966 to commemorate the School's twenty-fifth anniversary. It was a very successful initiative with over a hundred people coming from across the globe. Graduates and friends have continued to hold five-yearly reunions in Edinburgh since, their most recent reunion having taken place in July 2016.

In 1986, at the forty-fifth anniversary of the School, graduates and friends instituted the Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund as an Endowment Fund at the University of Edinburgh. At the same time, the Polish School of Medicine Historical Collection was established, largely thanks to the energy and commitment of the late Dr Wiktor Tomaszewski, who had been a Senior

Lecturer and Reader at the School and remained in Edinburgh after the war. He became a much-revered Edinburgh GP and senior figure in the postwar Polish Community.

Over the years, thanks to careful investment, sound financial management, and the very considerable generosity of the graduates and friends, the Fund has continued to grow. In 2010, the University awarded the Polish School of Medicine *Benefactor Status* in recognition of the ongoing loyalty, commitment, and great generosity of alumni.

## The Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund & Scholarship Programme

As at February 2019, the capital value of the Fund stood at just over £4 million. The income generated is of the order of £75,000-80,000 per annum. In line with the regulations governing the use of the income, a substantial part is used for scholarships which allow doctors and medical scientists from Polish medical universities to come to Edinburgh and undertake further study or research. A modest amount is used to support the Professor Antoni Jurasz Lectureship which is offered every three years to a nominated Head of Department at the Edinburgh Medical School. This enables the nominated Lecturer to visit Poznan University of Medical Sciences and one other Polish medical university to deliver a lecture and to meet colleagues in their particular field. Some 10-15% of the income is re-invested.

The Fund now supports a thriving scholarship programme which enables talented, early career doctors and medical scientists to undertake research and/or further study at the College of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine. To date, over a hundred scholarships have been awarded. Recipients of these awards have been drawn from Polish medical universities and research institutes across Poland.

Two other programmes are linked to Polish School of Medicine graduates:

### **Dr James and Bożena Bain Memorial Fund Scholarship Programme.**

Dr Bożena was a 1948 graduate of the Polish School of Medicine. She was evacuated to Canada at the outbreak of World War II and finished her schooling there; she matriculated at McGill University to study medicine but decided to transfer to the Polish School of Medicine where she enrolled as a second-year student. Dr Bożena Ziółkowska and her husband, Dr James Bain, established this Trust Fund. Income from the fund is currently used to offer scholarships to Polish national medical undergraduates studying medicine at a Polish medical university, who have been accepted for an elective attachment at the University of Edinburgh College of Medicine & Veterinary Medicine. To date, there have been fifty-five beneficiaries of the programme.

**The Bóloz-Kulesza Trust Fund** was set up by the late Mrs Barbara Kulesza, widow of the 1943 Polish School of Medicine graduate, Dr Władysław Kulesza. In the early years of the Fund, until several years before her death in 2018, Mrs Kulesza took a very active interest in the scholarship programme and met many of the student beneficiaries.

The Trust Fund is now managed by her son Marek, her daughter Barbara, and two of her grandchildren. Each year, the Trustees advise the Polish School of Medicine Co-ordinator and the University of the income available, and scholarships are awarded accordingly to suitable applicants. A total of seventeen (sixteen postgraduate and one undergraduate) scholarships have been awarded as at September 2018.

Many of the early recipients of the postgraduate scholarships came to undertake limited research attachments and/or short study visits. However, the emphasis has shifted gradually, with more scholars undertaking further study either by participating in week-long summer schools or postgraduate programmes leading to the award of a recognised qualification or degree.

In November 2018, five Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund Scholarship Programme students graduated, having completed University of Edinburgh distance learning programmes. Three scholars from the Medical University of Lublin, Drs Anna Torres (who graduated with Merit), Kamil Torres, and Grzegorz Staśkiewicz were awarded Masters degrees in Clinical Education. Dr Joanna Przeddziecka-Dołyk from Wrocław Medical University obtained her Master of Surgery (ChM) in Clinical Ophthalmology with Merit. The fifth graduate, Dr Krzysztof Tomaszewski, from the Jagiellonian University's Medical College was awarded his Master (ChM) in Surgery-Trauma and Orthopaedics with Distinction.



**Fig. 1:**  
*Dr Bożena Ziółkowska*

## **Edinburgh Experiences of Two Recent Scholars**

*Dr Krzysztof Tomaszewski is based in the Department of Anatomy at the Jagiellonian University Medical College, Krakow, Poland. From September 2013 until June 2016, he undertook the Edinburgh Surgical Science Qualification (ESSQ) Masters Programme online, and then from September 2016 until September 2018, the online Edinburgh ChM in Trauma and Orthopaedics Programme. He received support from the Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund and was awarded a Lt Col Jack Wishart Scholarship to assist with the fees for his Master of Surgery programme in Trauma and Orthopaedics.*

**W**hen I started the ESSQ, I simply wanted to be a better-trained orthopaedic surgeon. Back then, the Orthopaedics Department I was working in was giving me enough clinical training but definitely not enough teaching in the traditional academic sense. I really wanted to supplement my clinical teaching with a structured academic course. However, somewhere along my 'Edinburgh experience' road I understood that it was not so much about the structured teaching programme (though this was still really important) but about expanding my horizons, both clinically and as a person.

I think what I most wanted to achieve via those two courses was: expanding my surgical and orthopaedic knowledge through a structured teaching programme; and broadening my horizons to see that state-of-the-art medical practices vary between countries, and that only exchanging those practices between people from different countries allows for developing real state-of-the-art practices.

I just took a look back to my 2013 PSMMF application. I wrote that 'I find it very touching that, in today's fast-moving world, there is still time to cultivate such beautiful traditions as the one of the Polish School of Medicine in Edinburgh' and 'I understand that the main goal of the PSMMF Scholarship is to promote young, ambitious, Polish doctors and scientists who want to broaden their knowledge abroad, to later return to Poland and use their newly-gained experience to improve medical care and research standards in their home country. I see myself as one such individual.'

More than five years later, I still agree that the PSMMF cultivates a beautiful tradition. To honour fully this tradition, I hold true to what I wrote in my application; that the PSMMF Scholarship should be used to expand one's knowledge and horizons and to further use this to improve healthcare and teaching in Poland. This is what I do now: I use my skills and knowledge to increase the level of healthcare in county hospitals in the Małopolska Region in the south of Poland, and I teach young, ambitious people how to start their research adventures.

I have been, and am, using my skills and knowledge to develop new courses which I teach to students, such as 'Introduction to Research'. I am also teaching younger colleagues (resident surgeons) the basics of traumatology. All my clinical teaching is structured along the ESSQ and ChM curriculum. However, I think, most importantly, I am using my skills as a doctor and orthopaedic surgeon to treat those low-income patients who otherwise would not be able to receive a proper level of medical care.

It is not very often that someone can say that he achieved exactly or even more than he had originally hoped and planned. Even though my Edinburgh experience was a great and satisfying one, I have to say it cost a lot of time and personal effort; but it was definitely worth every minute spent learning, reading, and writing. Summing up, I want to say that I have fully achieved what I wanted to over the last five years. Now I hope that, through my knowledge, others in Poland will also be able to benefit from what the University of Edinburgh has given me.

In conclusion, I want to thank my tutors and mentors in Edinburgh, Dr Maria Dlugolecka-Graham and Mrs Wishart, for supporting my studies over the last five years. This has been a great experience, and one that will certainly help me, my students, and my patients. Thank you!



**Fig. 2:** Polish School of Medicine Benefactor Award 2010

*Dr Jacek Kwieciński completed his undergraduate medical studies at the Poznan University of Medical Sciences and entered specialist training in the Medical University's 1<sup>st</sup> Department of Cardiology. He completed his one-year Edinburgh-based Masters in Medical Sciences by Research in September 2014 and then proceeded to doctoral studies, submitting his PhD in Cardiovascular Sciences in early 2019.*

When I applied for the Masters in Medical Sciences by Research programme at the University of Edinburgh, I hoped it would give me a solid foundation for undertaking PhD studies at my home university in Poznan. With a background in cardiovascular magnetic resonance imaging, I was looking forward to working with leaders in the field (Professor David Newby, Dr Marc Dweck, and Dr Maurits Jansen) within the Centre for Cardiovascular Sciences. My objective was to develop academic skills, such as designing, conducting, and communicating scientific research. At the same time, I was hoping to gain hands-on experience with the latest developments in cardiovascular magnetic resonance imaging, which I could implement in Poznan on my return.

I was able to fulfil my initial plan within the first six months of my Masters programme, but I then discovered how much the University of Edinburgh has to offer. Looking back, writing that my Edinburgh experience surpassed my expectations, would underestimate the amount of support, friendship, and scientific success I encountered at the University.

Towards the final year of my MSc, it was suggested that the possibility of undertaking a joint Edinburgh–Poznan PhD should be investigated. Sadly, this was not possible but, thanks to generosity of the Polish School of Medicine, I was able to continue my studies as an Edinburgh PhD student. Supervised by Drs Maurits Jansen and Marc Dweck, I moved beyond clinical studies and took a step back to establish an animal model of the most common valvular heart disease (aortic stenosis). Moreover, I was able to broaden my experience in advanced cardiac imaging.

Towards the end of my PhD, when I was entering the write-up stage of my degree, my supervisors devised an unprecedented opportunity, encouraging me to travel to California for a one-year fellowship in advanced cardiac imaging within the Cardiac Imaging Research Team led by Dr Daniel Berman at Cedars Sinai Medical Center (Los Angeles, California). As a result, I had the opportunity to work with living legends of cardiology (P K Shah, J S Forrester, and D S Berman) at one of the few globally recognizable hospitals in the world. This unique fellowship has resulted in an ongoing collaboration as, after leaving California, I continue to work with Drs Slomka and Berman as a consultant.

What was initially meant to be a one-year Masters by research programme became a four-year academic experience! Over that time, I was able to develop myself as a person, work in diverse scientific environments, establish invaluable collaborations, and greatly enhance my CV. I am particularly pleased that, thanks to the support from the European Union, I had the opportunity to complete an Erasmus summer traineeship at my home university in Poznan. We were able to establish a novel magnetic resonance imaging technique, thus fulfilling the spirit of the Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund.

I am now looking forward to launching positron emission tomography with a traditional bone tracer for cardiac imaging in Poland. This technique was established at Edinburgh and recently refined at Cedars Sinai Medical Centre. At the moment, I am working closely with the Professor Miroslaw Dziuk, Head of Nuclear Imaging at the Military Health Institute in Warsaw, and Professor Adam Witkowski from the Institute of Cardiology in Anin (near Warsaw), and we hope that we will be able to use this approach with aortic stenosis patients.

I would like to use this opportunity to acknowledge that none of this would be possible were it not for the generosity of the Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund and of one of the original graduates of the Polish School of Medicine, who wants to remain anonymous. In addition, the University of Edinburgh's Scholarship Coordinator, Dr Maria Dlugolecka-Graham, provided me with a wealth of opportunities to discover the incredible legacy of Polish-Scottish relationships. Thanks to her dedication, hard work, and positive attitude, the four years I spent in Edinburgh have proved to be much more than just an incredible scientific experience.

## **A Second Generation of Polish School of Medicine Graduates**

**T**aking account of both the Polish School of Medicine Memorial Fund Scholarship and the Bóloz-Kulesza Trust Fund postgraduate opportunities, the number of second-generation graduates has now reached double figures. Seven scholars have obtained Masters degrees in Clinical Education (three from the Medical University of Lublin, one from Poznan University of Medical Sciences, two from the Jagiellonian University College

of Medicine in Krakow, and one from the Medical University of Wroclaw). One surgeon from the Jagiellonian University College of Medicine in Krakow graduated with an MSc in Surgical Sciences and has recently completed his ChM in Surgery (Trauma and Orthopaedics). Two scholars who graduated from Poznan University of Medical Sciences obtained Masters degrees in Medical Sciences, and one of them has recently submitted his PhD thesis.

A further five scholars are expected to graduate in the next couple of years. The number of higher degrees awarded to scholars will soon equal the nineteen Medical Doctorates awarded by the Polish School and, while there is still a long way to go before they can match or exceed the 227 Dyplom Lekarza (MB ChB) awarded, it is a wonderful achievement – one that could not have been foreseen when the School closed its doors nearly seventy years ago.

### Images:

**Page 197, Fig. 1:** Dr Bożena Ziółkowska Polish student record photograph.

**Page 199, Fig. 2:** Polish School of Medicine Benefactor Award 2010. **Back Row from Left to Right:** Professor Stuart Macpherson, Dr Halina Marszałek-Lewicka, Mr Cecil Graham, Vice Consul Mrs Anna Dziecielowska, Dr Zbigniew Sobol. **Front row left to right:** Vice Chancellor Sir Timothy O’Shea, Dr Maria Długolecka-Graham (who received the award on behalf of the School) and Dr Kazimierz Durkacz.

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## Haymaking

*We are pleased to include the following poem by UEGA member Robert Barker with this issue of the Journal. The Editor would like to encourage more such submissions for consideration in a future issue.*

Nobody knows, when the end will come,  
When an individual’s days are done,  
Or the world will face oblivion  
Through Mankind’s self-annihilation  
Or God’s or Nature’s own destruction.

Can medicine hold back degradation?  
Can faith determine God’s intention?  
Will some scientist’s invention  
Halt the coming devastation  
Or eco-warfare save creation?

Given that all things pass away  
Live for now. As the Ancients say:  
Carpe diem - seize the day.  
In other words: while the sun  
(Still) shines, make hay.

Robert Barker

# Fisherman's Friend

by the Reverend Dr Scott S McKenna

*A talk given by to the Graduates' Association's St Andrew's Night Dinner on 30 November 2019 in the St Trinnean's Room, St Leonard's Hall, Pollock Halls. Rev Dr McKenna is Parish Minister of St Columba's Church, Ayr, and former Parish Minister of Mayfield Salisbury, Edinburgh.*

Being exhausted at the week's end, dozy from a fulsome three-course dinner, and tiddly or inebriated from several glasses of table wine is ideal preparation for the speech that is about to follow. Like good anaesthesia, it will undoubtedly ease you through any pain you may suffer in the passing minutes which lie ahead. I am indeed delighted to be your guest this evening, albeit that I have travelled today from my manse in Alloway, from the home of the National Bard. Burns' cottage sits at the end of the street, and every day I am reminded of the Bard's musicality, poetic craft, and his life's sermon: the dignity of the human soul.

St Andrew's Day, the Feast of St Andrew, November 30<sup>th</sup>: Scotland's National Day! A name common to Jews, Christians, and varied cultures across the world, *Andri* or Andrew is 'man', 'brave', 'manly', and 'valour'. Son of John or Yonah, brother to Shimon Petros, Andrew was a fisherman, a disciple of the desert ascetic John the Baptist, then later the first disciple of a wandering rabbinic mystic, Jesus of Nazareth. In the Orthodox tradition, Andrew is the *Protokletos*, the First-Called. In Scripture, nothing should ever be taken at face value: a fisherman may have been a man with a boat, nets, and a filleting knife; or, the entire story may be a metaphor of lifting people out of everyday mediocrity into an awareness or consciousness of a new, deeper reality – into fresh air.

I shall resist the temptation to share bad fishing jokes, such as:

How many fishermen does it take to change a lightbulb?

*One, but you should have seen the size of the thing. It was THIS BIG.*

Or:

What is the difference between a fish and a piano?

*You can't tuna fish.*

Or, finally:

What did the fishing maths teacher have for lunch?

*Fish Pi.*

Sadly, in the Gospels, there is no mention of Andrew's wife. We know his brother had a wife because Simon Peter had a mother-in-law. If the stories were being written today, I imagine that Andrew would be gay or, at least, somewhere on the LGBTQi+ spectrum, which is important because, if the gospel is about anything, it is about inclusion, extending the table: the banquet is for everyone!

But, as we know, patriarchy runs rife in the churches. There is the story of Thomas Cranmer, archdeacon and later Archbishop, of Canterbury. In the court of Henry VIII, Cranmer was an important man. As Henry's ambassador to the King of Spain, Cranmer travelled across Europe. On the European mainland, priests were permitted to marry, but, in England, a man in holy orders had to be celibate. Cranmer believed in marriage. What do you do if you want to get on in the Church in England, rise through the ranks, impress your superiors, but also have a wife? Obviously, you marry in secret!

Cranmer married while abroad but had to ensure that neither Henry nor the Pope heard about his indiscretion. As he travelled between England and Spain, he took his wife with him hidden in a large wooden crate! Specially designed for her, the crate had breathing holes and allowed her to sit up while in transit. On one occasion, fire broke out at Cranmer's residence. The cleric demanded that of all things the box must be evacuated first. Bewildered bystanders described the scene as 'a holy mystery'. Those closest to Cranmer knew of the woman in the box but were prepared to turn a blind eye because they assumed her to be his mistress. His career would have been cut shorter than it was had they known she as his wife! Perhaps Andrew, too, kept his wife in a box!

All twelve disciples of Jesus were men. Such patriarchy and misogyny, of course, would never be found in secular society, would it? This month, women account for 28% in executive leadership roles in the FTSE 100, and 27% in the FTSE 250. In nineteenth century Edinburgh, doctors, those men of science and rationality, would surely never have opposed women entering the profession? Well, there was the Surgeons' Hall Riot, and, as late as 1892 in the medical press, we were told that women lack 'mechanical aptitude' and 'they never know why they have failed until they have asked some man'. One doctor wrote:

Everyone knows that there is an abundance of cases of disease where a physician absolutely cures, not by his pathological knowledge, nor yet by his acquaintance with medicines [...] but [...] by the *prestige* of his mere presence; by being able to 'put his foot down'; in one word, by being a – man.

Back to Andrew! Besides being the patron saint of Greece, Russia, Barbados, and, of course, Scotland to name but a few, Andrew is also the patron saint of singers, unmarried women, fishmongers, fishermen, gout, and sore throats. His name honours churches and hospitals across the world as well as our nation's First Aid charity. In Cyprus, tradition holds that Andrew was able to cure blindness after finding a healing spring on the Karpas peninsula. Healing is part of the mythology and hagiography which surrounds Andrew, but surely the stories are to do with the healing of the human soul. In the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland, the fisherman's name is superstitiously invoked to help reveal to young women the name of their future husband; a sort of heavenly dating app offering the number one saint for meaningful connections!

Andrew is Patron Saint to the Order of the Thistle, second only in chivalry to the Order of the Garter. Symbolic of heaven, the gold leaf of icons has long been the backdrop for images of the apostle Andrew. Artists, too, have re-imagined the fisherman. In 2008, the painter Andre Durand, known for his official portraits of Pope John Paul II and the Dalai Lama, sets Andrew not on the Sea of Galilee, but in West Sussex at Didling. The striking use of light is reminiscent of the north of Scotland. In that contemporary setting, with imagination, we see a journey of faith and the pilgrimage of a seemingly simple fisherman from the land of Judah to Asia Minor, Hungary, Russia, Greece, and the south east of England.

Beyond Christianity, in the Western esoteric or mystery tradition, Andrew is curiously associated with the astrological sign of Virgo. Ruled by Mercury, Virgos are blessed with a powerful intelligence which makes them smart, organised, communicative, and fast. Famous Virgo personalities include Michael Jackson, Stephen King, Narendra Modi, and King Louis XVI. Typically, Virgo is depicted as a maiden with wheat in her hand, which brings to mind a young Theresa May rather than the apostle Andrew.

If we believe that Andrew was a historical figure rather than a literary creation (though truth is often better told through fiction), we recall that the relics of Andrew were brought to the East Neuk of Fife by the monk, St Regulus or Rule. I am twice a graduate of St Andrews University, and spent my first year as a resident in 'Reg's' Hall, Queens Gardens.

The white saltire set against a celestial blue background is the flag of our nation, with its association of Andrew's martyrdom on an x-shaped cross in the Greek city of Patras, and the vision of Angus MacFergus, King of the Picts, at Athelstaneford. Both William Wallace and Robert the Bruce appealed to the heavenly saint for guidance in times of national emergency.

By name association if no more, in the twentieth century, the missionary Brother Andrew became well-known for his work smuggling Bibles into Communist countries during the Cold War. Brother Andrew was praised by the former Foreign Secretary, Jeremy Hunt, for his 'incredible courage'. Hunt referred to *God's Smuggler*, a book written about Brother Andrew's work in Eastern Europe. It has sold millions of copies and been translated into numerous languages. Hunt said: 'That book is the extraordinary story of derring-do of Brother Andrew, a Dutchman who smuggled Bibles between the Iron Curtain, and the incredible courage and extraordinary adventures he had'.

Smuggling Bibles brings me back to Andrew the fisherman, the one who helps people breathe, who lifts them out of mediocrity or oppression, who widens horizons. Like the Fisherman's Friends lozenge, a saint who raises us to a new consciousness and helps us breathe is a worthy patron.

# 'A Capital Ship' and 'Ten Thousand Miles Away': The Story of Two Songs in the *Scottish Students' Song Book*

by Mr Peter B Freshwater

As children, my family and I were entertained on long car journeys to distant holiday locations by our father's repertoire of songs from his school and university (Edinburgh, 1926-1932) days and his battered copy of *The Scottish Students' Song Book* (SSSB). Our favourite song, and one which has stayed in my memory, was 'A Capital Ship' which, it turns out, has an interesting story attached to it.

A capital ship for an ocean trip was *The Walloping Window-Blind*.  
No wind that blew dismayed the crew or troubled the captain's mind;  
And the man at the wheel was made to feel contempt for the wildest blow,  
Though it often appeared, when the storm had cleared, that he'd been  
in his bunk below.

*Oh blow, ye winds, heigh ho! A-roving I will go.  
I'll stay no more on England's shore, so let the music play!  
I'm off for the morning train; I'll cross the raging main,  
I'm off to my love with a boxing glove, ten thousand miles away.*

It is a nonsense song, with four more verses, a rousing tune and chorus, and singable words that you can get your teeth into. But where had it come from? Who wrote it? And why?

It appears in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (1894) of the SSSB, then in the Fourth and Fifth editions which were essentially reprints of the Third, and again in the seriously revised and revamped Sixth (and last) edition (1897). In the Third edition, the words are given no source or attribution, but the air (or tune) suggested is that of 'Ten Thousand Miles Away' which immediately precedes it, and of which 'A Capital Ship' is obviously a pastiche. In the Sixth edition, the tune is still that of 'Ten Thousand Miles Away', but here the words are 'from *St Nicholas*', but without any note as to what *St Nicholas* might be, or as to whether permission to print the song had been given. The immediately-preceding 'Ten Thousand Miles Away', however, is 'written and composed by J B Geoghegan' and the music 'arranged by WHM' (W Henry Maxfield, who had revised and edited the music of the Third Edition of the SSSB); and a footnote indicates its inclusion 'By special permission of Mr John Blockley, 16 Mortimer Street, London, W.'

*St Nicholas* was an American children's magazine, created by Mary Mapes (1830-1905) and published by Scribners, New York, from 1874 to 1897. The words of 'A Capital Ship' (but without that title) appear as a poem in January 1885 in Chapter 7 of a serialised novel for children by Charles E Carryl, *Davy and the Goblin*; or, *What Followed Reading 'Alice's Adventures in Wonderland'*, in which it is recited to Davy and the Goblin by Sinbad the Sailor. It is not sung, nor does it have a chorus, but it is quite obviously a

pastiche of Geoghegan's ballad, 'Ten Thousand Miles Away', which must have found its way into an American college song book. The editors of the SSSB are known to have searched American, Canadian, and German song books for appropriate material.

'TTMA' was probably a music hall song, written and composed by Joseph Bryan Geoghegan (1816-1889), a music hall proprietor in Manchester, and published in London by John Blockley, with the title 'Ten Thousand Miles Away'. It is a euphemistic song, apparently of travel, which begins in a well-tried folk tradition:

Sing Ho! For a brave and valiant bark, and a brisk and lively breeze,  
A jovial crew and a Captain too, to carry me over the seas,  
To carry me over the seas, my boys, to my true love so gay;  
She has taken a trip on a gallant ship ten thousand miles away.

*So, blow the winds, Heigh Ho! A-roving I will go;  
I'll stay no more on England's shore, so let the music play!  
I'll start by the morning train, to cross the raging main,  
For I'm on the move to my own true love, ten thousand miles away.*

My true love, she is beautiful, my true love she is young;  
Her eyes are blue as the violet's hue, and silvery sounds her tongue -  
And silvery sounds her tongue, my boys, but, while I sing this lay,  
She is doing the grand in a distant land, ten thousand miles away.

Oh! That was a dark and dismal day When last she left the strand.  
She bade good-bye, with a tearful eye, and waved her lily hand -  
And waved her lily hand, my boys, as the big ship left the bay,  
"Adieu", says she, "remember me, ten thousand miles away".

But: all is not as it might seem, is it? The stay-at-home is the man, whose girl is apparently on a grand tour in a distant part of the world. More often the man is the traveller who leaves his girl at home and vows to return ('ten thousand' by this time was a *cliché* figure for a countless number, of miles in this instance, in poetry folk and traditional songs). A girl doing a grand tour, and apparently on her own, is unusual; grand tours were more often done by men or occasionally by families. She tearfully waves goodbye, asks to be remembered, but says nothing about coming back home. So, what was she doing?

In fact, this is a song of transportation, to somewhere like Botany Bay or Van Diemen's Land and actually is ten thousand miles away from England. The girl is on a convict ship, facing a life sentence of transportation with little or no hope of returning to her own country. A life sentence was generally of fourteen years, usually of penal servitude, during which or after which she would be married off to another convict or ex-convict and spend the rest of her life in her new, her distant, land. Her young man at home goes on to express his determination of sailing out to join her eventually by signing up as a sailor or a soldier.

It is sometimes cited and listed, and still sung today, as a sea shanty and, as such, appears in some modern collections, including Stan Hugill's *Shanties from the Seven Seas*. It is a shore ballad which became a capstan

shanty and a forebitter, a recreational song sung during off-duty hours round the forecastle. Its chorus and tune are said to have provided the basis for the choruses of the American work-song 'Sacramento' and Stephen Foster's minstrel song 'Camptown Races'. It was well-known as a street ballad in Ireland and has found its way into the Irish folk tradition, each new generation of singers adapting it to suit different circumstances. It was certainly recorded by the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem in the 1960s. It is included in the Roud Folk Song Index. More recently, a different version which emphasizes the transportation theme, has been recorded by The Seadogs; the third verse runs:

Oh, now dark and dismal was the day, when last I saw me Meg  
She'd a government band around each hand, and another one around her leg,  
And another one around her leg, me boys, as the big ship left the bay,  
And I said that I'd be true to her ten thousand miles away!

'TTMA' has been much parodied, especially in Australia, where several versions, and other songs based on it or sung to its tune, are remembered and recorded among the great bush ballads written and collected by men like A B ('Banjo') Paterson, who also wrote 'Waltzing Matilda' and 'The Man from Snowy River', and who gathered and published an extensive collection of *Old Bush Songs* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1905). By this time, however, 'Ten Thousand Miles' have become only:

#### **A Thousand Miles Away**

Hurrah for the Roma railway! Hurrah for Cobb and Co,  
And oh! for a good fat horse or two to carry me Westward Ho—  
To carry me Westward Ho! my boys, that's where the cattle stray  
On the far Barcoo, where they eat nardoo, a thousand miles away.

*Then give your horses rein across the open plain,  
We'll ship our meat both sound and sweet, nor care what some folks say;  
And frozen we'll send home the cattle that now roam  
On the far Barcoo and the Flinders too, a thousand miles away.*

A slightly different version appears in a more recent *Collection of Australian Bush Verse*; [with] photography by Gary Lewis (Castle Hill NSW: Peter Antill-Rose, 1989):

#### **A Thousand Miles Away**

Hurrah for the old stock saddle, hurrah for the stock whip too,  
Hurrah for the baldy pony, boys, to carry me westward ho;  
To carry me westward ho, my boys, that's where the cattle stray,  
On the far Barcoo where they eat nardoo, a thousand mile away.

*Then give your horses rein, across the open plain;  
We'll shift our meat both sound and sweet, nor care what some folks say  
And a-running we'll bring home them cattle that now roam  
On the far Barcoo and the Flinders too, a thousand mile away.*

References to the railway company Cobb & Co have been omitted, and the chorus, which has different line lengths, stress rhythms, and rhyme

patterns, appears as a verse; trying to put it to the verse tune immediately demonstrates the difference.

'TTMA' too has a history. It is derived from a late C18 shore ballad by the Dumfries-shire poet Allan Cunningham (1784-1842), 'A wet sheet and a flowing sea', the tune for which, composed and arranged by Thomas Walton and published in 1837, eventually becomes 'Ten Thousand Miles Away'.

A wet sheet and a flowing sea, a wind that follows fast,  
And fills the white and rustling sail, and bends the gallant mast -  
And bends the gallant mast, my boys, while, like the eagle free,  
Away the good ship flies, and leaves Old England on the lee.

It has no chorus, became a popular song on both sides of the Atlantic, but was never included in the *SSSB* or its companion, the *British Students' Song Book* (1912). It probably first appeared in the engraver R H Cromek's collection of Scottish ballads *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (1809). Cunningham collected local poems for Cromek and included some of his own authorship, which Cromek included even though he possibly suspected their real authorship.

#### Notes:

1. Charles E Carryl, 'Davy and the goblins' [Chapter VII], *St Nicholas*, 12, 3 (January 1885), pp. 168-169.
2. Stan Hugill, *Shanties from the seven seas: shipboard work-songs and songs used as work-songs from the great days of sail*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. abr. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).
3. *The old bush songs: composed and sung in the bushranging, digging and overlanding days*, ed. by A B ('Banjo') Paterson (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1905).
4. *The Scottish students' song book*, ed. by Millar Patrick and others, 3rd edn. rev. (London & Glasgow: Bayley & Ferguson, 1893).
5. *The Scottish students' song book*, ed. by A G Abbie and others, 6th edn. (London & Glasgow: Bayley & Ferguson for the Scottish Students' Song Book Committee Ltd, 1897).
6. *10,000 Miles Away*, Steve Morales, The Seadogs (The Seadogs, B002H76P80, 2005) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iDw9r8UH4Zw>> [Accessed May 2020] [I am very grateful to my colleague J R Sutherland for advising me of this one].
7. 'The Roud Folk Song Index', *Wikipedia*, Wikimedia Foundation <[https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Roud\\_Folk\\_Song\\_Index&action=history](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Roud_Folk_Song_Index&action=history)> [Last visited 18 October 2019].

# D H Macgregor: Marshallian Industrial Economist Par Excellence

by Prof Lowell Jacobsen

*Lowell Jacobsen is Elizabeth Harvey Rhodes Professor of International Business, Baker University, Kansas.*

**D**avid Hutchison Macgregor received an honorary doctorate from Edinburgh University, his *alma mater*, in 1945. This was also the year in which he retired from Oxford University where he served as the distinguished Drummond Professor of Political Economy for twenty-three years. So, it is fitting to recall the life of such an accomplished Edinburgh graduate on this seventy-fifth anniversary.

## The Early Years

**M**acgregor was born in Monifieth, Forfarshire (now Angus), on 10<sup>th</sup> May 1877. He entered Edinburgh University in 1894 after attending George Watson's College, an independent school in Edinburgh. During his four years at the University, Macgregor studied many subjects including Greek, Latin, Logic, Mathematics, Mental Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy. He received an MA in 1898.

Under the possible influence of J S Nicholson, distinguished Edinburgh Professor of Political Economy, Macgregor, in 1898, directly proceeded to undertake a second degree in Cambridge where he studied under the great Alfred Marshall. During his second year in Cambridge, Macgregor cited, in a hand-written 'Student Assessment', Nicholson's *Principles of Political Economy* (1893) and *Money and Monetary Problems* (1888) as books he had carefully read. Also, Nicholson would have been highly favourably disposed towards Marshall as he was a highly accomplished student of Marshall's. He won Cambridge's Cobden Prize for his essay regarding the effects of capital goods on labour wages; and he received a First Class Honours MA in the Moral Sciences Tripos.

Macgregor matched Nicholson's academic success in Cambridge with a First Class Honours MA in the Moral Sciences Tripos in 1901. He was also elected President of the Students' Union. Obviously, Macgregor relished his three years as a student as he stayed on in Cambridge, likely at Marshall's invitation, to lecture in economics and assist Marshall with the marking of students' papers. This was made possible by Marshall's financial support. Macgregor quickly acquired the reputation as a demanding teacher, prompting Marshall cheekily, yet with some measure of pride, to remark to a colleague that Macgregor was one under which students ought to do 'some drudgery'. Indeed, Macgregor was one of Marshall's favourite students.

In 1904, Macgregor entered his essay concerning 'the causes and effects of Commercial and Industrial Trusts' in the Cobden Prize competition.

Though it admirably finished second, Marshall thought it deserved to win as there was an extraordinary amount of originality in over 400 pages. The essay nevertheless served as the basis for a splendid dissertation whereby he became a Fellow in Trinity College, thus securing his position in Cambridge.

## Fast-Track to Greatness

Macgregor's first book was not about economics; rather, it was a biography on a political figure. The prize-winning *Lord Macaulay*, published in 1901, demonstrated Macgregor's command of the English language in all its richness and splendour. Macgregor regarded the writing of this book as a labour of love. Alexander Gray (1950: 355), Edinburgh graduate and professor, in a review of Macgregor's final book *Economic Thought and Policy*, published in 1949, best expressed the quality of Macgregor's writing:

Professor Macgregor discourses charmingly and gracefully of certain phases of opinion and economic thought in the last 150 years in a book which probably he alone could have written to-day [...] writes with rare wisdom and tolerance.

Macgregor's second book, *Industrial Combination*, was developed from his Fellowship dissertation and first published in 1906. It received much critical acclaim as a pioneering work in industrial economics and its influence would last for more than a quarter of a century. Ronald Coase, who would, in time, receive the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics, in reviewing a 1935 reprint of the book, remarked that *Industrial Combination* remained the 'standard' for its analysis of and appreciation for enormous enterprises such as trusts and cartels.

Marshall did not offer a formal review of *Industrial Combination*, nor did he make any reference to or use of it in his *Principles of Economics* fifth (1907) to eighth (1920) editions. He (Marshall 1920: xiv) explained that enormous enterprises such as trusts 'cannot be fitly discussed in a volume on Foundations'. They are the exceptional business firms and not amenable to standard economic analysis where mechanical analogies and static equilibrium are featured. However, Marshall did recognize Macgregor's volume in his 1919 *Industry & Trade*, the companion volume to his *Principles*, for being influential and filling an important gap in his own work. In particular, he (Marshall 1919: 577n) cited *Industrial Combination* first amongst 'several excellent accounts' of 'giant businesses'. Interestingly, 'Macgregor, Prof 577n' rather than 'Macgregor, D. H. 577n' appears in the Index of *Industry & Trade*.

Marshall's admiration and respect for Macgregor is perhaps most evident in his annotated copy of *Industrial Combination* (in Marshall's personal library, which is held in the Marshall Library, Cambridge). With meticulous and copious care, Marshall wrote in pencil many notes throughout the book. However, it is apparent Marshall only gave the book just one careful read as the book is very clean, complete with stiff pages and spine, and no dog-

eared pages. To the extent that the comments are critical, they are levelled against Macgregor's sources and not Macgregor. For example, Marshall wrote: 'I hold Walker substantially wrong on this point.' He was obviously very favourably impressed with Macgregor's *magnum opus*.

Macgregor's analysis of industrial amalgamations (though 'urgent') Marshall admittedly found too challenging. 'Giant businesses' such as trusts were beyond the scope of Marshall's treatment of monopoly in *Principles*. In *Industrial Combination's* Preface, Macgregor poignantly acknowledged 'Professor Marshall, to whom I owe my guidance in economic study'.

In 1908, just two years since *Industrial Combination* was first published and a mere seven years since Macgregor received his Cambridge degree, he became Professor of Political Economy at Leeds University. To be sure, Macgregor was on something of a fast track as an academic economist. Alas, the Great War was only a few years away.

Macgregor did, indeed, fight for King and Country, serving courageously on the front lines. Though he received a Military Cross for 'exemplary gallantry', he suffered a head wound from which he would never fully recover. Notably, his ability to give his usual eloquent lectures was lost. Austin Robinson, a Cambridge economist and contemporary of Macgregor's, remarked in a letter that Macgregor 'had somewhat lost the capacity to inspire others. But all this seems strange because there was real life and penetration in [his] books themselves.' In another letter, Robinson opined Macgregor was something of a 'dull dog, but he had been a very different sort of person when young'. After the War, he would further suffer from the devastating losses of his wife and daughter.

Shortly after the War, Macgregor seemingly picked up where he left off as he accepted the prestigious Stanley Jevons Professor of Political Economy chair in Manchester University. Then, just two years later in 1921, without making application, Macgregor was invited by the Electors in 1922 to succeed the retiring Francis Edgeworth as the Drummond Professor of Political Economy at Oxford University. Only Marshall's stature and influence exceeded that of Edgeworth in British economics.

## The Drummond Professor of Political Economy

Macgregor commenced as the Drummond Professor at the outset of the 1922 academic year and would hold this position for twenty-three years until his retirement in 1945. (Twenty-three years seemed a most appropriate tenure as they matched Marshall's tenure as the Cambridge Professor of Political Economy. What a fitting coincidence!)

Macgregor naturally lectured on industrial economics; however, he gave lectures on a variety of economics subjects including analytical economics, principles, international trade, interest and profit, and public finance. His articles in the *Economic Journal* reflected his wide interests including poverty, industry rationalisation, agriculture, and ethics of industry. Of course, most of his articles were concerned with trusts and cartels. His approach to scholarship and lecturing consistently embraced

political economy, whereby government policy and action were a *sine qua non* of the study of economics.

Macgregor, indeed, served as a key influence in the development and introduction of the novel Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) degree for undergraduates in Oxford. PPE proved quickly to be popular: in 1923 there were 85 students pursuing the degree, and a decade later there were 275 students. Such dramatic growth necessitated an increase in economists from just five to fifteen. (Frederick W Ogilvie, one of the initial five, left in 1926 for a chair in Edinburgh University.) Consequently, such an increase in economists in Oxford at a time when Marshall's influence was in decline (if not under siege) across the study of economics meant that Macgregor's influence both in and out of Oxford waned, particularly as his approach to economics became increasingly viewed as old-fashioned and out of touch with a discipline that became far more theoretical, mathematically-driven, and ahistorical. Indeed, the influx of especially young economists into Oxford included Roy Harrod (1953: 59) who reflected that Oxford had been set free from 'the great edifice of Marshall' and had made a fresh start.

Macgregor retired in 1945 as Drummond Professor and Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. He was succeeded as Drummond Professor by Sir Hubert Henderson. Like Macgregor, he, too, had Scottish roots and studied and lectured at Cambridge. Henderson died in 1952.

John Hicks succeeded Henderson as Drummond Professor. His Inaugural Lecture was given in All Souls College 8 May 1953, the very same day that Macgregor would tragically lose his life in a street accident. Interestingly, Hicks was unaware of the accident as his one reference to Macgregor was the statement: 'Professor Macgregor, who succeeded Edgeworth in 1921, is still with us!' Or, perhaps the accident happened after the lecture. Given that Macgregor was a previous holder of the Drummond Chair, and the only living predecessor at that, he would probably have been in attendance. It is also possible to imagine that Macgregor was distracted in thought as he left the lecture and failed to see an oncoming vehicle. (It is easy to do in Oxford.) After all, he may have felt slighted by Hicks' only passing reference to him whereas Hicks gave much attention and, indeed, praise to previous holders of the Chair, including Edgeworth whom he regarded as Oxford's greatest-ever economist. This may not be surprising as Hicks shared Edgeworth's emphasis on mathematics and pure theory in the advancement of economics. Of course, this was contrary to Marshall's and, indeed, to Macgregor's approach to economics. Furthermore, as a student in Oxford in the 1920s, Hicks had received only a Second Class Honours PPE degree. Quite possibly, this was something on which Macgregor had some direct influence. Hicks would receive the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics in 1972 for his contributions to general equilibrium theory.

P W S Andrews, Macgregor's closest Oxford colleague, wrote in a poignant obituary:

His friends will never forget the light which seemed to come from within his handsome Scots features and the kindly humour which he

never lost. Those who talked with Macgregor generally came away feeling they had been with a great man.

## Conclusion

On 17 March 1945 Macgregor wrote in long-hand the following letter:

Dear Principal,

I deeply appreciate the honour which my old University does me in offering me its Honorary Doctorate of Laws. It will be an event in my life to return on June 22nd to where I received my first inspiration for research, and to be admitted to the distinguished society of this Doctorate.

I am, dear Principal, Yours very truly,

David H Macgregor

This heart-felt letter reflected Macgregor's long-standing profound regard for and devotion to his *alma mater*. He would be pleased to know many Edinburgh graduates have pursued successful, if not distinguished, careers relating to the study and application of industrial economics whereby extending his legacy. Antony Dnes and Gavin Reid are two outstanding examples. Both have enjoyed (and continue to enjoy) long and distinguished careers as economists interested in firms and industry. Like Macgregor and, yes, Marshall, both have consistently appreciated that firms evolve, organization matters, and theory is necessarily tested and informed by empirical work (quantitative *and* qualitative). Pure theory has no role. Dnes' first book, *Franchising: A Case-study Approach* (1992), developed from his doctoral thesis at Edinburgh, unequivocally states that 'progress in the economics of organization may not be possible without coming to terms with qualitative data.' The opening page of Reid's *Theories of Industrial Organization* (1987) emphasizes that an economist interested in the study of industry and firms 'must ground all his work in the reality of the business environment in which firms function'. So Marshall; so Macgregor.

## Acknowledgments

Simon Frost and Clare Trowell at the Marshall Library, Cambridge, generously and kindly provided access to the collected papers of Alfred Marshall and Sir Austin Robinson. Grant Buttars and Laura Coijmans-Keizer at the Centre for Research Collections, Edinburgh University Library, were also most helpful in providing research support on D H Macgregor.

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*Edinburgh's Swedish Rune Stone has been moved to a new site in a small garden behind No 50 George Sq close to the Department of Scandinavian Studies. (See note on page 166) (Credit: Photography by Peter B Freshwater)*

# Canadian Studies at Edinburgh University: The Beginnings

by Prof J Wreford Watson

*The following article was published in the University of Edinburgh Journal in December 1984. It is reprinted here to mark the 45th anniversary of the founding of the University's Centre of Canadian Studies.*

*Wreford Watson (1915-1990) was Professor of Geography, the first Convener of the Committee for Canadian Studies, and the Founder of the Centre. Born in China of evangelical missionaries, he was educated at George Watson's College, then at Edinburgh (MA Hons) and Toronto (PhD) Universities. He lectured in Geography at McMaster and Carlton Universities before returning to Edinburgh. He was appointed Chief Geographer, Canada; elected FRS (Canada) and FRSE, Gold Medallist, International Association of Canadian Studies; Gold Medallist, RSGS; Winner of the Northern Telecom Prize in Canadian Studies. Writing as 'James Wreford' he was also an acclaimed Canadian poet. He married Jessie W Black, with whom he had two children.*

**A**cademic beginnings often rest in personal commitments. My serious interest on Canada began in 1938 when I received an invitation to start up Geography at McMaster University. This was from the President of the University, Dr Howard Whidden, whose son I had befriended from 1934 to 1936, when he was a PhD student at Edinburgh. He had recommended me to his father when the University had decided to set up a Department of Geography. I married a fellow geography student, Jessie Black, and off we went to McMaster, which gave us our first eleven years' experience of Canada.



**Fig. 1:** J Wreford Watson

It was through her that I was asked to go to Canada as Chief Geographer. She had become President of the Women's Canadian Club in Hamilton. As such, she was on the National Executive of Canadian Clubs, whose Chairman was Hugh Keenleyside, Deputy Minister of Resources. He invited me to Ottawa where we enjoyed another six years of Canadian experience that led us to take up Canadian citizenship. We got our daughter Margaret in Hamilton and our son Jamie in Ottawa, so we became thoroughly rooted in Canada. I was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and won the Governor General's award for contributions to Canadian literature. As Chief Geographer, I travelled widely.

A personal contact again led to a change of course, this time back to Edinburgh. While Chief Geographer, one of my smaller but more pleasant tasks was to prepare packages of maps and reports for VIP visitors. One of these packs went to Sir Edward Appleton, [then] Principal of Edinburgh University. After his visit to radar stations across the Canadian North he had the courtesy to see me and thank me for my help. On hearing that I was an Edinburgh graduate he asked me would I like to help in the Programme of North American Studies, which Professor [George] Shepperson was just starting. I said yes — if I could lecture on Canada. This was agreed on, and the next thing I knew I was Professor of Geography at Edinburgh. My wife became a lecturer at Moray House and we both lectured on North America, with an emphasis on Canada. So our commitment to Canada continued, even though we had come back to Scotland. The University was very generous and gave me a lectureship (half-time) to invite a Canadian over, every summer term. Altogether between 1960 and 1974 — when we started up the Canadian Centre — we had sixteen Visiting Professors, including the top names in Canadian Geography.

I think the trail to the Centre of Canadian Studies started with Nat [Professor J N] Wolfe. One day in February 1972 he button-holed me in the University Staff Club and told me that the Canadian Government, through its High Commissioner in London, was interested in sponsoring a Centre of Canadian Studies in Britain. A letter would be sent to all universities where some teaching on Canada was taking place. Professor Wolfe is extraordinarily knowledgeable about what is going on in Canada, especially in high quarters. He went to Lower Canada College, a breeding ground for politicians, senior civil servants, and managers of great national corporations. He hears about things almost before they happen!

In any case, true enough, the Secretary, Mr Charles Stewart, did receive the sort of letter Nat Wolfe had said he would! After getting [Principal] Sir Michael Swann's go-ahead, he at once got in touch with me as the person they considered to be most concerned and asked me to provide the information for a reply. The university would receive £90,000 if it would match this or do better. I at once went to [George] Shepperson who, in the meantime, had established the first lectureship in Canadian History in Britain (to which Philip Wigley had just been appointed). Like myself, Professor Shepperson, long Chairman of the North American Programme, was most anxious that we should receive the Canadian Government's bequest. We thought that Edinburgh had gone further in lecturing on Canada and promoting seminars on Canada in its North American programme, than any other university.

This was pointed out to Mr [Jake] Warren, the Canadian High Commissioner. I was sent up to London to open preliminary negotiations. Several of the Visiting Professors that I'd known at my Department were personally known to the Commissioner and had already told him he ought to support Edinburgh — bread cast upon the waters! In all, I went down three times to negotiate with him. At the last of these meetings I met Lord Amory, former British High Commissioner to Canada, who assured me that

he would organise strong support for us. He began to talk of a Foundation for Canadian Studies that would supplement what the Canadian Government would do. He became a tower of strength to the Centre.

After my preliminary discussions and reports, the University invited Mr Warren and several of his leading officials to lunch. This was in the fall of 1972. The High Commissioner, the Secretary, the Bursar Mr [R O] Curle, and I myself, met in Mr Stewart's office and thrashed out a tentative agreement about mutual inputs. Amongst other things the Canadians wanted a visible Centre for the Studies. Fortunately, we had the strong support of our Principal, Sir Michael Swann. I am glad to say that both Principal [Hugh] Robson and especially Principal [John] Burnett have continued to give the Centre their personal interest and support.

I went down to London once again with the University reactions to try to finalise things. Lord Amory had already got a board assembled, with Mr Gammage of the Bank of Nova Scotia as the Secretary, and representatives chosen from sixty-six major corporations trading between Britain and Canada. The High Commissioner had us to his residence for lunch, and after a very convivial time there, he, Lord Amory, Mr Gammage and I got down to details.

A very generous Agreement was drawn up in which the Board would provide the travel expenses and salary (at British professor's rate) of an annual Visiting Professor from Canada; expenses for him to visit other institutions in Britain where teaching occurred on Canada (one of our Visitors went to twenty-four universities and got thoroughly acquainted with the British situation); a permanent lectureship in Canadian Studies at Edinburgh University to supplement the contributions of the Visiting Professor; assistance, over and above that of the Canadian Government and the University, to put on a major International Seminar every year on Canada; and to provide the running costs of the Centre, including the salary for a senior secretary. The Canadian Government for its part would pay the fees and expenses for two or three outstanding Canadians – not necessarily academic men (the first person they sent was Senator Eugene Forsey) to participate in the International Seminar, and would send at their expense, speakers and exhibitors from London to fill out the Centre's programme, and in other unspecified ways (for example musical recitals and Canadian plays) help the Centre. It would make the University Library a major depository of Canadian Government Publications, including the Canadian Census.

The University in its turn would provide appropriate living quarters, fully furnished, for the Visiting Professor; the University would also offer a building or part building for the Centre. The University Secretary, Mr Stewart, was most helpful about this and looked out several places for us. Unfortunately, none proved central enough to be near Arts and Social Sciences, from whom most of the students would be drawn. Dean Berrick Saul made this one of his major projects and got us the lovely quarters in one of those old Georgian mansions that make such magnificent terraces on the West side of George Square.

Meanwhile we had to get departments together to work out a meaningful programme to put up to Faculties and Senate. I myself giving whole courses or major sections of courses on Canada; Professor Shepperson who'd instituted the first British course on Canadian history; Professor [A W] Bradley who lectured on the Canadian constitution in his course on Comparative Constitutions; Professor [C P] Barbier who had lectured at Laval University and was willing to put on a course in French-Canadian Literature; Professor [W W] Robson under whom courses in American Literature were offered (that hopefully might be broadened to include English-Canadian Literature); Professor [J N] Wolfe who was extremely knowledgeable about Canada, and had agreed to direct our International Seminars; and Mr E R S Fifoot of the University Library, were all working members. We also had the Deans of Arts and Social Sciences on, to see that all was in order! We proposed what was in effect a well-known Canadian-style degree, i.e. a general degree but with a 'major' in one subject. The new Social Science degree offered a model. The student could specialise in Canadian Studies over three years. In other words, he could get an 'Ordinary' degree majoring in Canadian Studies. This was very agreeable to our Canadian sponsors. It passed through the Faculties concerned. I went up to the Educational Policy Committee to put out to them. When they heard that it would not involve the University in money, they quickly passed it! Senate subsequently set its *imprimatur* upon it. We got it started in October 1974, though the official opening was to wait another year.

So, it took us the better part of two-and-a-half years to get things moving. To this day I admire the discretion of [the journalist] one Wilfred Taylor who had watched our progress step by step and had often made suggestions in informal talks but had never issued a premature article about it. He knew that that would have killed it at Senate. But immediately he learned that Senate and Court had approved, he informed the public in a very enthusiastic way – for which we must offer many thanks. We opened our Seminars to the public, not a few of whom attended.

The High Commissioner was also a canny man. We did not proceed to the signing of the Agreement, early in December 1974, until the Senate had approved the programme! Progress was thus very much a step-by-step affair in which the several parties looked over their shoulders at what the others were doing. To me, who longed for the end I was sure would come, it was very frustrating.

As Convener, I had another frustrating incident to cope with. The Canadians were proud of us and were determined to give us a good start. The Prime Minister himself could not come, but he sent over Mr Allan MacEachen, the Deputy Prime Minister and also Secretary of State for External Affairs. He wanted the Inauguration of the first Centre of Canadian Studies in Britain to be done in the Great Hall of Edinburgh Castle. I found out that only affairs of state could be given this honour, and only the Secretary of State could approve. The story I was then told, whether apocryphal or not, was that MacEachen said, 'I am also a Secretary of State of the Queen!'

And he got the banqueting hall! We were met by Lord and Lady Mansfield, one of the Ministers of State for Scotland.

My wife tells an interesting story about this fabulous occasion on 5 October 1975. MacEachen got up to congratulate us on behalf of Canada and to wish us well. He introduced his remarks in words that were so foreign to most people there that a lady bent over to Mrs Watson and asked, 'Is he speaking in Red Indian?' 'No', my wife said, 'in Gaelic. He represents a Gaelic-speaking community in Nova Scotia and is passing on their greetings to Old Scotia!' And soon, to liven up the programme, a hundred fiddlers from Nova Scotia and from the Highlands and Islands set the hall ringing in a spirited competition, rendering old Gaelic songs. With their fiddles gleaming, with the blades of swords and heads of halberd and spears glistening from racks on the walls, with the glitter of great crystal chandeliers above, with the uniforms of the guards, and the colourful dresses of the women guests set off by the black dinner suits of the men, and high-set lights shining on the flags of Britain and Scotland, of Canada and Nova Scotia, it was a sight to be seen; and seen, never to be forgotten.

This then was how it all began for Canadian Studies at Edinburgh.

#### Images:

**Page 2015, Fig. 1:** Photograph of J Wreford Watson, 'Wreford who? Will Self to the give the Wreford Watson annual lecture', *Modern Lives, Modern Landscapes* (14 September 2012) <<http://www.frasermacdonald.com/wreford-who-will-self-to-the-give-the-wreford-watson-annual-lecture/>> [Accessed May 2020].

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## Blackberrying

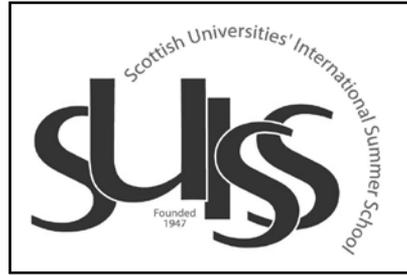
*We are pleased to include the following poem by UEGA member Robert Barker with this issue of the Journal. The Editor would like to encourage more such submissions for consideration in a future issue.*

Sweating,  
Back aching,  
Stung by nettles,  
Stabbed by thorns,  
Assailed by insects,  
Neck burnt by the sun,  
Fingers stained and sticky with jammy gore,  
On tiptoes, I strain and stretch, high into the hedgerow,  
For that last hidden, untouched, sweetest, juiciest, perfectly-plump,  
purple-blooded jewel.

Robert Barker

# SUISS: Contributions to the *Journal*

The Scottish Universities' International Summer School is one of the annual high points of Edinburgh's student calendar – except for this virus-stricken summer when SUISS has had reluctantly to cancel its arrangements. It is definitely Scottish – many Scottish Universities are involved – and definitely international and



taking place at a high point of the summer when Edinburgh is buzzing with music, theatre, books, and creativity. It allows a hugely diverse range of visiting students a chance to meet creative writers, acknowledged experts in several fields, and to live the experience of Edinburgh at high season. Students hear lectures, discuss in seminar and group and workshop, and meet and hear from authors as well as leading authorities in their fields (definitely including Scottish studies, as well as theatre, poetry, prose, creative writing). They live hectic days in groups of like-minded students and teachers from many countries and cultures.

SUISS is an annual event, and it leads not only to new contacts and international relationships, but to publication, to new courses in many countries, to friendships which long outlast the courses. And to poetry. SUISS each year sees emerge creative writing from people from unimaginably diverse backgrounds. It is a privilege for the *University of Edinburgh Journal* to offer a platform for some of this writing to stay in Edinburgh after the participants have gone home. Quite a few of them will be back.

SUISS will outlive the virus.

## **silk**

is a delicate skin lining a coffin  
& the dress i wore when i found a riddle  
scribbled on the door of a toilet cubicle  
  
the homeless woman that sits  
& knits by the coffee shop in town  
could know the answer but my tongue is nailed  
to the roof of my mouth  
  
my neighbour likes to hang  
her laundry in the nude  
& i would like to seek my mother  
on this stranger's breast  
  
but my arms can't reach the higher hanging fruit

Lea Piendl

# The Accordion Player

There we go again. Another week starting, with its long commutes, its many working hours and the excruciatingly annoying sounds my laptop and my phone make when they receive an e-mail.

Why didn't I become a ballet dancer again? Ever since I was a little girl, I wanted to become a ballet dancer. Why didn't I do it? Well, maybe because the many ballet classes that I tried to take over the years proved that I am shit at it. Yeah, maybe that's the reason.

Anyway, it's Monday and it's 9:00 a.m. I'm on the train. Just like every other day. All made up and looking pretty. Ready for work! But I'm not ready to go to work. I don't want to be here. I'd like to be in my bed. God! Mondays are awful! And the train is so packed!

Nobody else seems to want to be here as well. That guy with the grey suit sitting right in front of me almost let his head fall on this poor woman's shoulder. That's how sleepy he is. Fortunately, he pulled himself together almost immediately and they just looked and smiled awkwardly at each other.

I don't know what this girl standing next to me is listening to through her headphones but, given that she's gazing persistently, eyes wide open, outside the window, it must be something that has somehow taken hold of her spirit.

Hey, what's up with that old dude approaching her from behind and pressing up against her? Oh, not that shit again!

"Hey, get away from her!", I hear an old lady shouting at him. He backed off and is getting off now. He's probably going to get on the next car to try and do the same thing to another woman. Creeps like him are never discouraged from old ladies exposing them. The girl took off her headphones and is still staring outside the window, albeit with a sad and embarrassed look on her face now. To think that things like this happen almost every day!

And of course, it has happened to me. I was maybe her age or a little younger. Instead of a train, it was a bus. And this guy crept up behind me... Yuck! It's been around ten years and I still get sick every time I think about it.

But, anyway, let's think about something more uplifting. I don't want to start the week feeling gloomy. Maybe, I should listen to some music. No, I don't like listening to music when I'm sleepy. Maybe I should finally start reading that novel I've been carrying around with me for the past month. No, I get dizzy when I'm reading inside moving vehicles.

And, besides, the cover is *so* bad! Whoever said that you should not judge a book by its cover was absolutely wrong. I should and I am, Mr. Somebody Whosaidthat!

Oh good! An empty seat! Finally! These high heels are killing me. Note to self: never wear high heels at work ever again!

Oh no! Am I hearing an accordion again? It is, indeed, an accordion! I cannot stand this sound every morning. Every day, somebody gets into the train and plays this freaking thing. Every day!

But this person plays it really well. They play proper songs with proper melodies and proper rhythm. That's new. Most of the other ones I've heard

seemed to be abusing the poor instrument. Is it ok if I turn my head and look at them? It doesn't matter, I did. I was always a curious cat.

It's a guy. He plays so passionately, so vividly. He's looking around the car. He seems middle-aged, he's maybe fifty? He can't be older than sixty. His clothes are old and ragged. Who knows what he's been through? What's his story?

And yet he plays like he's the king of the world. But, at the same time, he exudes a bit of sadness. What if he had dreams of taking proper lessons and becoming a professional and playing at big venues? What if all those dreams were crashed by his harsh reality?

In my mind, he illuminates the whole car. It's like he stands out among all these everyday people. With their everyday habits, their everyday programs and their everyday clothes.

They move the same way, they talk the same way and they dress pretty much the same way, all the time. As do I, I suppose. I don't know, I never really thought about the repetitiveness of it all, until now.

Oh! Why do all they all look and behave so indifferently towards him? Do they not understand what's happening right in front of them? This stranger has succeeded in lifting my spirits up on a Monday morning! No man was ever able to do that!

Oh, he stopped. He's getting off the train. Off to who knows where. Everything is back to normal now. Where there was music a few minutes ago, now there's the familiar chit-chat of the passengers.

Anyway, my stop is approaching. I should get up now. Maybe everyday routines are not that bad if they're sprinkled with little magical pauses like this.

Goodbye Mr. Accordion Player. You brightened my morning commute to work. I'm sure that you'll remember my persistent and awkward gaze on you while you were playing for the rest of your life.

Time to move on now. Why do I have this grin on my face?

Kelly Solomonidou

## Tips on Finding Fairies

Think long and hard about where the fairies have gone.  
Picture them in the green, smothered, unkempt forests  
See them flitting through golden poppies and delicate blue bells  
Hiding beneath dew heavy grass that has never met a mower.

That's where they would never be.  
Fairies go where their touch is most needed.  
The places where healing has stopped  
Where wounds have started to fester.

Think long and hard about where the fairies have gone,  
To whisper in the ear of a boy with stage fright during his speech  
Under the overpass where the homeless know the wind won't reach,  
And to the man wandering the desert who stumbles upon water.

On the edges of a river bank that is more garbage than greenery  
Here you will see tiny shoots of fresh springy reeds pushing up,  
Fighting through the suffocating mix of plastic bags and Styrofoam.  
Only the fairies could be responsible for such stubborn sprouts.

Think long and hard about where the fairies have gone,  
If you need are in need of your own healing,  
Wear your wounds like glitter, display them glinting in the sun  
Let the fairies be drawn in by the sparkle dappling your skin

Once they can see how you hurt with your injuries exposed  
They will flock to you, bringing the sweet scent of new life  
Carefully coaxing the shiny slickness of your cuts closed  
Humbly leaving behind a smooth scar as the mark of their hard work.

Mary Fredericksen

## Clouds

In the morning I am cumulus.  
Floating in cartoon blue,  
Cookie cut and pasted in repeating patterns.  
Love picnics under my gentle sky and finds  
A childhood dog, Christmas tree, ice cream in me.  
The morning feels like months  
where light flows clear and slow  
Over simple flowers that  
Breathe and grow.

I am nimbus before noon.  
The barometer drops from a change in pressure.  
I swell and loom uncertain then  
Eat the sun—  
A black towel thrown over a candle flame  
Dumping shadows over that checkered blanket that  
Love abandoned  
to hide inside, away from  
Growl and shock.

Despite the storm, the rage never lasts  
I tire, and cirrus to find peace  
Like a feather caught in an updraft that forgot  
To stop  
Climbing.  
From up here, that Love looks like an ant—  
Not so insignificant,  
But fragile. It burns  
Under a magnifying glass.

Jeffrey O'Brien

# Orange Summer

& plums and lemonade and damp skin smells like sunscreen, my pink cheeks turn raspberry more and more each day and i read and sleep and laze around the garden

& walking to the supermarket, large building, from the car, crossing flip flop burning pavements; the cool air when you enter the incredible size of the thing, and me wanting to buy popsicles every time i walk in

& swimming in the lake, not being able to touch the bottom, happy about not touching the bottom since slimy ground, since maybe fish, scared of not touching the bottom since you never know what lives below you now

& the car with the windows open, wind coming in music blowing out; the beatles: abbey road: come together, faust and leonard cohen and me singing loud and daring, no shame for me this time

& dad burning dinner and mum saving dinner and me wanting dinner but sitting comfortably in my lawn chair looking up and figuring out what the nearest cloud reminds me of and i think that one looks like you

Lois van Albada

## Authors:

*Lois van Albada is a poet and writer from the Netherlands. At 21, she has already been published in multiple literature magazines and is currently working on building her portfolio to get into her dream Creative Writing Masters. She was a SUISS creative writing student last summer.*

*Mary Fredericksen is a college graduate who is currently working as a concierge at a resort in Vermont. On her days off, she enjoys writing and travelling. She attended SUISS in 2017 and she continues working to hone the skills she learned in the program. In the future, she hopes to publish more of her writings.*

*Jeffrey O'Brien is currently studying at the College of William & Mary. He is a biology major with a minor in creative writing. After working in a marine science lab, he decided to attend a creative writing program through SUISS, and plans to pursue an MFA in screenwriting at California State University, Fullerton.*

*Lea Piendl grew up in Germany where she currently studies English and History at the University of Constance. In 2019, she attended the Creative Writing Course at SUISS. Two of her poems were published in SUISS' publication, Northern Lights.*

*Kelly Solomonidou is a writer, based in Piraeus, Greece, who attended the Creative Writing course at SUISS in the summer of 2019. Being a Greek and French Literature graduate (from the University of Athens and the Sorbonne University in Paris respectively) and fluent in English as well, she writes in all three languages.*

# Reviews

Tom Mole, *The Secret Life of Books: Why They Mean More Than Words*. London: Elliott & Thompson, 2019. Pp. 229. Hardback, illustrated. ISBN 9781783964581. £14.99.

Until very recently, a book most commonly comprised words printed on pages made of paper. These pages would be enclosed in a protective cover so constructed as to keep the pages together and in the right order. However, the advent of a world where a text can be read on a computer, without any traditional bookish attributes, and indeed with no physical identity of its own at all, has prompted many to think about what was formerly usually taken for granted: querying why books evolved over the centuries as they did, and how aspects of the physical book affected individuals and society. This is one aspect of an academic discipline which has been growing in Britain over the last forty years (and considerably longer in France): the history of the book. Here, the head of Edinburgh University's Centre for the History of the Book, and Professor in the Department of English Literature, Tom Mole, has written a volume on why books, as the subtitle states, 'mean more than words'. It is designed for the general reader, and written in a straightforward, direct, and conversational style, with pithy, even aphoristic, sentences: for example, 'Books on the shelves are sandbags stacked against the floodwaters of forgetting' (page 80); 'A library is an argument' (page 142); 'So, books and railways went together like horse and carriage' (page 171). It is far from being a dense academic treatise, and is presented in an attractive format, with well-spaced lines of text. Incorporating endpapers and dust jacket showing what might be termed flying books, this hardback volume is a pleasure to hold in one's hand and to contemplate as a physical object, very good value for money and, most importantly, a good read.

There are eight chapters and a coda, with intervening interludes meditating on three paintings which include books. These interludes are the only point where the book fails as a physical object carrying a particular message: the reproductions of the paintings are far too small to be clearly visible. Moreover, the paper used for the book, excellent for text, does not respond well to black and white image reproduction. This is especially true of the wonderful triptych of *circa* 1646, now at the Abbot Hall Art Gallery in Kendal, showing Lady Anne Clifford (1590-1676). The picture is over two and a half metres high and almost five metres wide, and so a reproduction of four by eight centimetres is not going to show the necessary detail.

The chapters move through a variety of topics: books with different physical characteristics; books as objects relating to other objects, especially those ancillary to reading, and how readers treat their books in different ways; how books individually and in groups can tell things about their owners and their relationships with other people; how books can feature in rites of passage; what libraries show about national characteristics (such as the British Library and the Bibliothèque de France, both built around the same time); physical books and e-books (two chapters); and so on. However, the many

different topics are really interweaved throughout all the chapters in a natural and expert way.

This book stimulates reminiscences about other pertinent things not specifically mentioned by Professor Mole: why did Karl Lagerfeld shelve his books flat with the spines facing out; and, why does a bookshop in Los Angeles shelve part of its stock by colour? (This last conceit is also present in the photograph accompanying the 'alumni bookshelf' section of Edinburgh University's e-newsletter *Enlightened*; and a room in Kellie Castle in Fife admits only books with blue covers.) The book sculptures which appeared in Edinburgh in 2011, mentioned by Professor Mole, were designed to encourage reading, but they also destroyed the readability of the copies of the books which they comprised. Does this matter?

The notes to this book are gathered at the end, which means a lot of to-ing and fro-ing, and possibly calls for the use of a second bookmark. Was this the best way to arrange things? Would footnotes, easier to locate, have been better, or would that have given an unwanted impression of academic ponderousness? Would an e-book be able to access its notes more easily, with notes coming up when the reference number is touched on screen? Such stimulation of thought is a great plus to this entertaining and informative book. I only spotted one mistake: the early nineteenth-century society of bibliophiles in Edinburgh was the Bannatyne, not the Ballantyne, Club.

Murray C T Simpson

Scott Pelley, *Truth Worth Telling: A Reporter's Search for Meaning in the Stories of Our Times*. Toronto: Hanover Square Press, 2019. Pp 424. Hardback. ISBN 13978133599146. C\$26.99.

Scott Pelley draws upon forty-five years of experience as a *60 Minutes* correspondent and then as anchor and managing editor of the CBS Evening News from 2011 to 2017. He writes as a witness to many of the events which have changed our world. He introduces us to some unforgettable individuals who demonstrate the importance of values in uncertain times.

His opening chapter finds him experiencing the tragic events of 9/11 with firefighters at the collapsing World Trade Centre. He carefully details how the Fire Department of New York, other emergency services, politicians, and the people of the City responded to that immense challenge. Attention to detail characterises all of his work as an interviewer, commentator, and writer.

Pelley has spent much of his working life, at home in the USA and abroad, on the frontline of world events, and has skilfully interpreted and documented happenings with an objectivity characteristic of only the very best of journalists. Terrorist bombings, mass shootings, wars, famine, and poverty feature prominently in the book, but in these he finds examples of virtues he has witnessed, including courage, perseverance, devotion, audacity, selflessness, and authenticity. He has also included cautionary tales of the failure of virtue when the powerful succumb to deceit and hubris. He has met and interviewed Presidents, candidates for this office, and other world leaders, discovering and revealing much about their personalities as well as their handling of domestic and world affairs.

Today we face the challenge of an information age with more good and bad information available to more people than ever before. As Pelley states, 'journalism is a quest to open minds, not to close them.' Throughout he stresses the importance of the nonpartisan assessment of fact. This is and will be crucial in current uncertain times as we seek a way ahead and 'the meaning of you.'

This book is a collection of short stories based upon Pelley's own experiences which will challenge and inform the reader and confirm the importance of free speech and a free press as 'the only effectual guardian of every other right' (James Madison 1800).

Alan Chainey

Roger McStravick, *St Andrews In the Footsteps of Old Tom Morris*. St Andrews: St Andrews Golf Press, 2014. Pp 278. Paperback. ISBN 9780957164369. £35.00.

This handsome work is a follow-on and extension to David Malcolm and Peter Crabtree's *Tom Morris of St Andrews, the Colossus of Golf, 1821-1908* (2008).

In great detail, he documents the lives of the people who were central to the development of the town and the part played by golf in this process during the 1800s and early 1900s. The book contains many fine illustrations, maps and other documents which illuminate the text; and great credit is due to the graphic designer Chic Harper.

While St Andrews had a long tradition as a religious and holy pilgrimage centre, and was home to Scotland's oldest University, its modest wealth was built largely around farming and fishing. The wave of industrialisation and population growth in Scotland from the early nineteenth century brought limited fresh economic benefits to the East Neuk of Fife.

While golf had its beginnings with the landed and wealthy gentry and established itself as early as the mid-1400s on the town's links land, it was the early club and ball makers, many of whom were also caddies and proficient golfers, who became increasingly central to the industry of golf and its development. McStravick details the lives of key players such as Allan Robertson, Tom Morris, Robert Forgan, Hugh Philp, Davie Strath, and many others, but inevitably much focus is upon the contributions made by Old Tom Morris and his son Tommy, who each won four of the first eleven Open championships which had begun in 1860 at Prestwick.

Returning to his hometown in 1864, having worked at Prestwick since moving there in 1851, Old Tom Morris was to spend the rest of his life helping to shape golf in St Andrews. The growth of the game required a broadening of participation and the author details the emergence of golf clubs and societies. The Union Club which combined with the Society of St Andrews Golfers (today's Royal and Ancient Golf Club) and established its imposing clubhouse in 1854, the St Andrews Golf Club, the Ladies Putting Club of St Andrews, the St Andrews University Golf Club, and the St Rule Ladies Club. There were many more fashioned around employment, education, schools, and societies. With the growth in interest in the game came a need to develop and improve course facilities and Old Tom Morris played a lead role in redesigning and extending the Old Course and contributed

to the addition of the New and Jubilee courses, opened in 1895 and 1897 respectively. Many others played their parts, but the contribution of Old Tom Morris was sustained throughout a long and critical era.

It would be wrong to suggest that golf alone was the making of St Andrews but allied to key developments to institutions and the infrastructure and led by powerful personalities such as Sir Hugh Lyon Playfair (Provost 1842 to 1861), the town was transformed and moved purposefully forward. St Andrews became increasingly attractive as a place to live and fashionable with visitors, with promenading, bathing, and golf prominent activities. The addition of the rail link with Leuchars in 1852 proved extremely popular, further enhanced by the moving of the station closer to the town centre in 1877 and the creation of the rail bridge across the Firth of Forth in 1890. Sadly, the rail link to Leuchars closed in 1969.

Royalty, politicians, the rich and the famous, came to the town and the Grand Hotel, opened in 1895, housed many of these. Major golf tournaments, amateur and professional, male and female, contributed to the growth and promotion of both the game and the town. Golf facilities were further enhanced with the addition of the Eden course in 1914.

While the First World War and the Great Depression brought difficult times, the foundations for golf in St Andrews had been firmly established. The early clubmakers, caddies, greenkeepers, and professionals made a massive contribution, and their legacy has helped to ensure that golf remains embraced by the town and that St Andrews is acknowledged as the home of golf.

This book is a treasure, a mine of information about golf and its development. McStravick sought to include and to do justice to the many who contributed to that fascinating process.

Alan Chainey

*[Reviewer's note: the book is available online at [www.thegolfbookshop.com](http://www.thegolfbookshop.com) where the 1821 (paperback) edition is listed at £35. The original Limited Edition (leather bound) and the Collectors' Edition are both listed as out of stock.]*

*Gaudeamus Igitur: John Kitchen plays the Organ of the McEwan Hall.* Edinburgh: Delphian Records, 2016. CD in crystal case with booklet. 72 min. playing time. DCD 34163. £14.99.

There will be many readers familiar with the moment's silence in the McEwan Hall at graduation after the preliminary programme of organ music, after all the graduands have been ushered in in their correct sequence (which is no easy task), after the doors are closed, and the signal given to the organist to begin. To members of staff on the staircase outside who have processed in academic dress from the robing room upstairs, those distant first notes from Herrick Bunney or more recently from John Kitchen represent a great annual celebration about to begin, the McEwan Hall rising to its feet, the music filling the cavernous space as the procession moves to the front, and the Principal takes his place.

John Kitchen demonstrates on this disc, over and over, the qualities that make him so excellently qualified for the moment – for the McEwan Hall

organ (as anyone will tell you who has tried to play it rhythmically) is a real challenge, and John Kitchen has mastered this difficult acoustic as deftly as he masters the Usher Hall instrument which, like the McEwan Hall one, is a big beast. Big beast or not, John Kitchen can evoke an astonishing palette of tones from the McEwan Hall's unforgiving acoustics, and his programme has two pillars, one to showcase the kind of 'occasional' music (Purcell, Handel) which the resonant acoustic (and the extraordinary reeds of the instrument) favour, and the other to highlight the Edinburgh connections of the programme: links to people like the blind organist Alfred Hollins whose compositions are still recital fare, and Kenneth Leighton who was a bright point of music teaching in the University for decades. The 'big' moments are completely typical of the organ and its designed acoustic: the smaller moments are a tribute to John Kitchen's ability to source rhythmic excellence from a building with a six-second echo when empty, and an organ whose pipes (since the architect didn't prepare a space for an eventual organ) are disposed all round the hall.

As a virtuoso recital, the disc is excellent. As an Edinburgh event, it brings home vividly to anyone who has taken part in an Edinburgh graduation the memory of the McEwan Hall in the summer sunshine, the excitement, and the rainbow colours of the crowds.

Ian Campbell

Ken Emond, *The Minority of James V: Scotland in Europe, 1513-1528*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2019. Pp. x, 404. Hardback. ISBN 9781910900314. £70.00.

This is an unusual book in several ways. Many people say they will publish their PhD theses; this was a successful history PhD from St Andrews University. Many people go on to a busy and successful professional career and the book never arrives; Dr Emond is the exception. A 1988 PhD thesis now becomes a large and handsome book, well-illustrated, very fully footnoted and with a wide list of sources; and one which reaches out to the non-specialist reader with real success. Moreover, the author has produced it while maintaining a punishing schedule as assistant secretary to the British Academy in London.

The minority of James, after the disaster of Flodden in 1513, is the subject of a long and tortuous story well teased out by patient narration. The two main principals of the story are: Queen Margaret Tudor who, with varying success tried to hold the reins of government for her youthful son; and John, Duke of Albany, who did much to pilot the country through the competing factions and political and family interests of the time, but never quite established himself as a success in Scotland, overshadowed as he was by his upbringing in France which prevented his wholesale acceptance. These two figures co-exist in this narrative with a host of competing families, local interests, international intrigue, and political plots which are laid out with exemplary clarity. When eventually James reached an age of power (after more than one unsuccessful attempt to circumvent the laws of the land to accelerate that process) there had been a decade and a half which require a book as substantial as this, and a narrative skill as clear, to be presented

to the non-specialist. As it is. The sources are there, copiously annotated; the papers and books listed show how much work goes into a thesis of this kind. This is an expensive and handsome book, but excellent value, and one which genuinely opens a new field to the non-specialist reader.

Ian Campbell

Stephen O'Rourke, *The Crown Agent*. Inverness: Sandstone Press, 2019. Pp viii, 294, 2. Hardback, with illustrated endpapers. ISBN 9781912240760. £14.99.

Another Edinburgh law graduate and QC, Stephen O'Rourke, joins the growing collection of the University's Tartan Noir squad, and again with a remarkable first novel. *The Crown Agent* is based on O'Rourke's prizewinning short story in the Daily Telegraph competition in 2012 and is a mystery story at the heart of a 'ripping yarn'. It is probably not, strictly speaking, tartan noir, but is none the poorer for that.

Set in 1829, it begins with a young Edinburgh surgeon, Dr Mungo Lyon, witnessing the execution of the convicted resurrectionist and serial murderer, William Burke, and the disappearance of his partner, William Hare, who has turned King's evidence and has become a free man. Lyon's association with the anatomist Robert Knox has compromised his professional career, and he finds himself invited by the Lord Advocate to become a Crown agent and to investigate the murder of a lighthouse keeper in the Firth of Clyde. To give further details of the plot would do this book a disservice, since surprise at its twists and turns is one of its great strengths; and it quickly becomes a page-turner. Historical fact (occasionally adjusted under artistic licence) and genuine topography are deftly combined with well-drawn fictional or fictionalised characters; historians of the Regency period will enjoy identifying which is which, and law historians will also find in the book's pages much of interest. O'Rourke's style is tight and concise, as of its short-story original, and not a word is wasted. This is ideal crime and thriller writing.

Elegant design and excellent printing add to the pleasure of reading this book. Delightful endpapers by Camilla Seddon provide useful maps, but a more detailed one of the Firth of Clyde, even as an inset, would have been useful for Chapter 23. Will this become the first of a series? I sincerely hope so.

Peter B Freshwater

Kenneth Leighton, *Sacred Choral Works*; Choir of St Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh; Master of the Music, Duncan Ferguson. Edinburgh: Delphian Records, 2019. CD with booklet in crystal case. DCD34218. £14.99.

Sacred choral music was an important part of Kenneth Leighton's life (1929-1988), from being a child chorister in his home city of Wakefield, through membership of the choir of Queen's College, Oxford, to his professional career as a musical academic and composer. This collection provides a record of much of that journey, from his 1948 setting of the Christmas carol *Lully, lulla, thou little tiny child* as a nineteen-year old student, to his 1987 *Missa Sancti Petri*, commissioned by Peterborough Cathedral, all of it written on commission. The basis of this collection is the recognition of its sound in a historic church or cathedral, in which its impact is tremendous. I still

remember experiencing an early performance of one of his masses – it may have been the Mass for Double Choir, which he released for performance in the early 1960s, (not on this record but on a separate record from Delphian) – after which I and the friend I was with, both still moved to silence, came out and suddenly turned to each other and said ‘Wow! That was a cracker!’

To get the most out of Leighton’s music, you must hear it – experience it, in fact – *in ecclesia*. This a splendid record of excellent performances by the Choir of St Mary’s Episcopal Cathedral. Edinburgh under the Master of Music, Duncan Ferguson; indeed, two of these pieces, the festival anthem *Awake, my glory* (1979) and the motet *What love is this of thine?* (1985) were commissioned by the Cathedral, one by and one for Leighton’s friend Dennis Townhill, the then Master of Music. Listening to this record at home makes you want to hear them in live performance in the Cathedral. This is music of its time, the 1960s to 1980s, the years of the revival, not only of Renaissance music, but also Renaissance literature: the words of all these pieces come from late mediaeval and Renaissance sources. This music is challenging to sing and to listen to, spiky, lyrical only in places, and including very few melodies, but this record is definitely a must for any collection of English music.

Peter B Freshwater

Charles W J Withers, ‘The Lyell Notebooks: a unique resource of world importance.’ *The Piper: Newsletter of the Friends of Edinburgh University Library*. Number 53, Spring 2020. Pp 8. Illustrated. ISSN 09634681. Subscription.

**E**dinburgh University is celebrating the acquisition by purchase for the University Library of the notebooks of the geologist Charles Lyell (1797-1875), one of the founders of the science of geology. A splendid short article by Professor Charles Withers, beautifully illustrated, occupies most pages of the Spring 2020 issue of *The Piper: Newsletter of the Friends of Edinburgh University Library*. He sets out the background to the acquisition of the notebooks and their significance for the continuing study of world geology. Their acquisition to join the Library’s existing collections of Lyell’s papers secures Edinburgh’s place in the premier league of archival scientific resource collections. Work is beginning on the digitisation of the notebooks for universal access via the internet, but this excellent account is available to members of the Friends of EUL, who made such a significant contribution to the purchasing fund. The Friends warmly welcome new subscribing members, via their website: <https://friendsofeul.wordpress.com>, to help them continue their work of supporting and enhancing the University Library’s collections.

Peter B Freshwater

**Ian Campbell** is Professor Emeritus of Scottish and Victorian Literature at the University, and Reviews Editor of the *Journal*.

**Alan Chainey** is a retired member of Sport and Exercise at the University, and was Director from 1983 to 2002.

**Peter B Freshwater** is former Deputy Librarian at the University and Editor of the *Journal*.

**Murray C T Simpson** is a retired librarian; two of the positions he held were Special Collections Librarian at Edinburgh University Library and Director of Special Collections at the National Library of Scotland.

# Obituaries

*The following deaths of members of the University have been intimated to the Association. Further details, in some cases, may be found in The Scotsman, The BMJ, The Veterinary Record and other newspapers and journals. If no date of death is recorded, no exact date has been passed to our Editorial Team.*

*The annual list of deceased graduates is issued by the General Council in the Annex to the Billet. This can be consulted online on the General Council's website at:*

**[www.general-council.ed.ac.uk/publication/annex-billet](http://www.general-council.ed.ac.uk/publication/annex-billet)**

*Or by writing to the Secretary of the General Council, University of Edinburgh, Charles Stewart House, 9-16 Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1HT. Various University obituaries can also be viewed at: **[www.ed.ac.uk/news/staff/obituaries](http://www.ed.ac.uk/news/staff/obituaries)***

**Paul Addison** BA (Oxford) DPhil (Oxford) FRSE: on 21 January 2020, aged 76. Born on 3 May 1943 in Withington, near Litchfield, he was educated at King Edward VI Grammar School before going on to study modern history at Pembroke College, Oxford. Addison graduated with a first in 1964 and went on to undertake postgraduate study at Nuffield College under A J P Taylor. He was awarded DPhil in 1971. Addison spent a short time as lecturer at Pembroke and, in 1967, he moved to the History Department of the University. There, he progressed from assistant lecturer to reader and then, in 1996, he took up the post of director of the Centre for Second World War Studies. He maintained this post until his retirement in 2005. Addison was a visiting fellow at All Souls College, Oxford, from 1990 to 1991, and became a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 2006. His best-known book, *The Road to 1945* (1975), is considered a landmark work in the writing of contemporary history. He also published *Now the War is Over* (1985), *Churchill on the Home Front* (1992), *Churchill: The Unexpected Hero* (2005), and *No Turning Back* (2010).

**Rattan Singh Bhatti** Dip MSc 1960 PhD 1966: in Surrey, BC, Canada, on 14 February 2020, aged 87. He enjoyed a distinguished career as a cereal chemist at the Crop Development Centre, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada, and retired as Professor Emeritus in 1998.

**James Campbell Boyle** MA 1981: in Edinburgh on 7 November 2019, aged 59. Born on 14 November 1959 in London, he was educated at Glenrothes High School before going on to study geography at the University. Boyle went on to undertake postgraduate study in community education at Moray House College of Education. From there, he joined the Musselburgh-based Bridges Project, which inspires thousands of young people in the East- and Midlothian areas to build a confident future.

**John Campbell Brown** OBE FRSE: on Skye on 10 November 2019, aged 72. Born on 4 February 1947, he was educated at Dumbarton Academy, where he started the school's astronomy club. Brown attended evening classes in astronomy at Coats Observatory in Paisley before going on to the University of Glasgow. While there, he was offered a combined doctorate

and teaching post, and was appointed Professor of Physics at Glasgow in 1984. Brown was made Astronomer Royal for Scotland in 1995 and served as an Honorary Professor to the University from 1996. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1984, received the Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in 2012, and was made OBE in 2016. Along with his friend and poet, Rab Wilson, Brown published *Oor Big Braw Cosmos* (2019), a book intended to link science with the beauty of the cosmos.

**Thomas Graham Brown:** on 13 December 2019, aged 86. Born on 10 April 1933, he was educated at Allan Glen's School before going on to an apprenticeship with Kelvin & Hughes scientific instrument makers. In 1956, Brown overheard a conversation at Glasgow's Western Infirmary which led to a long-term collaboration with Prof Ian Donald. Their partnership led to the development of the first compound contact scanner, a forerunner of modern ultrasound imaging technology. Together with Dr John McVicar, they published their seminal paper in *The Lancet* in 1959. The British Medical Ultrasound Society marks their achievement annually with its Donald McVicar Brown lecture. Brown went on to work as chief engineer for Honeywell Controls Medical Division in 1965, and then as ultrasound project manager with Nuclear Enterprises Ltd in Edinburgh. In 1970, Brown took up a research fellowship with the University's Medical Physics Department. From 1973, he developed Sonicaid's multi-planar scanner in Livingston. In 1979, Brown switched careers, first into offshore oil work before moving into quality assurance. Latterly, he took up a position at St George's Hospital, London, before retiring in 2002. In 2007, Brown was awarded Honorary Fellowship of the Royal College of Obstetrics and Gynaecology and, in 2014, he was inducted into the Scottish Engineering Glasgow Hall of Fame.

**Gilbert James Christie** BSc 1967: on 4 March 2020, aged 77. Born on 13 January 1943 in Leith, he was educated at Leith Academy where he was Dux. He went on to study psychology at the University. After graduation, Christie spent some time working at British Airways in London before, in 1969, he was diagnosed with tuberculosis. He spent the next year undergoing treatment in a sanatorium, which ensured his survival and recovery but also contributed to health issues later in life. In 1971, Christie moved to Australia to take up a position with Tubemakers of Australia Ltd's Sydney office. After ten years in this position, he began his own business, Christie Consultancy Pty Ltd, as an organisational psychologist. He was a long-term member of the Australian Psychological Society and the British Psychological Society.

**Iain G Morrison Cleator** MBChB 1962 FRCS: in Vancouver, Canada, on 16 November 2019, aged 80. Born on 18 October 1939 in Edinburgh, he was educated in Edinburgh before going on to study medicine at the University. Cleator worked for the NHS for ten years before emigrating to Vancouver where he specialised in general surgery, gastro-intestinal, and bariatric surgery. He founded both Vancouver's GI clinic at St Paul's

Hospital and the Cleator Clinic. He was Professor Emeritus of Surgery at the University of British Columbia.

**Angus P Collins** PhD: in Edinburgh on 2 November 2019, aged 76. Collins was a popular and well-respected tutor in the University's Department of Adult Education (now the Centre for Open Learning). I remember attending one of his courses on the work of Muriel Spark and being hugely impressed by the effort he clearly put into preparing for each class and producing meticulously typed and very informative handouts. My colleague Gail Wylie, who was responsible for putting together the literature section of the University's programme of weekly courses for adults, writes: 'I remember when Angus, a recently retired British Council lecturer, asked if he could teach on our programme. He and I had a lively and interesting conversation about all our favourite writers (Dickens in particular) and then I suggested a course on Edinburgh's most famous living writer (as she then was) - Muriel Spark. He readily accepted. Without Angus's course it is unlikely that the Muriel Spark Society would ever have formed, but he lit that particular spark which Christine Lloyd and others in the class fanned into the important Society that it now is. The Muriel Spark Society remembers Angus Collins with much affection and gratitude.' [Contributed by Bridget M Stevens and Gail Wylie]

**George (Jock) Dewar** MA: on 13 January 2020, aged 94. Born on 2 November 1925 in Inverkeithing, he was educated at Dunfermline High School before going on to study classics at the University. In 1943, a few weeks into his studies, he was called up and served a short time with the Royal Corps of Signals. He was then transferred to the Intelligence Corps, which included a brief spell at Bletchley Park before being posted to the Middle East. After being demobbed, Dewar resumed his studies and set his sights on a career in education. He started teaching at Kilmarnock Academy and, in 1957, he moved to the Royal High School where he remained until his retirement in 1987. Dewar was heavily involved in rugby at the Royal High School, coaching for many years and ensuring his team won the Inter-Nation Crichton Cup every year he was in charge. He attended the first Edinburgh Festival in 1947 and every year until his death. Dewar was a valued member of the Scottish Wine Society and the Institute of Wines and Spirits Scotland.

**Jennifer Hamilton (née Ramsay)** BA(Hons) Dip 1987: in Edinburgh on 21 October 2019, aged 57. Born on 2 March 1962 in Edinburgh, she was educated at the Royal High School. Hamilton studied business law at Heriot Watt University before qualifying as a solicitor, undertaking her diploma year with the University. While there, she received the Law Society of Scotland Prize for Wills, Trusts, and Executries. Hamilton began work as an assistant solicitor in the Law Department in 1994. From 1995, she served as secretary to the Church of Scotland Trust. Following the creation of the Office of the Scottish Charity Regulator (OSCR) in 2005, she became the principal point of contact between OSCR and the

Church of Scotland. Hamilton also sat on the Law Society of Scotland's Charity Law Sub-Committee, and, from 2013, was the secretary and treasurer of the Iona Cathedral Trust. She was made deputy solicitor of the Church of Scotland in 2016, and was heavily involved with the Girl Guides, participating in local and national activities.

**Anne McGillivray Howat (née Murdoch) MBChB 1951:** on 14 January 2020, aged 92. Born in Edinburgh on 24 February 1927, she was educated at St Paul's Girls School, London, before studying medicine at the University. After a year as an assistant GP in Hampshire, she moved to Trinidad with her husband, Gerald (MA 1950), to work for Trinidad Leaseholds Ltd in their oil company hospital. She returned to the UK in 1955. Howat specialised in psychiatry at Fairmile Hospital, Oxfordshire, from 1970 to 1987. She co-authored *The Story of Health* (1967), and was very active in community affairs, serving on her Parish Council for many years. Howat also represented her local Women's Institute at county and national level.

**Roderick Chalmers Lumsden MA 1987:** on 10 January 2020, aged 53. Born on 28 May 1966 in St Andrews, he was educated at Langlands Primary School and Madras College, St Andrews, before going on to study at the University. In 1991, Lumsden received an Eric Gregory Award which led to his inclusion in the *Faber Introduction 8* anthology of poetry. Bloodaxe soon offered him a publishing deal resulting in Lumsden's first collection *Yeah Yeah Yeah* (1997), which was shortlisted for the Forward Prize for best first collection. He moved to London in 1998 and began attending poetry workshops in the Bloomsbury pub The Lamb. His second collection, *The Book of Love*, was shortlisted for the T S Eliot Prize in 2000. Lumsden was included in a special 'Thirteen British Poets' feature in the June-July 2004 issue of *Poetry*. In 2005, he took over the running of the Wednesday Group writing workshop at City University, London, before, in 2007, he was made editor of the *Pilot* pamphlet series published by Tall Lighthouse. In 2009, Lumsden published *Third Wish Wasted* and, in 2010, he became commissioning editor (poetry) at Salt Publishing. He published *Identity Parade: New British & Irish Poets* in 2010 and co-edited *The Salt Book of Younger Poets* with Eloise Stonborough in 2011.

**Simon Gavin George MacDonald MA 1948 PhD (Dundee) FInstP 1958 FRSE 1972:** on 17 November 2019, aged 96. Born on 5 September 1923 in Beauly, Inverness-shire, he was educated at Craiglockhart Primary School and George Heriot's before going on to study mathematics and physics at the University. After two years of study, he was called up as a junior scientific officer at the Royal Aircraft Establishment in Farnborough working on radar and anti-radar materials. He returned to Edinburgh to complete his studies before taking up a post as lecturer in physics at University College Dundee (now University of Dundee), where he was awarded his PhD in 1953. In 1958, MacDonald moved to Jamaica where he took up an appointment as senior lecturer at the University College of the West Indies. He also travelled to the other local islands to advise

local governments on setting up school science departments. MacDonald returned to Scotland as senior lecturer at the University of St Andrews, transferring to the University of Dundee when it was founded in 1967. He was promoted to a personal chair after being made Dean of the Faculty of Science in 1970. In 1974, MacDonald became the first Vice-Principal of Dundee, a post which he held for five years. He was a member of various university entry committees, including the Inter-University Committee, the Scottish Universities Council on Entrance, and chaired the Universities Central Council on Admissions. MacDonald published widely in both fiction and non-fiction, including *Problems and Solutions in General Physics* (1967), *Physics for Biology and Medical Students* (1970), and various sci-fi stories and radio dramas including *Space Rider*.

**John McCulloch McColl** MA(Hons) 1951: in Edinburgh on 16 February 2020, aged 90. Born on 19 June 1929 in Edinburgh, he was educated at George Heriot's before studying English language and literature at the University. Thereafter, he went on to undertake teacher training at Moray House College of Education. McColl underwent National Service from 1953 to 1955 with the RAF in Gloucestershire. In 1956, he began his teaching career at Darroch Secondary School in Edinburgh. In 1960, he moved to Leith Academy where he was made assistant principal. In 1974, McColl took up a post in the English Department at George Watson's College, an appointment he maintained until his retirement in 1994. McColl was in great demand amongst amateur dramatic circles, first appearing in productions by the Jason Players before joining Leitheatre. He appeared in over 250 productions and, from 2014 until 2019, he regularly transcribed and recorded books and other texts for the Royal Institute of the Blind.

**Ailsa Giles Maxwell (née MacDonald)** MA(Hons) 1948: on 10 February 2020, aged 97. Born on 16 December 1922 in Gourrock, she was educated at Mill Hill and Dumfries Academy before going on to study economics at the University. After a year there, Maxwell was recruited by the Foreign Office for appointment to Bletchley Park, where she worked compiling bombe menus in Hut 6. After the war, she returned to Edinburgh to complete her degree. Maxwell went on to work as a research assistant at the Department of Health for Scotland. She later worked as a researcher in the University's Economic History Department on the ten-year project which led to the publication of Michael Flinn's *Scottish Population History from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century to the 1930s* (1977). This seminal demographic study was awarded the Saltire Society's Agnes Mure Mackenzie prize. Maxwell went on to work at Edinburgh's Register House before transcribing the diary of George Home from Berwick, published as *An Album of Scottish Families 1694-96* by Helen & Keith Kelsall in 1990.

**Peter Carmichael Millar** OBE MA (St Andrews) LLB 1962 WS: in Edinburgh on 16 March 2020, aged 93. Born on 19 February 1927 in Glasgow, he was educated at Aberdeen Grammar School, where he was captain of the

first hockey XI. In 1945, he undertook officer training on *HMS Raleigh* in Davenport. Millar saw service off the coasts of the USA, the Far East, and Australia. After the war, he enrolled at St Andrews University, from which he graduated MA in 1949. Millar went on to study law at the University, serving his legal apprenticeship with Davidson & Syme, and qualifying as a solicitor in 1954. He was admitted as a Writer to the Signet in the same year. Millar became a partner at W & T P Manuel (now Lindsays), where he remained until his retirement in 1992 as senior partner. In 1964, he was elected clerk of the WS Society, which he held until 1983, when he became deputy keeper of the Signet, a post he maintained until 1991. Millar was asked by the Law Society of Scotland to organise the fifth Commonwealth Law Conference in 1977 here in Edinburgh. It was very successful and led to his being made OBE in 1978. From 1973 to 1985, he was chairman of the General Trustees of the Church of Scotland. In 1991, Millar was appointed chairman of tribunals, a commitment he maintained until 1999.

**James Edwin (Bean) Phillips** BSc 1948 MRCVS DVMS 1966: on 15 January 2020, aged 94. Born in Scarborough in 1925, he was educated at York before going on to study at the University. After graduation, Phillips was appointed as demonstrator in the Department of Veterinary Bacteriology. He rose to the position of senior lecturer by the time he retired in 1993.

**George Albert Shepperson** CBE BA MA HonDUniv Edinburgh 1986 Dr hc 1991 Dr hc (York) DLitt hc (Malawi) FEIS: in Peterborough, 2 April 2020, aged 98. Born in Peterborough on 7 January 1922, he was educated at The King's School, Peterborough, and at St John's College, Cambridge, during which his degree course in English literature was interrupted by his active service in WW2. He enlisted in the Northamptonshire Regiment and, after officer training on the Isle of Man, was seconded to the King's African Rifles with whom he commanded a platoon of East African *askaris*, engaging in the defeat of the Japanese Army in Burma, 1944-1945. His experience with the East African troops under his command, especially those from the then Nyasaland, changed his life and, on his return to Cambridge, he changed his degree course to African history. He took a first-class degree, trained as a teacher, and came to Edinburgh in 1948 as a lecturer in African history. He was appointed in 1963 to the William Robertson Chair in Commonwealth and American History, which he held until his retirement in 1986. He was a pioneering historian of Africa and of African America, and a teacher who inspired not only his own students at Edinburgh but students of Africa and North America on both sides of the Atlantic. He co-founded the Centres of African Studies and of Canadian Studies at Edinburgh, supporting them as they became world-class centres of excellence. His book *Independent African* (1958), co-authored with Thomas Price, with a second edition appearing in 1987, remains a seminal work, as does his later work on *David Livingstone and the Rovuma* (1965). He was a founder-member of the Friends of Edinburgh University Library to which he was a generous donor of his own papers and books, and for whom he

arranged the acquisition of many other notable collections of personal and professional source papers, especially on Africa.

**Gavin George Fraser Tulley** BSc 1962: in York on 17 September 2019, aged 79. Born on 7 August 1940, he was educated at The Edinburgh Academy before going on to study engineering at the University. Tulley joined T Harley Haddow & Partners, Edinburgh, and worked on projects such as East Kilbride's International Swimming Pool, before joining Ove Arup in Queensferry. He moved to York in 1972 to join Mouchel & Partners working on projects in the centre of the city. Tulley then spent twelve years with Gillinson Partnership, Leeds, before starting his own business in 1988, which he ran successfully until retirement in 2019. In 1987, he was Master of the Guild of Building in York, and also worked with the York Conservation Trust restoring local property.

**Rennie Weatherhead** BSc(Hons) 1958: on 9 March 2020, aged 83. Born on 5 October 1936, he was educated at Melville College before studying at the University. After graduation, Weatherhead went on to train as a teacher at Moray House College of Education. He taught at Peebles High School and St Denis School. In 1965, Weatherhead was appointed principal teacher of physics at Dunbar Grammar School, a position he maintained until his retirement in 1988. He joined, and chaired, the Dunbar Interim Community Council in 1975, but did not stand in 1976. Weatherhead was a member of East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, serving on its council for several years. After retirement, he developed an interest in the early Church in Northumbria, becoming an expert on the history of St Ebba and the Church at Coldingham.

**Laurence Arthur Brown Whitley** MA 1970 DLitt (Glasgow): on 4 November 2018, aged 69. Born on 19 September 1949 in Port Glasgow, he was educated at The Edinburgh Academy before going on to study at the University. Whitley stood as SNP candidate in the two General Elections of 1974. Unsuccessful in both, he went on to study divinity at St Andrews. He was licensed to the ministry in the Presbytery of St Andrews and served his probationary year in St Andrew's Church Dundee before being inducted to the linked charges of Busby West and Busby East. In 1985, Whitley moved to the parish of Montrose Old (now Old and St Andrews), where he enjoyed practising pipe band drumming. In 2000, he was called to be minister of the Glasgow Cathedral, where he found that issues such as the ordination of women to the eldership of the cathedral still caused tensions. Nevertheless, during his ministry, the Cathedral's ecumenical relations flourished. Whitley's role as the city's chaplain brought together other church communities, institutional representatives, and members of the civic authorities under the Lord Provost's patronage for the week-long celebration of Glasgow's St Mungo, known as Mungofest. In 2013, Whitley published *A Great Grievance*, a study of lay patronage in the Kirk until 1750.

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## Cecilia Elspeth Giles CBE MA 1945

Cecilia (Cecily) Elspeth Giles was born in 1922 in Dumfries, Nunfield, into a most happy, loving, and talented family. She was the third child of Dr and Mrs Falconer Giles. The family home was in Edinburgh, where Dr Giles was the University Reader in Ancient Greek and Roman History.

Cecily's first school was St Andrew's Cottage School. From there she went on to St Trinnean's, before going as a boarder to Queen Margaret's in Scarborough, which was evacuated to Castle Howard in 1940. Cecily was an Honorary Vice-President of the Margaretian Association.

A History Degree at Edinburgh University followed. While there, she was President of the Dramatic Society and Secretary of the Women's Athletic Club, interrupted by service with the ATS in the Intelligence Corps at Bletchley Park from 1944 to 1946. In 2009, she was awarded the Bletchley Park Cross.

Cecily's first civilian appointment was with the National Farmers' Union for Scotland, followed by Secretarial work with the University in Social Anthropology and in Archaeology. Later, Cecily visited her brother Sandy, District Commissioner at Kongwa, in the then Tanganyika, and spent time working in the University of Khartoum. She came back to Edinburgh University as an administrative assistant in the Secretary's Office where she eventually became Assistant Secretary.

Her work included reorganising the administration of post-graduate studies in the University, acting as Secretary to the Staff Club, Secretary to the influential Principal and Deans group, sharing in servicing the Senatus Academicus, and taking a leading part in the training of administrative staff. For two years she was seconded part-time as the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals' Administrative Officer for all the UK's Universities. She became President of the Graduates' Association, and an Honorary President from 2004, and served on the Business Committee of the General Council, convening its Constitutional Standing Committee, which produced what is now known as The Giles Report. Cecily served also on the Women's Union Committee.

The University was only one aspect of her life. At the centre was her family, to all of whom she gave her love, kindness, encouragement, and laughter. The Conservative and Unionist Party held her loyalty throughout her life. She was Convener of the East of Scotland Young Conservatives, Chairman of South Edinburgh, a member of The Scottish Conservative and Unionist Association Executive, a member of the Bow Group, Chairman of the Conservative Party Conference in Scotland, and a member of the Education Policy Committee.

She served on the Board of Stewardship and Finance of The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland from 1986 to 1993, becoming Vice-Convener for two years from 1991 to 1993. This involved serving also on the Personnel Committee and on the Finance Committee of the Action of Churches Together in Scotland (ACTS). She served on the Assembly Council from 1994-1996, and was a devoted member of St Giles, serving there as a steward. Cecily was also appointed to the Transport Users Consultative Committee in 1989 and served on the Rail Users Consultative Committee for Scotland from 1991 to 1997.

"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might" was her philosophy, which she tried to apply to everything.

Robert Watson

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### Journals Received:

The Editor gratefully acknowledges the receipt of the following Journals:

*Bulletin, the University of Edinburgh Staff Magazine*

*Edit, the University of Edinburgh Alumni Magazine*

Published by the University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association,  
18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9LN

Printed by Cambrian Printers Ltd,  
Llanbadarn Road, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, SY23 3TN