UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH JOURNAL



Volume 49, Number Two

Winter 2019

Programme of Events - Spring 2020

Members are advised that they can attend Members' Lunches for the guest speaker only at no cost. Please indicate this when you order tickets. Members are also encouraged to bring guests to our events.

Thursday 13 th February 12 noon £16.50	The AGM of the Association will be held at 12 noon in the Raeburn Room at Old College, Edinburgh. The Agenda for this meeting, along with the 2019 Minutes, is contained within the Winter 2019 issue of the <i>Journal</i> , pages 86-90. Please apply for a ticket if you would like to join us for a light sandwich lunch following the meeting.
Wednesday 11 th March 6.30 pm £40	The Annual Reception and Buffet Supper will be held in the Playfair Library Hall, Old College at 6.30 pm. Our after-dinner guest speaker will be Mr Lukas Svoboda, co-founder of the 'Trek for Big Cats Team', which is a fundraising and awareness campaign around the plight of the big cats and their environment. Mr Svoboda will present an illustrated talk about his expedition to the base camp of Mount Everest. The <i>Journal</i> published an article on Mr Svoboda's exploits in the Summer 2019 issue, pages 53-59.
Wednesday 29 th April 12.15 pm £24 (Please note change of venue)	Members' Lunch to be held in the St Trinnean's Room, St Leonard's Hall, Pollock Halls Campus, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh at 12.15 pm. Our guest speaker will be Mr Dennis Cowan who will present a talk on 'The Ancient Sundials of Scotland'. Scotland has a rich heritage of sundials, which are often found on seventeenth-century churches, on stately homes and in their gardens, and served a real purpose. Mr Cowan has an extensive collection of photographs of sundials, which he will draw on to illustrate this talk.
Tuesday 26 th May 2.00 pm £5	Guided tour of the Law School premises at Old College following the completion of the Old College Refurbishment Project, which has transformed the Law School's premises into a twenty-first-century home for the School, whilst celebrating and preserving the heritage and history of Old College. Meet at 2.00 pm in the Old Quad, by the War Memorial, for our visit. Tea/coffee can be purchased in the Law School café before or after the tour.
Friday 26 th June 2.00 pm	Meet at the Visitor Centre, Abbotsford House, Melrose, the home of Sir Walter Scott, at 2.00 pm for a guided tour of the Regency Garden, followed by a guided tour of the house. If you wish, you can allow time to take a stroll through Scott's planted woodlands, walk alongside the Tweed, and discover pathways and views which

University of Edinburgh Journal

Vol	lume	49:	N	11m	her	Two
V U	unic	エン.	T A	иш	nei	1 W U

Winter 2019

Contents

Programme of Events - Spring 2020		
From the Editor	83	
Letter from the President		
Graduates' Association News and Alumni News		
AGM Invitation and Agenda	86	
AGM 2019 Minute	86	
New Members, Donations, and News of Members	91	
University and Alumni Notes	91	
Birthday Honours List	121	
Articles		
100 Years of the James Tait Black Memorial Prize - Dr Jonathan Wild	93	
Janet Coats Black Prize	95	
Intrinsic Value - Ms Julie Galante	95	
Suffering, Struggle, Survival: 200 Years of African Atlantic Art, Authorship, and Activism (1818-2018) - Prof Celeste-Marie Bernier	99	
The Scottish Fiction of William Croft Dickinson - Mr Alistair Kerr	115	
The Polish School of Medicine at Edinburgh. Part 1: Its Story - Dr Maria Dlugolecka-Graham, Dr Jacek Kwiecinski, and Prof Krzysztof Tomaszewski	123	
Managing Murder and Mayhem: Aspects of Forensic Medicine and the University of Edinburgh - Prof Anthony Busuttil	129	
Lessons Learned from Edinburgh's Gallows - Mr J R Sutherland	134	
SUISS: Contributions to the <i>Journal</i>	139	

Contents continued over page

Reviews	143
Obituaries	151
Programme of Events	158
Application for Tickets	159
Donations/News/Change of Address Form	160
Office Bearers and Committee Members	IBC
Notes for Contributors	OBC
Journals Received	OBC

The *University of Edinburgh Journal* is published twice a year and is sent to all members of the Graduates' Association. Tel. 0131 650 4292/3; Website: www.uega.co.uk; Email: gradassoc@ed.ac.uk The price to others is £14.00 each number, payable in sterling. Full payment details can be found on page 159.

Submissions to the University of Edinburgh Journal

Members of the Graduates' Association, and other readers, are reminded that the Editor is always pleased to receive submissions. This can be in the form of a piece of creative writing or a serious article, and will be considered for possible publication in a future issue of the *Journal*.

Notes for contributors and editorial advice can be found on the Outside Back Cover, or by e-mailing us at:

gradassoc@ed.ac.uk

Monthly Coffee Mornings

The Association meets for coffee at the National Museum of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh EH1 1JF

We meet in the Balcony Café on Level 3 from 10.30 am to 12.00 pm on the following Saturdays in 2020:

1 February, 7 March, 4 April, 2 May, 6 June, 4 July

Guests are most welcome. Do join us! Tel. 0131 650 4292

E-mail: gradassoc.admin@ed.ac.uk

From the Editor

This has been an exciting issue of the *Journal* to put together, as we have been, not breaking new ground, as much as turning over old ground in a way that looks to the future and enables us to realise even more this asset that the University has, and to increase our readership and list of subscribers. If you are reading this but are not one of our subscribers (subscription brings with it membership of the Graduates' Association which, in spite of its title, anyone can join), we hope that you will feel moved to become one, to receive the *Journal* regularly, to enjoy reading it, and perhaps to consider contributing to it and writing for us yourself.



Many years ago, in its early years during the 1920s and 1930s, the *Journal* printed the edited texts of a number of select professorial inaugural lectures. In this issue we are doing the same, with Professor Celeste-Marie Bernier's lecture on 'Suffering, Struggle, Survival: 200 Years of African Atlantic Art, Authorship, and Activism (1818-2018)'. Perhaps this is something that we can repeat, once a year, from each of the Colleges in turn. The University has no systematic archive, in any way, shape or form, of its professorial inaugural lectures. The *Journal* cannot hope to fill that gap but can at least enable many more readers than those who were able to attend some inaugurals, to read versions for themselves.

We have arranged to have an important Gaelic book, *Seòl Mo Bheatha* by Professor Emeritus Donald Meek, to be reviewed in Gaelic as well as English; and are most grateful to Dr Virginia Blankenhorn, who wrote the review in English, to enable her review to be translated by Flòraidh NicPhail of Sgibinnis (Skipness), Tiree. This too is something that we have done before on a smaller scale and hope that we can repeat it in the future.

The *Journal* has been published by the Graduates' Association for the University since 1925 and, like the Association, is approaching its centenary. Its past volumes, the first eighteen of which have been digitized and can be read, and searched by keyword, on the Association's website at **www.uega.co.uk/archive**, provide a unique resource on the history and heritage of the University. We plan to complete the digitisation of the remaining volumes during the coming year and link them with the last three completed volumes which have been published, like this issue, in a digital as well as printed format. And we shall continue to publish articles that contribute to that archive, written by people who are pleased and proud to write for it.

The *University of Edinburgh Journal* is the last one standing of the Ancient Scottish University alumni journals. We want it to remain standing for many more years to come.

THE FUTURE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH GRADUATES' ASSOCIATION

A Letter to Members from the President

Dear Member,

or some time now your Executive Committee has been debating how best to celebrate the Centenary of the Graduates' Association, which comes up in 2024, to be followed by the Centenary of the *Journal* in 2025. What would we like?

- An invitation to our Patron, HRH The Princess Royal, Chancellor of the University?
- A banquet?
- A special volume of the Journal?

Unfortunately, as things stand at present none of these may be possible. The reason? Unless we can improve our finances, we may have to consider winding up the Graduates' Association.

The Committee is determined that this must not happen.

This situation has come about for two reasons: falling membership, and the increasing costs of producing and sending out the *University of Edinburgh Journal*. The Officers of the Association are discussing these with the Development & Alumni Office at present, along with other issues that have become necessary.

Falling Membership: Because of the GDP Regulations, we are unable to contact any alumni other than our present membership without clearance from the Development & Alumni Office.

Increasing cost of the *Journal*: All are agreed that the *Journal* is greatly appreciated and admired, not only by our own members but within the University and other associations. The cost of printing and postage cannot now be met out of present funds.

What can be done?

- If each member could introduce a friend, neighbour, or family member to membership, that would make a huge difference.
- It is suggested that in future the *Journal* be sent out in an electronic PDF format. Any member wishing to continue receiving a printed copy would be asked to pay £15.00 p.a. towards costs.

(It would be very useful if you could indicate at this stage how you would choose to receive the *Journal* in future.)

- If you would like to make a donation to the Association now, that would be very welcome. You will find the Donations Form on page 160 of this Journal.

Other measures to be considered:

- Raising the subscription for Annual Membership to £40.00 p.a.
- Appealing to Life Members as well as Annual Members to consider paying £15.00 p.a. to continue receiving the printed University of Edinburgh Journal.

These will help, but increasing our membership is vital.

Il these measures will be discussed at the AGM on 13 February 2020. **T**Even if you don't often attend AGMs, please make a point of attending this one. We have the future of the Association to discuss and decide. Please respond *now*, to:

> The Honorary Secretary University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association 1fR, 18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN Tel: +44 (0) 131 650 4292 E-mail: gradassoc.admin@ed.ac.uk

In the meantime, please be reassured that the publication of the Journal **L**and our programme of events will continue as planned. They are always great opportunities for staying in touch with your University, so do please join us. Even if you live at some distance from Edinburgh and happen to be here on the chosen dates, we are always glad to see you.

Together we can turn things around.

Oonagh Gray President

Nonagh Gray

The University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association

NOTICE OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Members are invited to the Annual General Meeting to be held in the Raeburn Room, Old College, South Bridge, Edinburgh on Thursday 13 February 2020 at 12.00 noon.

A light sandwich lunch will follow the meeting (£16.50).

Mr David A Lamb SSC, Honorary Secretary

AGENDA

- 1. Minutes (Pages 86-90 of Journal Vol 49, No 2) and matters arising
- **2. Finance:** Presentation of Accounts by Hon Treasurer
- 3. Editorial Committee Report
- 4. President's Report
- 5. Future of UEGA The Way Forward
- **6. Election of Hon Office-bearers:** President, Vice-President, Hon Secretary and Hon Treasurer
- 7. Appointment of Hon Accounts Examiner
- **8. Executive Committee Elections**: all nominations, duly proposed and seconded and with the consent of the nominee, should be in the hands of the Hon Secretary, in writing, by 1 February 2020.
- 9. AOCB

Annual General Meeting 2019

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting held in the Raeburn Room, Old College, Edinburgh on Thursday 14 February 2019 at 12 noon.

Present: Mrs Oonagh Gray, President in the Chair; Mr Peter Freshwater, *Journal* Editor; Mr David Lamb, Hon Secretary; Mr Finlay Marshall, Hon Treasurer; Mrs Joan Meikle, Assistant Secretary and 16 others who signed the register.

Apologies: Mr Andrew Bell, Mr Bill Buchan, Dr Joyce Richardson, Dr Heather Salzen, and Miss Helena Shanks.

1. Minutes: The Minutes of the 2018 AGM were published in the December 2018 issue of the *University of Edinburgh Journal*. They were approved as an accurate record of the meeting.

Matters Arising: **(a)** The President welcomed Mrs Joan Meikle back to her former role of Assistant Secretary following a time of authorised absence due

to difficult family circumstances. She expressed gratitude to Joan's daughter, Heather, who occupied the role as interim Assistant Secretary from February to July last year, following which Joan was able to return to work.

- **(b)** The office bearers had been in further contact with Development and Alumni over recent months and had been working with them to promote a mutually beneficial working relationship. A meeting was held, last December, with Chris Cox and Grant Spence of Development & Alumni and there would be another meeting tomorrow. The outcome of these discussions would be made known once plans for the future had been agreed.
- 2. Finance: Mr Finlay Marshall presented the Accounts for the financial year to 30 September 2018. He began his report by referring to the figure of £14,203 for Wages and Salaries for 2018 and contrasted them with the figure of £15,737 for the previous year. This was due to the absence of a paid employee in the role of Assistant Secretary from October 2017 to February 2018. During that period, the work in the office had been carried out on a voluntary (i.e. unpaid) basis by Margaret Cochran, David Lamb and, to a lesser extent, by himself. The figure would be higher next year by about £3,250 due to an increase in the hourly rate of pay awarded to the two office staff. The net surplus of £2,464 for 2018 did not reflect the true financial position of the Association and Mr Marshall highlighted the income of £4,500 paid in our Grant from the University. He said that goodwill and subsidies don't make a good financial basis. He confirmed that members of the Executive Committee were aware of the Association's unstable financial position and that steps were being taken to actively address this issue. Donations received were similar in amount to 2017 and he expressed his gratitude for all donations given. Sales of Journals and Calendars contributed to the figure of £1,472 in 2018. The cost of producing the calendar had been shown in the accounts for 2017 and the figure for this year related primarily to income from calendar sales.

Mr Lamb referred to the Grant of £4,500 received in 2018 and said that he had applied to the University asking for an increase, primarily to cover the cost of producing the *Journal*. A reply from the University was pending.

There were no other comments on the Accounts which had been already been adopted by members of the Executive Committee. The Accounts had been examined and not found wanting by the Independent Examiner. The President thanked Mr Marshall for his work on these accounts and for his efforts throughout the year.

3. Editorial Committee Report: Mr Peter Freshwater reported that the Editorial Committee had met twice during the year, in September 2018 and in February 2019.

Two issues of the *University of Edinburgh Journal*, for June and December 2018, had been published on time and within budget at a cost of £4,016.58 for June and £4,042.41 for December and had been distributed to members and to other recipients. They had been well received. Thanks to assiduous proof reading by several members of the Editorial Committee, typographical errors had been greatly reduced. In response to comments from several

members, the arrangement of a few items within the December *Journal* had given greater prominence to forthcoming events and the application form for tickets, details of which now appear in the IFC.

Sales of the 2018 Calendar accrued a profit of nearly £1,000 but numbers sold remained disappointingly low, partly (and especially) from among our own members in spite of a discounted members' price, and partly from the Editorial Team's not having realised, until very late, the need to set up a good and wide network of sales outlets in the Edinburgh area, and not readily having the resources to do much about it at short notice. A new Calendar for 2020 was not planned as had been hoped, but the idea of a future Calendar would be kept on a back burner until the Association had resolved its future in current discussions with the University.

Mr John Sutherland, Assistant Editor, had designed and set up a new and independent website for the Association at www.uega.co.uk, and the additional file space that this provided had enabled him to mount, for public access, the digitized set of volumes 1 to 10 of the *Journal*, covering the years 1925 to 1940. This could be fully searched by keywords – names, subjects, titles, etc – and would be a great asset to researchers on the history of the University and its alumni. Volumes 11-20, (1941-1962), would follow shortly. It complemented the Association's Facebook page at www.facebook.com/uegradassoc/. All members of the Association were encouraged – indeed, urged – to visit and use both as often as they could. The more frequent the usage, the higher the priority that the search engines would give these two online addresses.

Work on these had highlighted the need to review the Association's relationship with the University and this had been referred for action to the Association's Executive Committee and Officers. In connection with this, the Editorial Team, supported by the Editorial Committee, wished to redesign the cover of the *Journal*, while keeping the title as at present. Possible redesigned layouts and colours were tabled for consideration. If more time for consideration were needed, the present cover design would be retained for the current year.

Mr Freshwater concluded his report by saying that, as Editor, he had great pleasure in recording his gratitude to Mr John Sutherland, Assistant Editor, Professor Ian Campbell, Convener, and all the members of the Editorial Committee for their support and commitment over the year. The President thanked Mr Freshwater and members of the Editorial Committee for their work during the past year. There were no questions asked about this report.

4. President's Report: The President reported that since the last AGM a number of events had been held as follows:

Spring 2018 Events: Annual Reception and Buffet Supper in March, with guest after-dinner speaker Sir Geoff Palmer, who spoke about connections between Jamaica and Scotland. A Members' Lunch in March with speaker Chris Fleet, Senior Maps Curator at the National Library of Scotland, who spoke about the Bartholomew Maps Collection. An outing, in May, to view

the Muriel Spark Exhibition at the National Library of Scotland. A guided visit, in June, to the magnificently refurbished McEwan Hall.

Autumn 2018 Events: All events were lunches for members and guests and had been held in the Playfair Library. In September, the speaker, Lord Charles Bruce, gave a talk on 'Broomhall House and the Family of King Robert the Bruce'. In October, the speaker, Professor Tony Busuttil, gave a talk entitled 'Managing Murder and Mayhem'. In November, Chris Cox of Development & Alumni spoke about the Department's plans for the future. The Principal's Welcome Ceremony for new students had been held in the McEwan Hall on 10 September and the President attended, accompanied by Peter Freshwater, both of whom were robed and in the platform party. Members of the two committees hosted an informal working lunch in the office premises on 12 September at which the University's Principal, Professor Peter Mathieson, was their guest. Accompanied by her husband, the President had attended the installation of the new Rector, Ann Henderson, in the Playfair Library in early October. As in past years, the President, laid a wreath, during a very moving ceremony, on behalf of the Graduates' Association at the Remembrance Service in the Old Quad on 11 November. In December, an informal afternoon Christmas party was held in the office premises and was attended by members of the Executive Committee and the Editorial Committee.

Membership of the Association as at 30 September 2018 stood at **1,098**. An e-mail invitation, which had been sent out on our behalf by Development & Alumni, to about 3,000 e-mail addresses, in August 2018, was less successful than anticipated. New members were needed.

Already in 2019, one Members' event had been held, on 23 January, when Professor Peter Mathieson, addressed members and guests prior to a lunch in the Playfair Library. This event had been well supported and guests were pleased to hear the Principal's plans for the University. The Annual Reception and Buffet Supper had been arranged for Wednesday 13 March at which Ann Henderson, the University's Rector, would be the after-dinner guest speaker. She had been invited to speak about her previous employment which had included fifteen years in the rail industry in Glasgow, working in a local railway station and then as a train guard, going on to become one of Scotland's first female train drivers.

Future Events: Lunch on 23 April with speaker Major General Michael Riddell-Webster, Her Majesty's Governor of Edinburgh Castle. An outing on 16 May to the History of Education Centre in Leith Walk Primary School to find out about what school was like for a Victorian pupil. An outing on 21 June to the National Library's Map Collection to look at some of the maps which form part of their Bartholomew Collection. Members were now being encouraged to attend meetings in the Playfair Library for the pre-lunch talk only, which was free of charge.

The President concluded her report by expressing her thanks to the Committees for their encouragement and help during her first year in office. Mr Lamb responded by acknowledging the President's enthusiasm.

- **5. Election of Hon Office Bearers**: President Mrs Oonagh Gray continues for the second year of her elected term. Vice President Mr David Gilmour continues for the second year of his elected term. Honorary Secretary the Executive Committee had nominated Mr David Lamb to continue in post. Honorary Treasurer Mr Finlay Marshall holds this position and the Executive Committee had nominated him to continue in this post. The above were proposed by Peter Freshwater, seconded by Ritchie Walker, and were elected without dissent.
- **6. Appointment of Honorary Accounts Examiner**: Mr Eric Brown holds this position and has indicated that he is willing to continue in this post. This was agreed unanimously.
- **7. Executive Committee Elections**: Dr Michael Langdon had completed his year as Immediate Past President. Mr Bill Buchan had indicated his intention to resign from the Executive Committee at this meeting. The President thanked them both for their interest in the work of the Association during the past year.

Nominations for election to the Executive Committee: Mrs Jennifer Scott-proposed by Mrs Oonagh Gray and seconded by Mr David Lamb. Mrs Scott joined the Association in 2015 and graduated from the University with an MA from the School of Economics in 1964. Dr Essie Tough - proposed by Mrs Oonagh Gray and seconded by Mr David Lamb. Dr Tough joined the Association in 2016. She graduated in 1986 with an MEd and a PhD in 2009.

Mrs Scott and Dr Tough were duly elected unanimously.

8. AOCB: Mr Walker asked about the cover design for the *Journal*. Mr Freshwater said that it would be left to the officers and *Journal* committee to make a final decision before May 2019, when the next issue would be due at the printer. He added that a new volume would begin in June 2019, which was an appropriate time for any change in format. It was, however, thought that the existing cover should be retained and that the proposed new format blue version was preferred. Mr Freshwater said that this would be looked at again after the next meeting with Development & Alumni.

Mr Walker asked how much had been requested from the University in our application for an increased Grant. The present amount of £4,500 had been unchanged for a number of years. Mr Lamb said that the sum of £8,000-£9,000 for *Journal* expenses would amount to a substantial increase and that this had been indicated in his letter to the University Secretary.

Mr Lamb recalled that the AGM in 2018 had been held in Teviot House and that the venue had been acceptable though not as congenial as the present location of the Raeburn Room. It was agreed that the next meeting would be held in the Raeburn Room, Old College at 12 noon on Thursday 13 February 2020.

The meeting closed at 12.35 pm with a warm vote of thanks to the Chair by Mr Ritchie Walker.

New Members in 2019

We are delighted to welcome the undernoted new members and invite them to send us news of themselves or other graduates from time to time. Members are also encouraged to invite friends and colleagues to join the Association.

Mr Gordon D CairnsLLB 1979Miss Ann D HendersonMA 1978Miss Ruth HoneyboneMA 2000

Dr David M Munro BSc 1973 PhD 1983

Mr David Withington BSc 1998 (Napier) FRSSA

Donations in 2019

The undernoted members have responded to our appeals for voluntary contributions and we wish to thank them most warmly for their generosity. Several anonymous contributions have also been received.

Dr David H G Boyd, Edinburgh Mr Jack McLaren, Edinburgh Mr Peter Freshwater, Edinburgh Mr Robert Parker, USA

Mr David A Lamb, Edinburgh Mrs Valerie Robertson, Edinburgh

Mrs Fay Lee, Canada

News of Members

David J Lockwood DSc 1978 FRSCanada, Researcher Emeritus at the National Research Council of Canada in Ottawa, was awarded the prestigious Gordon E Moore Medal for Outstanding Achievement in Solid State Science and Technology on 27 May 2019 at the Spring Meeting of the Electrochemical Society held in Dallas, Texas, USA.

University and Alumni Notes

The Edinburgh Seven Receive their Degrees After 150 Years

As we noted in the last *Journal*, on Saturday 6 July 2019 the first seven women allowed to study at the University, received their MBChB degrees at a special graduation ceremony in the Playfair Library Hall, 150 years after they matriculated as students. They were represented by seven current women Medical undergraduates, and the degrees were conferred by Professor Peter Mathieson, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University.

Oor Sherlock spends the Summer in Old College

From the middle of June until the end of August one of the Oor Wullie Bucket Trail figures, decorated by Chris Rutterford as Sherlock Holmes, welcomed visitors to Old College as he sat on the lawn opposite the main

entrance to the Old Quad. The lifesize figures of Oor Wullie decorated the cities of Scotland to raise funds and the awareness of need for better funding for the Scottish Children's Hospital Charities, and were auctioned to raise even more funds at the end of the event. Oor Sherlock appears as the January image in the Oor Wullie Bucket Trail Official Calendar 2020. For more information see www.oorwullie.com

The Charles Lyell Notebooks Acquired by the University

Following a huge appeal, and significant support by the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Friends of Edinburgh University Library, and many leading scientific organisations and individuals including many alumni, the University is delighted to have been able to purchase the 294 notebooks of geologist Sir Charles Lyell (1797-1875) and to save them from being exported abroad. The original purchase price of £1,444,000 was reduced to £966,000 thanks to a restructuring of tax liability. Lyell is probably the most significant figure in the history of earth sciences after James Hutton, and was a mentor to Charles Darwin after the latter returned from his voyage on *The Beagle*. The notebooks will be housed in the University Library beside other collections of Lyell's papers and effects, and arrangements are in hand to have them digitised and made freely available for research via the internet. For further information, visit www.ed.ac.uk/giving/save-lyell-notebooks

IASH Seeks Crowdfunding for a New Book

Dr Ben Fletcher-Watson, Administrative Manager at IASH (Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities), is delighted to announce the launch of a new book from IASH, as the next phase of the Dangerous Women Project. This fantastic project was created by Professor Steve Yearley's predecessor as IASH Director, Professor Jo Shaw, and the then Administrative Manager Dr Peta Freestone. The project ran from International Women's Day 2016 to International Women's Day 2017, and centred on daily blogposts by writers from around the world, all answering the question, "What does it mean to be a dangerous woman?"

Fifty of the posts have now been revised, updated, and compiled into a book, to be published by Unbound. But the book will only become a reality if enough people pledge their support in the crowdfunding campaign over the next few weeks.

The book contains contributions from a diverse range of authors, including the First Minister Nicola Sturgeon, journalist Bidisha, the University's own Melissa Highton and Chisomo Kalinga, playwright Jo Clifford, novelist Yewande Omotoso, and celebrated author Nada Awar Jarrar. It's such an exciting development for IASH, and we hope you enjoy reading it as much as we have enjoyed creating it. Many of the essays are historical biographies of women overlooked in traditional accounts, often drawing on the holdings of the Library and the Centre for Research Collections. To find out more, please visit https://unbound.com/books/dangerous-women/

One Hundred Years of the James Tait Black Memorial Prize

by Dr Jonathan Wild

Dr Wild is a Senior Lecturer in English Literature in the School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures and a former Judge of the James Tait Black Prize for Biography.

The centenary of the James Tait Black Memorial Prize was marked at the Edinburgh International Book Festival in August. This book prize, awarded annually since 1919 to the year's best works of fiction and biography, is the longest established literary award in Britain. Alongside those other famous book prizes, the Prix Goncourt (founded in 1903) in France, and the Pulitzer (founded in 1917) in the USA, it is also recognised as among the most prestigious awards in the literary world.

The celebrations for the first hundred years of the JTB allowed staff and postgraduate students from Edinburgh's Department of English Literature to take stock of the prize's remarkable history. This involved full recognition of Janet Coats Black, the woman who originally established the prize in memory of her late husband, James Tait Black, a distinguished Edinburgh publisher. Thanks to the energetic detective work of Dr Lucinda Byatt, a tutor in Italian and History based at the University, Janet Coats Black was finally able to step out of her husband's shadow. One way in which this recognition was marked was by the inauguration of a new writing prize, established in Janet Coats Black's name, which was presented to Julie Galante. Julie accepted her award at the Edinburgh Book Festival alongside this year's prize winners in fiction, Olivia Laing for Crudo, and in biography, Lindsey Hilsum for In Extremis: The Life and Death of War Correspondent Marie Colvin. These writers joined an extremely distinguished line-up of previous winners, whose names include, for fiction, D H Lawrence, E M Forster, Aldous Huxley, Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, Muriel Spark, Iris Murdoch, Salman Rushdie, and Zadie Smith; and for biography, Lytton Strachey, Elizabeth Longford, Antonia Fraser, Richard Ellmann, Victoria Glendinning, Martin Amis, Peter Ackroyd, Michael Holroyd, and Hermione Lee. In addition to the existing prizes, a new JTB prize category was established in 2012 for drama, and this year's recipient was Clare Barron for her play Dance Nation.

When the original prize was inaugurated in 1919, the then Edinburgh Regius Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature, Herbert Grierson, was solely tasked with picking the winning books and writers; but in more recent years, postgraduate students in English Literature have been centrally involved in the judging process. The current lead student judges, June Laurenson and Glynnis Cox, head up a team of over twenty student readers, who between them read all of the books submitted for the prizes. This year over 500 books were received from publishers and the student readers prepared reports on each of these books for the academic judges, Dr Alex Lawrie for fiction, and Dr Simon Cooke for biography.

The work of the postgraduate readers is vital in drawing the attention of the academic judges to hidden gems among the ocean of submitted volumes. When I acted as biography judge (2011-2018), I found the student reports invaluable in helping me to navigate my way through the piles of book

boxes that gradually took over my office during the year. I was always impressed by the wisdom and open-mindedness of our postgraduate readers who, year after year, alerted me to wonderful books that might well have passed under my radar. This was especially the case for those biographies focused on subjects whose endeavours were well outside my own field of academic specialism. One of the truths that the student readers helped me to understand is that excellence in writing can appear in the most apparently unpromising places. Judging the prize certainly broadened my knowledge and understanding of the wider world, and I feel immensely privileged to have had my horizons stretched in this way.



Dr Jonathan Wild

The openness in judging now promoted by our student readers has in fact always been a feature of the prize. It is clear from looking over the history of the JTB that the judges have rarely played it safe in making their choices. In the early days of the prize, for example, the award of the biography prize to Lytton Strachey stands out as bold and undoubtedly controversial statement of intent. Although Strachey is now widely recognised as the father of modern British life writing, his *Queen Victoria* (which won the 1921 prize), continued the work of his earlier biography, *Eminent Victorians*, in instituting a bold, fresh, and uncompromising approach to biography. More recently, the JTB prize judges have consistently spotted important and innovative writers at the initial stages of their careers. For the fiction prize, Salman Rushdie's award for *Midnight's Children* in 1981, and Zadie Smith's award for *White Teeth* in 2000, offered early recognition of the remarkable talents of these major writers.

The James Tait Black prize is clearly in excellent health as it moves into its second century. As Sally Magnusson confirmed when chairing this year's award ceremony, this universally respected literary prize continues to develop and lead the field, while always rewarding the very best writing of the year.

Editorial note: *Julie Galante's prize-winning short story*, Intrinsic Value, *follows on pages* 95-98.

Image of Dr Jonathan Wild © copyright of the University of Edinburgh.

Janet Coats Black Prize

To mark the centenary in 2019 of the James Tait Black Prizes, and to honour Janet Tait Black (*née* Coats), the founder of the awards of which launched the Prizes, the Trustees decided to present an additional prize, a creative writing award for short story writing by a postgraduate student at the University of Edinburgh.

Julie Galante won the Janet Coats Black Prize with the following story. We are very grateful to Julie and to the University for allowing the *Journal* to publish it, and are proud to do so. It also appears on the James Tait Black Prizes website at www.ed.ac.uk/events/james-tait-black/about/creative-writing-prize

The prize was awarded by Dr Lucinda Byatt, who is a cousin of Janet Coats Black, and is a teaching fellow at the Centre for Open Learning, and tutor in Italian and History at the University.



Julie Galante with Dr Lucinda Byatt.

Photography by Lesley Martin ©, www.lesleymartin.co.uk

Intrinsic Value

by Ms Julie Galante

Then are you going to get rid of all this junk!' Gabi yelled, for the four thousand five hundred sixty-first time since they got married. It was no longer a question.

'It's not junk,' came Al's standard reply.

She pulled a random item out of the nearest pile of newspapers, carpet samples, and broken household electronics. 'How is this *not junk*?' she asked, triumphant, holding out a slip of paper.

Al grabbed it from her, hurt. 'That's from our trip to Florence. It's a floorplan of the museum, the one we went to before that little restaurant with the candles and the artichokes.'

Gabi was unmoved by his sentimentality. 'It sure looks like junk to me.' She pulled out a cord from the pile. 'And this?'

'That's the power cable to – something. I'm going to figure out what.'

Gabi raised an eyebrow, put down the cord, and picked up a rusty oil lantern.

'That used to hang in the barn at my parents' place, remember?'

'So what's it doing here? Jesus, Al, why in the world would we need an oil lantern. I swear, one day we're going to die under an avalanche of all your junk.'

'It's not junk!' Al looked at her pleadingly.

'Of course not, it's all treasures. Millions and millions of precious, worthless treasures.'

When they first moved in together, twenty-two years ago, Gabi liked to tease Al playfully about his 'treasures' – all the little items he used to keep from the places they went, the things they did. Back then, she had found him charming in every way. The house was plenty big for them in those days; being far fewer in number, the treasures didn't get in the way. There was venom in the word 'treasure' when it came out of Gabi's mouth now.

'And this?' Gabi sounded tired as she held up a box full of boxes of paper clips.

'You know what those are. And I use them all the time.'

'But look at how many! It will take a lifetime and then some for you to go through them. You'll need to live for a hundred years to use all this junk.'

*

'It's bad, Al. She's really fed up with you.'

The couple's old friend Lucy was smoking a cigarette out on their patio. Al sat next to her; he had quit a decade ago, but he liked to keep her company. Gabi was in the kitchen, shifting piles of stuff around to make enough space on the dining room table for them to eat dinner.

'What else is new?'

'Naw, it's worse than before. She's thinking of leaving you. You really better shape up.'

Al appeared unconcerned. His Gabi would never leave him. They belonged together. It was the way the world was meant to be.

'Seriously. Show her you love her. Show her you love her more than you love all the junk.'

'It's not junk.'

'Al. Don't fuck this up. You two are my favourite couple.'

*

Gabi watched Al in her vanity mirror. She had just finished doing her makeup and putting in her diamond stud earrings – the ones she saved for special occasions. It was their twentieth anniversary, and they were getting ready to go out to dinner. Except it was past time to leave, and Al wasn't ready. Clad in a white dress shirt (which had seen better days), a black suit jacket, and white briefs, he was digging through the back of his wardrobe and muttering to himself. The bed and floor were strewn with items of clothing, resting where he had flung them over the course of the past hour or two.

Gabi glanced at the clock on the bedside table and sighed. Her lack of anger surprised her. She removed the earrings, unzipped her red satin cocktail dress, and went to the bathroom to wash her face.

*

'I can't do it, I can't live like this anymore.' Gabi was sitting at the kitchen table with Lucy. They were drinking coffee out of mugs wedged between all the other things on the table – in amongst the treasures. A few unopened packages from eBay. A broken alarm clock. A stack of identical postcards from a place they'd never been.

'I don't blame you. Honestly, I like coming over here less and less these days. He's really gotten worse. That, or the stuff is breeding.'

'It's taken over everything. It's disgusting.' Gabi paused. 'This just isn't how I imagined spending middle age, you know? I mean, the kids are finally out of the house. My career is doing great. I should be hosting glamorous dinner parties in my gorgeous home, not playing second fiddle to a junk collection. This should be my prime, goddammit.'

'Do you really think you'll leave?'

*

The next week, Al came home to an empty house. Empty of his wife, anyway. Still full of his stuff. On the fridge was a note: 'I've begged you so many times: it's me or the stuff. I can't see the value in your treasures, and you can't seem to see the value in me. We've come to an impasse. I'm sorry.'

In the weeks and months after she left, Al cried a lot and tried to figure out how to win her back. It couldn't be about the things, not really. Could it? He just needed to make her see.

Gabi wouldn't respond to his calls or emails, and Lucy wouldn't tell him anything beyond that she was safe.

He had an idea; he set to work right away. He bought supplies in bulk – PVC glue, wooden boards, big blocks of styrofoam. He watched instructional videos online. He took classes from a local sculptor, and a woodworker, and a collage artist. He arranged and rearranged and glued and molded and shaped. He wove power cords into elaborate tapestries. He soldered clusters of nostalgia into decorative lamps. He decoupaged furniture with unopened piles of junk mail cut into intricate patterns of flowers and paisley.

Al kept at it for three years, working day and night, seven days a week, season to season, year after year. He stopped going to work, shaving, bathing. Bills came through the mail slot and ended up as shredded bits of feather on a statue of a phoenix built from bicycle parts and an old, beat-up trumpet. When the electricity was shut off, he lit the house with a mismatched set of standing lamps he crafted from torches, an LED screen, and the rusty oil lamp.

Lucy came by to check on him every once in a while. Upon insisting that he clean himself up a bit, she found that all his toiletry bottles and shaving gear had gone into a Roman frieze depicting the early years of his childhood.

One day, when he was in the front garden working on a particularly large assemblage, a neighbour stopped by.

'This is very interesting, Al. I run a sculpture gallery in the city. Could I take a look at your other work and maybe take something to display? Do you have other pieces?'

'I do, yes.'

Al took the neighbour into the house, which was starting to look like a gallery itself. Room after room held sculptures and collages, precisely balanced, alternately delicate and powerful, intricate and bold. The neighbour walked slowly from room to room, mouth agape. 'I shall take them all!' she declared.

Several months later, a *vernissage* was held in the gallery. Wine flowed into glasses. Speeches were made. Gallerists buzzed around sticking red dots onto labels. Al took none of it in. He stood awkwardly to one side in his stiff new shirt and trousers and surveyed the crowd skittishly. At last his gaze landed upon her. She stood in front of the large collage on the centre wall. It consisted of thousands of pieces of paper – old photographs, ticket stubs, letters, receipts, and the note she had left him – arranged to create a likeness of her face. Amongst the swirling commotion of the other attendees, Al moved quietly to her side. His arm lightly brushed against the red satin of her sleeve.

'It's all here.' She glanced around the gallery as she spoke, and then let her eyes settle on him.

```
'It is.'
```

'So the house?'

'Empty.'

Neither spoke for a few minutes. Gabi turned back to the collage.

'I'll take it.'

Suffering, Struggle, Survival: 200 Years of African Atlantic Art, Authorship, and Activism (1818-2018)

by Prof Celeste-Marie Bernier

An edited and abridged transcript of the Inaugural Lecture of Professor Bernier, the University's first Chair of United States and Atlantic Studies, delivered in the Playfair Library Gallery, Old College on 5 October 2018. Professor Bernier was introduced by Professor Charlotte Clarke, Chair of Health in Social Science in the School of Health in Social Science and College Dean International.

Alan Franklin. This lecture is in loving memory of Maureen McKeever and all those whom Professor Charlotte Clarke spoke so beautifully about: those who suffer, those who struggle, those who sacrifice, and those who find ways not only to exist but to live and to survive with nothing.

I. 'My Art is the Evidence of my Freedom' – Thornton Dial¹

Thornton Dial, a breathtakingly beautiful and inspirationally powerful artist who died only recently was an individual who suffered and struggled all the decades of his life he spent living in rural Alabama in the US South. "Life has been rough with me," he readily conceded, rhetorically asking his listeners, "How it been with you?" only to urge, "Life is rough with everybody. We all have a hard time." Recognising the body-and-soul-destroying effects of all forms of physical, emotional, social, political, psychological, and creative struggle, he ultimately avowed: 'My art is the evidence of my freedom.'



Prof Celeste-Marie Bernier

For past, present, and future Black women, children and men living and dying in the African Atlantic diaspora over the centuries, the question of survival in the face of struggle and sacrifice is one that walks with us all daily, and one that is part of the struggle, that Donald Rodney – a Black British artist who died too young – described as the ongoing fight for a "Black lexicon of liberation."

While the intergenerational trauma caused by centuries of European slave-trading and New World systems of chattel slavery, colonialism, and empire has remained a daily reality for people of African descent fighting for an existence in white supremacist western societies, so too has an undefeatable system of intergenerational survival. Black women, children, and men in their millions have demonstrated their inspirational power to

resist, to express, to create, and to survive against all the odds and by every means necessary.

II. 'If I survive this hail of shot and shell, I'll write you a long letter'

— Lewis Henry Douglass⁴

'I cannot forget suffering and I will never forget sunset'

– Horace Pippin⁵

'No one will take me back alive. I will fight for my liberty'

– Harriet Tubman⁶

'Struggle is a beautiful thing' – Jacob Lawrence⁷

The question of the individual and collective fight for love, life, and liberty is one that runs throughout the African Atlantic world. I started out researching and writing on works of literature: I began by reading the stories of survivors: the lives of the women, children, and men who had made it out of chattel slavery and which were written down in official testimony as patronised by whites, edited by whites, censored by whites, disseminated by whites, and read by whites. But as I soon realised, the lives of those who did not make it leave no textual trace: women, children, and men living and dying in slavery leave us no tales in official spaces. Rather they used song, oral memory, burial rites, textiles, foodways, pottery, hairdressing, performance, dance, portrait-painting, sculptures, and medicinal traditions, among much, much more, to tell their stories and to secure individual arts of resistance as well as communal acts of survival.

As a powerful means to reject the white supremacist ideology that plays out in every aspect of western academia – intellectually, politically, ideologically, philosophically, and culturally – we need to read, research, and theorise against the grain. We must pay due heed to the heart-breaking ways in which white supremacist academic narratives erase, eradicate, and annihilate Black lives by endorsing an interdisciplinary practice out of political necessity, as well as deliberate intellectual design. In order to try to begin to recover the lives that have been broken, the lives that have been destroyed, and the lives that have been dehumanised within a white dominant imaginary, we have to reject the dominant archetypes and racist paradigms that continue to define western systems of knowledge to this day. We have to critique, interrogate, and theorise against a persecutory and discriminatory white mainstream intellectual and political milieu that invisibilises, annihilates and destroys Black histories, Black memories, and Black lives.

In his autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, first published in 1855, Frederick Douglass (Figure 1), an individual who had been born into slavery only to effect his self-liberation decades before, rhetorically questioned, 'ask the slave what is his condition – what his state of mind – what he thinks of enslavement?' He brooked no dissent by insisting, 'you had as well address your inquiries to the *silent dead*. There comes no voice from the enslaved. We are left to gather his feelings by imagining what ours would be, were our souls in his soul's stead."⁸ Incontestably, the only way

in which we can even begin to imagine what "our feelings would be, were our souls in his soul's stead," is by rejecting western academic practices as predicated upon classificatory systems of power and enlightenment systems of knowledge. We have to use our broken humanity. We have to use our broken vulnerability. We have to take risks.

As formerly enslaved women, children, and men fought by every means necessary to survive, we have to use every intellectual, political and cultural tool available in order to begin to do justice to their social, historical, philosophical, existential, and cultural worlds. In order to research, in order to recreate, in order to reimagine lives lost, cut off too soon, abused, and in and of suffering, we have to use every weapon in our academic and activist arsenal. The weapons in our arsenal are political ideology, revolutionary thought, emotional connectivity, and above all, and as insisted by Frederick Douglass – now one of the world's most important social justice campaigners, philosophers, radicals, intellectuals, and philosophers – these weapons are



Figure 1 - Frederick Douglass also the life of the mind and the life of the imagination.

III. 'My great grandmother Rose, mother of Ashley, gave her this sack when she was sold at age nine in South Carolina. It held a tattered dress, three handfulls of pecans, a braid of Rose's hair. Told her "It be filled with my love, always" She never saw her again. Ashley is my grandmother. Ruth Middleton 1921'9

This sack survives as a family's testament to the intergenerational love **■** between a great-grandmother, grandmother, and a granddaughter: Rose, Ashley, and Ruth Middleton. The beautiful embroidery of the granddaughter speaks to the power of her great-grandmother's heartfelt promise to her grandmother that, 'It be filled with my love, always'. In order to understand the centuries long history of the atrocities and abuses perpetuated by the transatlantic slave trade and chattel slavery in the New World, we need to understand these harrowing institutions not only as legal, political, and national and international realities but as psychological and emotional sites and sights of trauma and tragedy.

To even begin and yet still necessarily fail to understand the legal condition of chattel slavery, its body-and-soul-destroying damage, its psychological, emotional, and imaginative effects of annihilation, and its unending devastation to African diasporic individuals and communities, it is vital to do justice to the power of the human spirit. In this beautifully embroidered cotton sack, Rose, Ashley and Ruth Middleton commemorate the legacies of their lives by bearing witness to the Black freedom struggle as a centuries-old reality. As faced with the tortures, tragedies, and traumas of US chattel slavery as followed by a legal emancipation that was and remains in name only – as all too clearly evidenced in the on-going omnipresence of white supremacist forces that continue to exert a stranglehold over western societies today – African diasporic women, children, and men have fought and continue to fight by every means necessary. As Rose, Ashley and Ruth Middleton's intergenerational history memorialises, they sacrificed, they struggled, they suffered, and they survived.

In working across the fields of Slavery Studies, African Diasporic Studies, and African American Studies, we have to understand that, as contemporary artist Lonnie Holley describes it: 'Life is at stake': the fight for social, political, cultural life in the face of existential death.¹⁰ If you decide to take on the question of trying to begin to understand just what Holley means by his declaration that, 'Life is at stake,' you have to be committed to the struggle, and to recognising that the struggle continues and the suffering continues. One of the most prevalent white racist myths that has endured across the centuries is that enslaved families were annihilated by slavery. Black owned, Black created, and Black preserved artefacts, including Rose, Ashley and Ruth Middleton's beautifully embroidered sack, live on to tell us that 'love be with you, always': their 'courageous love in a time of hate' lives on to educate us all.

Working across the African diasporic world, it is our intellectual, moral, social, political, and emotional responsibility to work to develop an academic-activist practice in which we can begin to piece together the unknown and missing lives of millions of dead women, children, and men: all the people bought and sold over the centuries of the transatlantic slave trade and chattel slavery and who did not survive to freedom, those who told no tales, let alone wrote anything down, but who instead kept their hearts and their minds alive in their oral memories and via their awe-inspiring cultural traditions.

African diasporic ancestral memory has remained key to the survival of the individual and collective human spirit and must be central to any and all academic-activist methodologies within Black Studies. Frederick Douglass repeatedly mourned the harrowing reality that for enslaved women, children, and men undertaking 'their voyage to West Indian bondage,' 'their path is marked with blood. Torn from home, despoiled of their freedom, they go to drag out a miserable existence in Colonial Slavery. What pain, what anguish, what agony of soul, struggles beneath the hatchway of that pirate ship... Many of them become food for the hungry shark, who reddens the wake of a slave-ship with their blood.'11 As he recalled, he learned of this traumatizing reality not in official histories but in communal storytelling

traditions. All his life he remembered how, 'one night while sitting in the kitchen, I heard some of the old slaves talking of their parents having been stolen from Africa by white men, and were sold here as slaves.'12 For Douglass, the only way in which to live with let alone endure this 'anguish' and 'agony of soul' was to 'take heart and hope' from the ancestors.

IV. 'this hell that is slavery' – Margaret Garner¹³

One of the most powerful contemporary novels, *Beloved* (1987) by Toni Morrison, memorialises the history of Margaret Garner, a woman and mother who was born into slavery in Kentucky. Before Garner's life was evocatively reimagined by Morrison in the twentieth century, her history comes to us in the writings of a white male lawyer, and very little else. There are no photographs of Garner. And there are no printed records of her words that have not been edited, interpreted, or reshaped by whites.

Margaret Garner was born into slavery in 1835. She escaped while she was pregnant in 1856 with the devastating result that she was captured and overpowered by white court marshals. She and her extended family members, who were on the run with her, fought these court marshals but to no avail: they were over-powered, and they were incarcerated. Margaret Garner had only a moment to make a life and death decision. As a white newspaper reporter writes: 'Garner, with a certain knife, held the same Mary Garner [her daughter] in towards her. Upon the right side of the throat, she gave her one mortal wound the length of five inches, and the depth of three inches.'14 While we have very little verifiable testimony if we are trying to put together, think through, understand, recover, and respect the life of Margaret Garner, we do have a tiny fragment that one white eye-witness remembered. They recalled her saying, 'It is better for them, my children, to be put out of the world than to live in this hell that is slavery.' As white male Founding Father Patrick Henry insisted, 'Give me liberty or give me death!' so Margaret Garnet staked her and her family's claim to freedom against all the odds. While Henry, with all the power and might of a white supremacist government behind him, was able to choose 'liberty' and 'life,' for Garner as an enslaved mother the only liberty for her and her family was to be found in death. And yet, Garner's revolutionary act was to live on as the cornerstone of nineteenth-century US Black radicalism. As Frederick Douglass himself declared, 'Every mother who, like Margaret Garner, clenches a knife into the bosom of her infant to save it from the evil of our Christian slavery should be held and honoured as a benefactress to this nation.'15 Waging a one-person war against the deathless life that was chattel slavery, Margaret Garner decided she would liberate her child from the physical suffering of inhumane bondage into the spiritual life of eternal emancipation.

If Margaret Garner was a Founding Mother of Black revolutionary heroism, then Nathaniel Turner, an individual who was born into slavery in Virginia, was a Founding Father of African diasporic freedom movements. In August 1831, he led a group of men in a war of liberation against the system of chattel slavery as practised in the state of Virginia. As he prophesied of their bloody conflict, 'I saw white spirits and Black spirits engaged in battle.' While his army was defeated by white murderous slave-trading officials and he himself was executed, his memory lives on to this day as an inspiration for contemporary freedom struggles. A revolutionary, an intellectual, a freedom-fighter, a philosopher, and a spiritual believer, Turner had only one answer for his white interviewer, Thomas R. Gray, who dared to question his heroism just before he died when he declared: 'was not Christ crucified'

Nathaniel Turner fought and trained his men as a revolutionary wargeneral – surviving oral testimony suggests that one of his men had fought alongside none other than Toussaint Louverture, the founder of the first Black Republic in the Western hemisphere – and all his all too brief life he understood chattel slavery for the moral abomination it was: a war against the body and soul as well as the heart and the intellect. A war in which peace could never be obtained at any price and only through bloodshed. As David Walker, a man who also died too young and who published his revolutionary pamphlet, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles, Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World,* only two years before Turner's revolutionary war, repeatedly said: 'what is the use of living when in fact I am dead?'¹⁸

As these hidden histories of Black heroism lay bare, we have a difficult archive to deal with when it comes to the memorialisation of Black lives. We have absence, we have atrocity, we have dehumanisation, and we have devastation to contend with in any and on-going attempts to do justice to the histories, memories, and narratives of iconic let alone invisibilised African diasporic liberators living and dying across centuries of world history.

V. 'Ethiopians speak by simile' – Phillis Wheatley¹⁹

When it comes to white mainstream archives of Black lives, we have records that lie, records that cheat, records that deny, and records that have been entirely destroyed. It is therefore all the more vital that we develop an interdisciplinary methodology rooted in a social justice vision in which we are newly able to cut to the heart of the centuries-long histories of the literatures, histories, oral stories, paintings, sculptures, drawings, and material cultures created by African diasporic women, children, and men: enslaved and free.

Phillis Wheatley (Figure 2), an individual who was sold into chattel slavery in the eighteenth century, was forced to endure the unimaginable tragedies and traumas of the Middle Passage. As a child she made that devastating journey – the journey that Douglass memorialised as one of unimaginable 'pain', "anguish', and 'agony of soul' – by being forcibly incarcerated on board one of the thousands of 'pirate' slave ships as it travelled from Western Africa to the United States. Phillis Wheatley survived and arrived into Boston as an enslaved child who was then sold to a white family. As an individual who dedicated her life to defying her enslavement, she becomes a world-renowned, widely celebrated, and

powerful poet. In her all too brief life, she writes prolifically: she writes Christian prayer, she writes political allegory, and she writes vicious satire; and in some of her unpublished writings, she writes candidly of her life as dedicated to resistance. Among her many dissident phrases is Wheatley's declaration that endures as a warning to whites who misread, who distort, and who eradicate all trace of Black agency and artistry: 'Ethiopians speak by simile.' A revolutionary writer and thinker as well as a poet, she defied all the odds by making history as one of the first international poets of enslaved descent in the Western hemisphere.



Figure 2 - Phillis Wheatley

VI. 'black people of every description chained together' – Olaudah Equiano²⁰

The wilful amnesia of western nations has guaranteed that memorials to the ▲ institution of chattel slavery and the slave trade are hard to find, difficult to protect, and impossible to fund. Slave ships are especially difficult objects historically, materially, culturally, and imaginatively to remember. I am sure all of you can call to mind the eighteenth-century broadside revealing an aerial view of the Liverpool slave ship, the *Brooks*, that was commissioned by white British abolitionist, Thomas Clarkson.²¹ As a hard-hitting weapon in a white abolitionist arsenal, this diagram succeeded in naming and shaming the 'tight packing' of enslaved individuals for maximum profit by white European traders such as John Newton.²² A notorious slave-trader before he was stricken down with an illness which meant that captaining slave ships was no longer practically possible, he relied on the language of the enlightenment to describe the method of traders used to incarcerate enslaved people onto slave ships. As he remembered, 'Slaves lie in two rows, one above the other, on each side of the ship, close to each other, like books upon a shelf.'23 Nowhere in Newton's language is the grief-stricken testimony of Olaudah Equiano (Figure 3), an individual who was sold into slavery as a young child. In his autobiography, he shares the following heart-breaking first-hand experiences of what it was to be forcibly enslaved on a slave ship with his readers:

'The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor, and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror when I was carried on board... I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me... When I looked round the ship too and saw a large furnace or copper boiling, and a multitude of black people of every description chained together, every one of their countenances

expressing dejection and sorrow, I no longer doubted of my fate; and, quite overpowered with horror and anguish, I fell motionless on the deck and fainted. ... I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life: so that, with the loathsomeness of the stench, and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste any thing... The closeness of the place, and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration, from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died, thus falling victims to the improvident avarice, as I may call it, of their purchasers. This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable; and the filth of the necessary tubs, into which the children often fell, and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women, and the groans of the dying, rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable.'24



Figure 3 - Olaudah Equiano

Nothing could be further from Olaudah emotionally unequivocal denunciation of an unimaginable 'scene of horror' than John Newton's self-conscious act of eradicating white guilt by denying Black suffering. As read within the context of testimonies authored not only by Equiano but by millions more, John Newton's language, no less than his actions, are a moral abomination. His decision to describe his harrowing and horrifying practice of placing human beings onto a slave ship, an unimaginably hellish site of atrocity and abuse that is for Equiano a 'wretched' reality, as a process that is like stacking 'books upon a shelf' works not only to deny the pain of enslaved people

but to exalt in his actions as the actions of an enlightenment thinker and a civilised human being. Nothing remotely resembling a civilised human being, his actions are the action of an inhumane murderer, a godless torturer, and a barbaric executor.

No more categorical confirmation can be provided – and as I stand here today in the Playfair Library of Old College at the University of Edinburgh, one of the ancient seats of learning in the western hemisphere, I endorse this declaration in full recognition of Edinburgh's key role in this history – of the western enlightenment as a centuries long white supremacist institution, dehumanizing system, alienating practice, and oppressive framework that, without fail, continues to guarantee white male freedoms by devastating and destroying past, present, and future Black lives. white

western systems of enlightenment have been and continue to be made possible solely by the extermination and eradication of Black cultures, Black histories, Black memories, Black narratives and Black lives. By their acts of courage, compassion, and creativity, women, children, and men such as Phillis Wheatley and Olaudah Equiano changed history: no 'books' stacked within a white slaver's ship, they are the authors of their self-liberated literary histories.

VII. 'You could never be as ugly as the hold of a ship' – Lubaina Himid²⁵

Today I want to share the powerful history of one slave ship in particular: the French-owned slaver *Le Rodeur*. This ship, with one hundred and sixty enslaved people and a slave-trading crew of twenty-two white men, sailed from the Kingdom of Bonny, Nigeria, in West Africa during April 1819.²⁶ A white male reporter writes of the sickness that takes place during the journey: 'A terrible malady broke out; an obstinate disease of the eyes, contagious and altogether beyond the resources of medicine.'²⁷ As this observer continues, 'Some of the poor wretches in the hold, locking themselves in each other's arms, leaped overboard in the hope, which universally prevails among them, of being swiftly transported back to Africa.'²⁸ All attempts at self-liberation by these enslaved individuals faced bloody reprisals from whites: they were stopped, they were shot, and they were tortured and killed. But still they continued, and still they fought on.

The harrowing history of *Le Rodeur* survives in contemporary western memory as the inspiration for Lubaina Himid, a contemporary artist who was born in Zanzibar and who is working in Britain today. Over the decades, she philosophises Black lives as lives lived 'inside the invisible.'²⁹ Lubaina Himid was at a conference when she first learned about this story of *Le Rodeur* from the leading historian, Anita Rupprecht.³⁰ While she was avidly listening to Rupprecht's ground-breaking research she was inspired to create a series of artworks in response. As she readily realized, she immediately encountered very real difficulties, admitting, 'I couldn't make paintings of hundreds of people going blind. It was too horrible.'³¹ For Himid, it was vitally important that she come to grips with the 'kind of or vibration of these terrible events' which was 'shuddering its way through the room.'³²

Lubaina Himid has and continues to dedicate her artistic practice and political life to memorialising the 'ghosts and the traces and the vibrations' of the lives of those who are lost and gone. The '60 million and more' of Toni Morrison's re-imagining of the untold numbers of bodies and souls buried in the trans-Atlantic.³³ These are the women, children, and men, who, unlike Phillis Wheatley and Olaudah Equiano, did not make it to the New World. As an artist who is all too painfully aware of the impossibility of memorializing the atrocities and abuses of the Middle Passage, she issues a powerful warning: 'You could never be as ugly as the hold of a ship. Or branding. Or rape. Or blood-stained bodies'.³⁴ Working from this lifelong conviction, Himid's monumental paintings in which she reimagines the history of *Le Rodeur* lay bare her commitment

to reimagining acts of solidarity and collective consciousness among African diasporic peoples as they fought on by every means necessary. In *Le Rodeur (The Lock)* which she painted in 2016, two individuals reach toward one other in a gesture of solidarity that suggests that their united actions will unlock the lock above them and end their enslavement and incarceration.³⁵ Across Himid's works she endorses a practice in which she lays bare her powerful political, emotional, psychological, and existential commitment to honouring those who are here and those who are not here. Lubaina Himid generates transformative power according to her social justice practice. 'We are more than our tragedy, and more than our pain,' she declares, urging, 'We're somebody's daughter, somebody's friend and somebody's lover, somebody with a life.'³⁶

VIII. 'No more 'iron arguments' – Granville Sharp³⁷

For past, present, and future Black artists, authors, and activists, the war was and is still on, regarding the fight against the historical institution of chattel slavery and its body-and-soul-destroying legacies which endure in white racist persecutory practices and white supremacist ideologies. Against a backdrop of chattel slavery, the anti-slavery arguments endorsed by white abolitionist campaigners exerted a terrible toll on, and were at a terrible cost to, the equal humanity of Black people. While enslaved people

were bought and sold on auction blocks by white slave-traders, their personhood was no less traded and up for sale on the abolitionist podia of the New World. Circulating as bodies of evidence, as physical proofs, and as 'iron arguments' white British campaigner Granville Sharp's dehumanizing phrase - of the tragedies and traumas of chattel slavery, enslaved women, children, and men were no less objectified, commodified, and invisibilised within a white radical imaginary, no less than a conciliatory, apologist's vision. According to white mainstream abolitionism, Black people were nothing more than instruments for philanthropic whites to gain their entry into heaven: as the argument ran, obtain your Christian salvation by ending the enslavement of Black people. This doctrine, that white freedoms were made possible only by Black slavery, allowed for no social,



Figure 4 - Sojourner Truth

political, moral, existential or philosophical recognition of Black people as equal subjects and as each in possession of their own individual imaginative inner lives within the Atlantic world.

An early revolutionary, radical, and rebel, Sojourner Truth (Figure 4), was born into slavery in the northern United States as Isabella Baumfree and reborn into freedom as Sojourner Truth. All her life she sojourned in truth: as an orator, an abolitionist, an anti-slavery activist, and a revolutionary radical. You see here her in one of her many photographs. Visual weapons in her antislavery arsenal, she produced these self-portraits in mass numbers as hard-hitting testaments to her equal humanity and to her lifelong conviction: 'I sell the shadow to support the substance'. At the heart of Sojourner Truth's strategies of self-imaging and self-imagining was her determination to retain her emotional, imaginative, and spiritual freedoms against all odds and as a way to visualise back to her corporeal subjugation within white mainstream society. All her life, Truth betrayed no interest in learning to read and write, on the grounds that it was a skill she associated with becoming complicit in white racist power structures. Ever the visionary, the freedom-fighter, and the protester, she forged her own form of enlightenment - crucially, an enlightenment that was dependent on no European systems of education or structures of philosophical knowledge - by insisting, 'I don't read such small stuff as letters, I read men and nations.'38

IX. From 'chattel records' to 'living parchments' and 'works of art' – Frederick Douglass

Sojourner Truth was not alone in her fight against white abolitionist paternalism. All his life as lived in slavery, and in a freedom that was in name only, Frederick Douglass (Figure 5) denounced the persecutory practices of white antislavery activists, no less than pro slavery apologists, who denied his right not only to his body and soul but to his intellect and his imagination.

As Douglass poignantly remembered of his days on the white dominated antislavery circuit in the antebellum northern United States:

'I was generally introduced as a "chattel," a "thing" – a piece of southern "property" – the chairman assuring the audience that it could speak.... "Let us have the facts," said the people ... "better have a little of the plantation manner of speech than not; 'tis not best you seem too learned" ... still I must speak just the word that seemed to me the word to be spoken by me.'³⁹

While Douglass was a renowned orator who morally moved and politically transformed the lives of audiences of all races and nationalities in their thousands, the all-consuming reality that he was 'introduced as a 'chattel' and a 'thing' in white racist societies remained a source of very personal trauma and very personal tragedy all his life.

As an activist-author-orator who dedicated himself to writing over 7,000 letters, autobiographies, essays, speeches, poems, political tracts, diaries,

and historical works, Douglass insisted that Black lives be remembered and represented not within white-owned plantation financial records – ledgers – but in works of art: literatures as well as paintings, photographs,

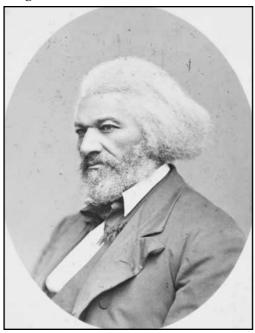


Figure 5 - Frederick Douglass

and sculptures. A ground-breaking philosopher of all Black freedoms, he despised the circulation of Black lives, histories, and memories within what he theorized as the 'chattel records' of the nation.40 As an antidote to being bought and sold in plantation ledgers and 'chattel records,' Douglass insisted that enslaved people must effect their own reversal of power. He urged that Black peoples of all nations and beliefs should protest against the widespread reality that a white 'overseer had written his character on the living parchment of most of their backs' by reclaiming the skin on their backs as their own personal manuscript - and as such, their individual 'living parchment' on

which they would become newly equipped to write not their stereotyped 'characters' but their independent emotionally and intellectually complex subjectivities. As Douglass insisted, the only way enslaved people would cease to be chattel records within a white western imaginary was by becoming not only the creators but the authors and artists of their own lives. For Douglass, it was only ever by being in control of the means of self-representation that a formerly enslaved and free African diasporic individual could gain power over their reality.

For Douglass, white racist atrocities and abuses only lost their power when they were newly translated into Black radical acts and arts of imaginative liberation. No longer 'things,' 'iron arguments,' or bodies of proof, according to Douglass's 'lexicon of liberation' it is only when Black people became artists, orators, author, philosophers, and intellectuals that they are able to gain control over the world of representation: only then would 'living parchments' become living stories, living narratives, and living histories. Over the decades, he jubilantly declared, 'Life itself is a picture of progress. It may be called the Divine essence of the universe. Order, strength, and beauty are its development.' As a radical reformer who was committed to newly imagining Black lives as 'pictures of progress,' he maintained that 'to be seen and heard best we must stop our ears, and shut our eyes, and begin to imagine.' For Douglass, 'Life is agitation, and agitation progress,' while he was only too painfully aware that 'To stand still is stagnation, and stagnation is death.'⁴²

The lifelong question besetting Douglass's life regarding the ways I in which the wounds on the soul would translate into a blueprint for cultural and political revolution lies powerfully at the heart of the emotionally unequivocal works created by contemporary artist, Lonnie Holley. A political visionary, Holley takes very seriously this question of re-presenting and reimagining the lost lives of Black women, children, and men who have all been fighting for self and collective liberation over the generations. As an artist who was born into devastating poverty and who has experienced very real destitution, he has endured all forms of whitegenerated social, political, cultural, educational and legal hate. As recently as 2003 he created his mixed-media work, Blood on a Rock Pile in which he memorialized the terrible suffering he experienced following his attempt to run away from an Industrial School at the age of thirteen. 44 The memory of the violence he experienced has stayed with him all his life: 'I had to get 150 licks that morning. So my thighs was bust open, both of my thighs were bust open and they were bloody and all in the calves of my legs, and he [his white persecutor] had hit me and knocked me out, so he swelled my head up and knocked that open.' As he was only too aware: 'I was an example of the rock pile.'45 And yet at the same time, and while his body was prostrated on the 'rock pile' as he suffered the 'agony of soul' produced by a terrible whipping, he held onto the right to maintain control over his own internal reality. 'This big old pile of rocks, nothing but white rocks, all around me, that's all I could see,' he admitted only to concede to an inner impulse

toward creativity that would not die: 'I could see so many images in the rock, made me think about making things out of rock.'46 And it is his determination to 'make things out of rock' that has meant he is able to bear witness to his traumatizing experiences in works such as Blood on a Rock Pile. In this assemblage, he binds found rocks together with wire to testify to untold histories of enslavement and incarceration while he stains them red to lay bare the concealed realities regarding a wounding and suffering without end. As he declares, 'I would like to see children all over this world have an opportunity to use their minds, not just be parentless and mindless and loveless. This is the reason I'm pushing myself, and why I put myself on the line.'47 All too painfully



Figure 6 - Rosetta Douglass Sprague

aware that he is living the emotional and political equivalent of 'one hour after slavery,' he insists, 'I'm on my knees,' after leaving the plantation.' I see myself free. / I look back on how it was/ for me, / and how I had to come this way / to reach this one hour after slavery.' As Frederick Douglass fought the 'spirit of slavery' so contemporary artist-activist-authors such as Holley continue to fight the 'spirit of mastery.'

A ground-breaking social theorist, political thinker, and radical philosopher in her own right, Rosetta Douglass Sprague (Figure 6), Frederick Douglass's eldest daughter, has left us all with words to live by in the unending twenty-first century fight for social justice. She tells us: 'Read, reflect, act.' Yet more revealingly, Rosetta Douglass Sprague asks a question that it is our social, political, moral, intellectual, philosophical, and cultural responsibility to answer, by questioning us all: 'Who will be the pioneers?' 51

Notes:

- **1.** Qtd in Celeste-Marie Bernier, *Stick to the Skin: African American and Black British Art* (1965-2015) (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 38.
- **2.** Qtd in Paige Williams, 'Composition in Black and White,' *The New Yorker*, August 12 and 19, 2013, 70.
- 3. Qtd Bernier, Stick to the Skin, vi.
- **4.** Lewis Henry Douglass to Helen Amelia Douglass, July 20 [1863], Walter O. and Linda Evans Collection. Qtd in Celeste-Marie Bernier and Andrew Taylor, *If I Survive: Frederick Douglass and Family in the Walter O. and Linda Evans Foundation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).
- **5.** Horace Pippin, qtd in Celeste-Marie Bernier, *Suffering and Sunset: World War I in the Art and Life of Horace Pippin* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015 and 2018), ix.
- **6.** Qtd in Celeste-Marie Bernier, *Characters of Blood: Black Heroism in the Transatlantic Imagination* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), n.p.
- 7. Qtd in Celeste-Marie Bernier, *African American Visual Arts* (Edinburgh and Chapel Hill: University of Edinburgh Press and University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 116.
- **8.** Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, edited by Celeste-Marie Bernier (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2019), 302.
- 9. This sack is available online: https://southernspaces.org/2016/slaverys-traces-search-ashleys-sack
- **10.** Qtd in Bernier, *Stick to the Skin*, 27.
- 11. Frederick Douglass, 'First of August Address At Canandaigua,' August 3, 1857, 7.
- 12. Douglass, My Bondage and My Freedom, 292
- **13.** For a further discussion of Garner's speech, see Celeste-Marie Bernier, 'Introduction' in Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, ix-x.
- 14. Ibid., x.
- **15.** Ibid., ix.
- **16.** Nathaniel Turner quoted in Thomas R. Gray, *Confessions of Nat Turner* (Baltimore: Thomas R. Gray, 1831), 10.
- **17.** Ibid., 11.
- 112 University of Edinburgh Journal 49: 2 (Winter 2019)

- **18.** David Walker, *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles* (Boston: Revised and Published by David Walker, 1830), 81.
- **19.** This phrase appears in 'America,' reproduced in Phillis Wheatley, *The Poems of Phillis Wheatley*, edited by Julia D. Mason Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 125.
- **20.** Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (London: Printed for the Author, 1789), 71.
- **21.** For a further discussion of the *Brooks* slave ship, see Celeste-Marie Bernier, "The Slave Ship Imprint:" Representing the Body, Memory, and History in Contemporary African American and Black British Painting, Photography, and Installation Art," *Callaloo*, 37.4 (2014): 990-1022.
- 22. Qtd Bernier, Stick to the Skin, 208.
- 23. John Newton, Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade (London: J. Buckland, 1788), 33.
- **24.** Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 70-79.
- **25.** Qtd in Celeste-Marie Bernier, Alan Rice, Lubaina Himid, and Hannah Durkin, *Inside the Invisible: Memorialising Slavery and Freedom in the Life and Works of Lubaina Himid* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 95.
- **26.** For a further discussion see Bernier, Rice, Himid, and Durkin, *Inside the Invisible*, pp.279-96.
- **27.** Anon., *Speech of M. Benjamin Constant, in the French Chamber of Deputies,* June 17, 1820. Reproduced Anon., 'Anti-Slavery Poems.' Available online: http://www.bartleby.com/372/232.html
- 28. Qtd in Bernier, Rice, Himid, and Durkin, Inside the Invisible, pp.280.
- **29.** For further information, see Bernier, Rice, Himid, and Durkin, *Inside the Invisible*.
- **30.** For more details see Anita Rupprecht (forthcoming), 'The slave trade voyage of Le Rodeur from Le Havre to Guadeloupe (1819)' in Paul Ismard, Claude Chevaleyre, Cécile Vidal, & Benedetta Rossi (Eds.), *Une Histoire Mondiale de l'Esclavage* (Paris: Seuil).
- 31. Qtd in Bernier, Rice, Himid, and Durkin, Inside the Invisible, pp.282.
- 32. Ibid., 283.
- 33. Toni Morrison, Beloved (New York: Knopf, 1987), n.p.
- 34. Qtd in Bernier, Rice, Himid, and Durkin, Inside the Invisible, pp.25.
- 35. Available online: https://www.a-n.co.uk/media/52475735/
- **36.** Qtd in Sabine Broeck and Alice Schmid, 'A Post-Slavery Reading of Cotton: Lubaina Himid in Conversation with Sabine Broeck and Alice Schmid,' in Jessica Hemmings (ed.), *Cultural Threads: Transnational Textiles Today* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 200.
- **37.** Qtd in Celeste-Marie Bernier, '"Iron Arguments:" Spectacle, Rhetoric and the slave body in New England and British Antislavery Oratory,' *European Journal of American Culture*, 26.1 (2007): 57-78.
- **38.** Qtd in Bernier, *Characters of Blood*, ebook, n.p.
- **39.** Douglass, My Bondage and My Freedom, 248.
- **40.** Frederick Douglass, *The Heroic Slave*, 1853, reprinted in Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, ed. Bernier, 337.
- **41.** Douglass, My Bondage and My Freedom, 129.

- **42.** Douglass, "Life Pictures", n.d.: 20-21 in *The Frederick Douglass Papers* at the Library of Congress ("Lecture on Pictures" [Title Varies] (Series: Speech, Article, and Book File---A: Frederick Douglass, Dated) For further information see Bernier, 'A Visual Call to Arms against the "Caracature [sic] of My Own Face:" From Fugitive Slave to Fugitive Image in Frederick Douglass's Theory of Portraiture,' *Journal of American Studies*, 49 (2015), 1-35.
- 43. Qtd in Bernier, Stick to the Skin, 247.
- 44. Available online: http://brutforce.com/lonnie-holleys-object-lessons/
- **45.** Lonnie Holley, 'The Best that Almost Happened.' Available online: http://www.soulsgrowndeep.org/artist/lonnie-holley
- 46. Ibid.
- **47.** Lonnie Holley, 'My name is Lonnie Bradley Holley,' in Lonnie Holley, *Do we think too much? I don't think we can ever stop. Lonnie Holley A Twenty-Five Year Survey* (Birmingham: Ikon Gallery and Birmingham Museum of Art, 2004), 7.
- 48. Qtd in Bernier, Stick to the Skin, 247.
- **49.** Douglass, My Bondage and My Freedom, 208, xl.
- **50.** Rosetta Douglass Sprague, 'Colored Women, Arouse! Appeal for Aggressive Effort by a Daughter of the Hon. Frederick Douglass,' *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 19, 1891: p.5. Forthcoming in Celeste-Marie Bernier, *The Anna-Murray and Frederick Douglass Writings*, 3 volumes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021).
- **51.** Ibid.

Images:

- Page 99: Photograph of Prof Celeste-Marie Bernier. Photography by Andy Green.
- **Figure 1, Page 101:** Image of Frederick Douglass. Image of Frederick Douglass. Unknown photographer, 'Frederick Douglass', c 1850. National Portait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, NPG.80.21.
- **Figure 2, Page 105:** Image of Phillis Wheatley. Moorhead, Scipio, 'Phillis Wheatley, Negro servant to Mr John Wheatley, of Boston', in *Poems on various subjects, religious and moral* / Phillis Wheatley. London: Printed for A. Bell, bookseller, Aldgate, 1773, frontispiece. Library of Congress Rare Book and Special Collections Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, LC-USZC4-5316.
- **Figure 3, Page 106:** Image of Olaudah Equiano. Frontispiece, in *The interesting narrative of the life of Olaudah Equiano*, 1794, frontispiece. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, LC-USZ62-54026.
- **Figure 4, Page 108:** Image of Sojourner Truth. Unknown photographer, 'Sojourner Truth, three-quarter length portrait, standing, wearing spectacles, shawl, and peaked cap, right hand resting on cane'. Detroit: 1864.
- **Figure 5, Page 110:** Anon., *Frederick Douglass*, Detroit, 1864. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, LC-USZ62-119343
- **Figure 6, Page 111:** Image of Rosetta Douglass Sprague. Anon., *Rosetta Douglass Sprague*, n.d. Frederick Douglass National Historic Site, Washington D.C.

The Scottish Fiction of William Croft Dickinson

by Mr Alistair Kerr

An edited extract from a talk given by Mr Kerr to the New Club, Edinburgh, on 12 April 2018. Mr Kerr edited the latest edition of Croft Dickinson's collected ghost stories, Dark Encounters, published in Edinburgh by Birlinn in 2017, which was reviewed in the June 2018 issue of this Journal. The second (paperback) edition issued in October 2019. A further anthology, Tales for Twilight: Two Centuries of Scottish Ghost Stories, will be published, also by Birlinn, at Halloween 2020. Mr Kerr's other works include Betrayal: The Murder of Robert Nairac GC, a military biography, and articles in magazines as diverse as Country Life and The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) Journal.

s well as being a historian of considerable note, Professor William Croft Dickinson (1897-1963) wrote Scottish fiction. We are entitled to ask two questions about him: one is, why was he so passionate about Scotland, given that he had no known Scots ancestry, had been born in Leicester, raised in Yorkshire and educated at Mill Hill? The other is: when and why did he start to write fiction in addition to history? These two questions are closely entwined.

Dickinson originally chose to go to a Scottish university because he thought that the MA History course there was more broadly based than the equivalent course in England. Once installed at St Andrews, he fell in love with Scotland, effectively becoming



Mr Alistair Kerr

a Scot, and he never lost that identification. No doubt his WW1 military service helped the process of assimilation. He seems to have belonged to a certain type of English person, perhaps commoner in the past, who inexplicably and deeply identifies, often from an early age, with another people, country or culture. Sometimes they do this with such intensity as almost to suggest the possibility of reincarnation, of having truly belonged to that nation in a previous life.

Religion played its part: Dickinson, who had been brought up as a very Protestant English Nonconformist, adapted happily to Calvinism and the Church of Scotland. He quickly became knowledgeable about Scottish church history. He also became somewhat partisan, favouring a Presbyterian reading of history, especially concerning the Covenanters, over the points of view of Scottish Episcopalians or Roman Catholics. On one occasion, Catholic students walked out of a lecture in protest at his remarks in a lecture on the Scottish Reformation, one of his favourite subjects, on which he spoke pungently and with enthusiasm.

We do not know when Dickinson first became interested in writing fiction, but his marriage was probably a factor. In 1930 he married Florence Tomlinson, the daughter of the well-known novelist, journalist and biographer of Norman Douglas, H M Tomlinson. The Tomlinsons, who moved in a Bohemian literary *milieu*, almost certainly encouraged Dickinson in that direction. But a fiction-writer requires inspiration: it was not until after his return to Scotland in 1944 that Dickinson actually published any fiction of his own. His work in Scotland, especially his research and the travels that he undertook on behalf of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), provided the necessary stimulus or catalyst. He began to collect authentic popular ghost stories, which in turn inspired his own stories.

Dickinson's fiction writing was controversial; not all of his historian colleagues approved of it. Historians tend to prefer fact to conjecture and imagination; and they do not like to be seen to endorse superstitions or unverified traditions such as the traditional tale of Robert the Bruce and the spider, which appealed to Dickinson, but for which there is no historical evidence. Even so, it is a fact that many young people have gone on to study History seriously, having first enjoyed historical fiction by such authors as Kipling, Henty, Rosemary Sutcliffe and William Croft Dickinson. One of Dickinson's purposes in writing his novels was to awaken an interest in Scottish history in young readers. He wrote three novels for children: Borrobil (1944), The Eildon Tree (1947) and The Flag from the Isles (1951). They were popular, won critical approval at the time, and were compared admiringly to the novels of Dickinson's contemporaries, CS Lewis and JR R Tolkien. Dickinson has also been described as 'the link between Lewis and Alan Garner'. Dickinson's novels are great fun to read, yet today they are forgotten and out of print, while everyone still knows, or knows about, the Narnia books and The Hobbit.

I was enchanted by *Borrobil*, although I could not help noticing Dickinson's debt to Rudyard Kipling, in whose *Puck of Pook's Hill* two children, Dan and Una, act an abridged version of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, on Midsummer Eve, for their friends the farm animals, thereby unintentionally sparking a magical event. The real Puck steps out of the bushes and later takes the children on a crash-course of English history, during which they meet and talk with – among others - a Roman soldier, a Norman knight, a mediaeval Jewish banker and an intimidating masked lady who is clearly Queen Elizabeth I, although she never admits her true identity.

In *Borrobil*, two Scots children, Donald and Jean, while on holiday in the country, decide – against the adults' orders - to explore a mysterious wood on a nearby hill, which contains a circle of standing-stones, the Nine-Stone-Ring, on Beltane Eve, the most magical night of the year. It is marked by lighting bonfires on hilltops and indeed two bonfires – lit by unknown hands – are found blazing merrily in the wood. The children have to pass between them to reach the standing stones. They soon meet a small magician called

Borrobil, who takes them back to a remote period of early Scottish history, in which they meet such characters as King Brude, Princess Finella and the evil magician Black Sulig. They visit an accurately-described Pictish broch and a *souterrain* and witness a Viking raid on the coast. But all too soon they have to leave Borrobil behind and go back to the modern world where they meet a search party of local men, who are looking for them.

The Eildon Tree is set in roughly the period of the Twelve Competitors; after the death of King Alexander III in 1286, when no-one was quite sure who the rightful King of Scots was or should be, although there was no shortage of candidates. The novel begins with Donald and Jean standing beside the Eildon Stone which, their friend Andrew the Shepherd tells them, stands where the Eildon Tree once grew. It was by the Eildon Tree that Thomas the Rhymer first laid eyes upon the Fairy Queen riding by in 'grass-green silk'. Andrew tells them the story of Thomas the Rhymer, who travels to Elf-land with the Queen and is given the gift of 'a tongue that could never lie' before he departs back to the 'real' world. Thomas however remains a servant of the Fairy Queen and is eventually summoned back to Elf-land. Andrew concludes his tale by adding that at times of great need Thomas will return to Scotland.

Predictably, Thomas the Rhymer soon arrives, tells them some prophecies, in one of which they feature, and gives each of them a vision. The children find themselves in the Middle Ages during a power struggle between Gabran the Good and Maldred the Malcontent, a usurper. They are taken to the castle of Dunverran, captured, escape through secret passages and help to restore Gabran as the sole and rightful king. The climax of the book is the siege of Dunverran. For much of *The Eildon Tree* they are under the protection of two knights, Hugh of the Hill and Gilbert of the Long Bow, both of whom are naturally very brave; they speak in a slightly antiquated, 'heroic' way like the aristocratic characters in the novels of C S Lewis and Tolkien. The tone is less light-hearted than Borrobil: magic has been replaced by mysticism. As with *Borrobil*, Dickinson took considerable liberties with the historic facts, as he cheerfully admitted in his notes to the novel.

Donald and Jean appear for the third and final time in *The Flag from the Isles*, which is one of the most bloodthirsty children's books that I have ever read. One rainy afternoon, having practised some magic on their own account, they are transported to the Court of King James IV. They become involved, with loyal Highlanders, in a desperate quest to locate the *Bratach Sith*, the fairy flag of the MacLeods (still preserved at Dunvegan Castle), which assures victory when it is unfurled, and to bring the flag to the King in time for the battle of Flodden. They are opposed by the wicked Lord Bramwell (loosely based on John Ramsay, Earl of Bothwell) who is in the pay of King Henry of England. Unfortunately, the prophecy of the *Bratach Sith* refers simply to victory in a 'battle'. 'Battle' in Old Scots apparently had two meanings: battle and battalion; so the battalion commanded by Lords Huntly and Home, which carries the fairy banner, wins its part of the battle, but the King's battalion is defeated. Once more Dickinson took considerable liberties with the facts, as he explained in a Note at the end of the book. The *Bratach*

Sith played no part in the real Battle of Flodden. In *The Flag from the Isles* the King, who was in reality killed early in the fight, is still alive at the end of the battle, albeit badly wounded, and is helped to safety in a nearby castle by the children and other loyal followers. We do not learn the sequel because they are suddenly brought back to earth, and the twentieth century, by their furious mother, who is not at all happy to find her drawing room carpet pulled up and magical circles and symbols chalked all over the floorboards.

The publication of Dickinson's ghost stories for adults dovetails neatly with the appearance of his three novels for children. *The Eildon Tree* appeared in 1947, as did Dickinson's first published ghost story. *The Flag from the Isles* appeared in 1951 and *The Sweet Singers*, an anthology of four Dickinson ghost stories, in 1953.

Dickinson's first ghost story for adults appeared three years after his return to Scotland in 1944. Entitled 'A Professor's Ghost Story', it was published in *Blackwood's Magazine* and it attracted favourable reviews. In 1953 it was re-published by Oliver & Boyd with a new title, as the title story of the anthology of four Dickinson stories: *The Sweet Singers and Three Other Remarkable Occurrents*. This edition, illustrated by Joan Hassall, is now uncommon and collectable. The three other stories, 'Can These Stones Speak?' 'The Eve of St Botulph' and 'Return at Dusk', are all satisfyingly frightening, especially the last one.

'The Sweet Singers', which has as its background the imprisonment of the Covenanters on the Bass Rock, is based on an authentic folk tradition and is relatively innocuous. By contrast, 'Can These Stones Speak?' is gruesome. It involves a horrible episode of time-travel, in which an academic unwillingly witnesses the immurement of a live, and presumably sexually incontinent, nun in the Middle Ages. In 'The Eve of St Botulph' a Regency antiquary investigating a legend of Dundrennan Abbey dies mysteriously by fire, apparently at the hand of the Devil, exactly replicating the equally mysterious and sinister death of a Lay Brother of the Abbey centuries earlier. The last story, 'Return at Dusk', is perhaps the most frightening of all: The Second World War is in progress and the Army has requisitioned Cairntoul, a Scottish castle, for a secret project. A young officer is posted to the castle, unaware that he is descended from the baronial Mowat family who formerly lived there, and that waiting for him is the vengeful ghost of a hereditary enemy, Black Dougal. The scene is set for supernatural mayhem and Dickinson does not disappoint his readers. The Sweet Singers had good reviews, but Dickinson published no further collections of his own ghost stories until shortly before his death in 1963, when the first edition of Dark Encounters, which included almost all of his stories, appeared. He edited and proof-read it on his deathbed.

Between 1953 and 1963 Dickinson continued to write ghost stories, often publishing them in *The Scotsman*'s Weekend Magazine, where a new Dickinson ghost story appeared every Christmas from 1957 to 1963. *The Scotsman* judged the series to have been such a success that it was continued for many years after Dickinson's death. Other well-known Scots authors, such as George Mackay Brown, wrote the later stories.

The last Dickinson ghost story, 'The MacGregor Skull', appeared posthumously in *The Scotsman* in December 1963. It was missed out from the first edition of *Dark Encounters*, also published in 1963 by the Harvill Press, and from the 1984 reprint by Wendover Goodchild, which has an introduction by Dickinson's daughter, Susan Dickinson. An excellent story, it is included in the most recent edition of *Dark Encounters* (Polygon, 2017).

While Dickinson continues to enjoy fame as a Scottish historian, his ghost stories have been forgotten. I hope that their republication in book form may restore to them the popularity that they deserve. Why did Dickinson allow this to happen? I suspect that, as the holder of a Professorial Chair with many outside interests, he was just too busy to devote much time to promoting his own fiction.

By contrast, M R James, Provost of King's College, Cambridge and later of Eton College, an author with whom Dickinson is often compared, anthologised and edited his own ghost stories, some of which also originally appeared in magazines, in four, later two books, and finally in a single volume, known as *Ghost Stories of an Antiquary*. James, or his literary agent, marketed them intelligently and professionally. To the end of his life James would polish and improve his stories, occasionally adding new ones, even after 1918. They have never gone out of print, and some have been dramatised for stage, radio, television or film performance. Until the copyright expired just over a decade ago, they were hugely profitable for James's literary estate.

Dickinson is often seen as the Scottish equivalent of M R James and even as a member of his 'school'. This is true, but only up to a point. Dickinson enjoyed James's stories and used some of the same techniques. For example, both could faultlessly imitate the prose of past eras. They both wrote in an elegant and understated way, as though they were relating real historical events to a well-informed readership. The most terrifying conclusions are not usually spelt out; readers are left to work out what must have happened, and it may take a few moments for the penny to drop.

In both cases the involvement of real people, events, places and objects adds to the air of authenticity. For example, 'The Witch's Bone' refers to a relic or talisman with magical powers that is kept in a museum. The National Museum of Scotland (formerly the Museum of Antiquities) possesses such a bone, although it is not usually on display; but Dickinson knew about it and decided to write a story around it. In 'The Sweet Singers' reference is made to a real rare book, Jehovah Jireh (1643), a copy of which can be found in Edinburgh University Library. Most of the stories are set in real places, although Dickinson sometimes changes the names. For example, 'Cairntoul', the castle in 'Return at Dusk' is almost certainly Craigievar, which is now a National Trust for Scotland property, and opened to the public in 1963, the year of Dickinson's death. However, he was evidently familiar with the castle, one of whose ghostly legends is strikingly similar to the family legend in 'Return at Dusk'. Dickinson probably learned about it during his travels for the RCAHMS.

There are nonetheless plenty of differences between M R James's and Dickinson's work. They belonged to different generations and came from very different backgrounds. Dickinson served in the Great War; James did not, as he was fifty-two years old in 1914. James's stories are set in England, France, Germany, Denmark and Sweden, which may have given them a wider appeal than Dickinson's, which are all set in Scotland. It is possible that they became pigeon-holed as 'Scottish interest only' in the minds of publishers and critics. Although some are set in earlier centuries, most of M R James's stories are set in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries; even those that he published after 1918. James's historical consciousness stopped in, at latest, 1910. In his stories England is still the richest and most powerful country on earth: dons and clergy enjoy a respected position in society; trains are frequent and reliable; the strong Pound Sterling allows gentlemen antiquaries to travel in comfort around an unspoiled Europe, where they sometimes have strange - and even dangerous - adventures, involving the supernatural.

By contrast Dickinson's stories happen in the 1940s and 1950s. His characters tend to have served in one or both World Wars. Academics now live frugally and pass their vacations golfing, hill-walking or on archaeological digs in Scotland. Moreover, Dickinson lived and wrote at an interesting moment in the development of the ghost story, when it started to embrace modern science, including psychology and computers. Edinburgh University was in the forefront of the development of artificial intelligence and no doubt the latest developments were discussed in the University Staff Club. In one of his last ghost stories, 'His Own Number', related by a Professor of Geography, an evil ghost becomes computer-literate and predicts the precise location and OS grid-reference of a technician's death, which it apparently causes. This tale bears a curious resemblance to an allegedly authentic ghost story involving one of the older Cambridge colleges, where a ghost issued explicit warnings by computer and has reportedly killed two people who disregarded them. As a result, the college has now banned further research on this subject. Dickinson bridges the gap between late-Romantic writers like MR James and more recent authors such as Stephen King and Ray Russell.

Not only do some historians often look askance at fiction, but critics and scholars in general are ambivalent about ghost stories. Are they truly literature? Often they are seen at best as a 'hobby-genre' for serious writers like Charles Dickens and Henry James, whose ghostly novella, *The Turn of the Screw*, needs no introduction. Dickinson however did not agree: in his view ghost stories and legends were of legitimate interest to the historian, providing interesting insights into the culture of the day.

In Scotland, where the paranormal tends to be treated as part of the natural order of things, there is a thriving indigenous tradition of ghost stories. This goes back to pre-literate times, when a brilliant story-teller was welcome everywhere from the nobleman's castle to the peasant's hut. It continued until very recently. Well within living memory it was the custom

for older family members, especially at Christmas and around the fire, to tell their children, grandchildren, or nieces and nephews, ghostly tales to give them an enjoyable fright. Some ghost stories published as recently as the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were clearly intended to be read aloud, presumably at Christmas or on other winter nights.

Given the existence of this tradition, and whether or not the critics approved, many of Scotland's finest writers have risen to the challenge and tried their hand at writing ghost stories, so Dickinson was placing himself within a well-established Scottish literary tradition. Two of the most spine-chilling stories ever written came from the pen of no less a wordsmith than Sir Walter Scott. These are 'The Tapestried Chamber' and the marvellous 'Wandering Willie's Tale', which forms part of his novel *Redgauntlet*. Other Scots ghost story authors include James Hogg (the Ettrick Shepherd), Margaret Oliphant (author of *The Open Door* and other tales), Robert Louis Stevenson, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, John Buchan, George Mackay Brown (some of whom, like Scott, were alumni of, or otherwise connected with, Edinburgh University) and – rather unexpectedly - Muriel Spark. Ian Rankin, another Edinburgh graduate, also has his moments of supernatural spookiness. So that tradition is still very much alive.

Finally, have Dickinson's stories stood the test of time? I think so. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. A few years ago I was house-sitting for a friend in his Georgian house in Canterbury, near the Cathedral. One dark evening, when there was nothing of interest on television, I unwisely turned for amusement to my host's extensive library of detection, mystery and horror. I picked out an anthology that included some of Dickinson's tales. They still had the power to cause the hairs on the back of my neck to stand on end; I did not get much sleep that night. I commend them to you.

Images:

Page 115: Image of Mr Alistair Kerr. Photography courtesy of Mr Alistair Kerr.

Birthday Honours List

Knight Bachelor

Sir James Wates Kt CBE University Donor Chairman, Wates Group.

Order of the British Empire

Commanders

Prof Michele Burman CBE MSc 1986 PhD 1996 Head, School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Glasgow. The Rt Hon Prof Charles Hendry CBE

BCom 1981

Former Trade Envoy to Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan.

Prof Hector MacQueen CBE

LLB 1978 PhD 1985
Professor of Private Law

Professor of Private Law.

Mr William Thomson CBE

BA 1975 LLB 1977

Commissioner for Ethical Standards in Public Life in Scotland.

Birthday Honours List Continued

Mrs Lucy Thomson CBE

MBA 1996

Chair, Barrington Stoke Publishing.

Dr Kathryn Wood CBE

BSc 1984

Director of Science, Research, and Evidence, Department of Health and Social Care.

Officers

Prof Catherine Amos OBE

MSc 1983

Professor of Health Promotion.

Prof Sarah Broadie OBE

PhD 1978

Professor of Moral Philosophy, Wardlaw Professor, St Andrews University.

Mr Ptolemy Dean OBE

Dip 1991

For services to Heritage and Design.

Prof Tamara Galloway OBE

PhD 1987

Professor of Ecotoxicology, University of Exeter.

Dr Stephen Malcolm OBE

PhD 1981

Chief Environmental Science Adviser at CEFAS.

Prof Dorothy Miell OBE

Staff

Vice-Principal and Head of College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences.

Dr Robert Thomson

PhD 1986

Principal and Chief Executive, Forth Valley College.

Mr David Wagstaff OBE

MBA 1994

Deputy Director, Eurotam International Negotiations.

Members

Dr Giuseppe Albano MBE

MA 1998

Curator, Keats-Shelley House, Rome.

Mr Angus Pelham Burn MBE

University Donor

Former Member of the Council of the Royal Dick School of Veterinary Studies.

Mr Richard Cornwallis MBE

LLB 1981 Dip 1982

Former Secretary to the Council of Trustees, British Intl. School, Jakarta.

Dr Jane Haley MBE

Staff

Neuroscience Scientific Co-ordinator.

Mrs Catherine King MBE

BSc 1984

Principal Expert by Experience, Review of the Mental Health Act.

Mrs Abbie Mckenna MBE

BSc 1999

Workforce Development Manager, Ulster University.

Dr Marie Short MBE

Bsc 1992 PhD 1996

Trustee, Scottish Huntington's Association.

Mrs Christine Sloan MBE

BSc 1961

Founder, Crathie Opportunity Holidays.

Medallists

Mrs Jane Mayo BEM

University Donor

Chairman, Campbelltown Community Business Ltd.

Mr Alan Robertson BEM

BSc 1987

Volunteer at Kingussie Camanachd Club.

The Polish School of Medicine at Edinburgh Part 1: Its Story

by Dr Maria Dlugolecka-Graham MBE, Dr Jacek Kwiecinski 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 Kwiecinski 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.

The Outbreak of War

The Nazi invasion of Poland on 1st September 1939 resulted in the destruction of all normal academic life in the country. Thereafter all secondary schooling, higher education and academic activities were forced underground. Those who did pursue their studies were facing severe penalties, even death, should they be discovered or betrayed, as were their teachers and family.

After the Fall of France in June 1940, tens of thousands of men in the Polish armed forces arrived in Britain with the Polish Army. Many were stationed in Scotland. And whilst there was a keenness to return to the front and fight the enemy who had invaded Poland, it was decided that they should defend the long and tortuous coastline of Scotland as a priority. The number of medical students, doctors and senior medical academic staff was considerable. Many of them were involved in these military duties, including the building of the defences.

From Maintaining Clinical Skills to the Setting Up of a Polish School of Medicine

Thanks to the efforts of Colonel Irvin Fortescue, Deputy Director of medical Services, Scottish Command and then Liaison Officer with the Polish Army Medical Corps Services (Scotland), and Colonel Adam Kurtz Principal Medical Officer of the 1 Polish Army Corps in Scotland, arrangements were made for doctors to maintain their skills by attending wards and clinics in military hospitals. One such hospital was in Edinburgh Castle, where Professor Francis A E Crewe was Commandant. Crewe was also a member of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh. With his help, the support of the Dean of the Faculty, Sir Sydney Smith, and the agreement and support of Sir Thomas Holland, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University, the idea of setting up a full Polish medical course for the Polish students in the armed forces moved from the realm of 'concept' to being a potentially viable proposition.

On the Polish side, General Władysław Sikorski, Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Forces in Britain gratefully accepted this generous offer. Professor Antoni Jurasz, who had been Head of Surgery in Poznan University's Faculty of Medicine prior to the outbreak of war, represented the Polish Government in Exile, and was nominated to take the discussions forward in October 1940. It was only a matter of a few months until the negotiations were concluded in late January 1941 - a speed one cannot imagine being achievable today! The final agreement was signed on 21st February 1941. The University of Edinburgh made teaching and research facilities (including laboratories) available and the Polish Government in exile provided salaries and covered the cost of materials. The first Dean and Organiser of the School was Professor Jurasz.

The first students (46 men from the army and 30 civilians including women) were drafted or accepted for entry to the School on 4th March 1941, and the first meeting of the Faculty followed on 11th March. It was decided that the academic term should open on 15th March and the official Inauguration took place on March 22nd. At the opening ceremony, Professor Smith made a most moving speech of welcome to the Polish Faculty:

We offer nothing more than the opportunity to labour together with us to the common good, an opportunity to keep alive the academic spirit and the freedom of thought and word which we Universities hold as our most sacred heritage. The right to work, and a place in which to work, is all we can offer but we offer it freely, and with our complete sympathy and understanding and cooperation.

And when the day comes as surely it must, when the world shall be clean again, it is our earnest hope that this link which we have fashioned today will hold firmly through whatever new things may come, and that this Faculty of Polish Medicine will go from here to build anew on the sure foundations of liberty, those great seats of learning which have been so wantonly destroyed: and that it will carry on untarnished those great principles for which we both have always been, and always shall be, prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice.'

The Nature of the Polish School of Medicine

The Polish School of Medicine was established as an academic school as defined by the Polish Statute of 15th March 1933 relating to Higher Education. Students at the Polish School followed a Polish curriculum, were taught mainly in Polish in the preclinical years and in both Polish and English in later years. Examinations were held in Polish or English as appropriate, but the degree awarded was a Polish one.

The Student Body

Whilst the initial intention had been to meet the needs of medical students and doctors in the Polish armed forces, it was rapidly decided that civilians should also be accepted and some 30 (two thirds of them women) began their studies alongside the 46 students in the Polish armed forces. The armed forces students were still expected to undertake some military duties and to participate in some military exercises, sometimes resulting in a conflict of interests, which had to be resolved.

Among the civilian students was Dr Anna Sokołowska who sat her Polish high school leaving certificate in Glasgow in January 1941 and was able to enter 1st year in March of the same year. Her father was a lecturer at the Polish School for a short period. Some of the later civilian entrants, for example Drs Zbigniew Sobol and Halina Marszałek-Lewicka finished their secondary education in Scotland before starting their medical studies in 1942 and 1943 respectively. It is interesting to note that more than 200 of the students who enrolled at the Polish School had been studying medicine in Poland (162) or elsewhere (55) at the outbreak of war.

In addition to the provision of academic facilities, the University of Edinburgh offered the new Polish Faculty membership and the support of the academic community. Polish students therefore matriculated at the University of Edinburgh as well as being enrolled at the Polish School of Medicine. This enabled them to join in regular Edinburgh University student activities and clubs such as sports clubs, Settlement Day and the Men's or Women's Unions. Some of the Poles were very active and were popular amongst the regular Edinburgh students as well as their compatriots. It is of particular note that Gertruda (Duda) Kuklińska-Kolibabka (Collie-Kolibabka),



Dr Gertruda (Duda) Kolibabka

1949 graduate of the Polish School, became President of the Women's Union in 1946/47.

The Teaching Staff of the Polish School

A cademic staff members were drawn from the pre-war Polish medical academies and faculties: ten from Warsaw's Josef Pilsudski Medical

Academy, eight from the Jagiellonian University Collegium Medicum in Krakow, eight from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Poznan, six from the Jan Kazimierz Medical Academy in Lwow and two from Wilno's Stefan Batory Medical Academy. Where senior Polish staff could not be found to take up professorial chairs and act as examiners, Scottish professors filled the gaps. Professor Sir Sydney Smith fulfilled these duties in Forensic Medicine, Professor Mackie in Bacteriology, Professor Drennan in Pathology, Professor Davidson in Medicine, Professor Johnstone in Obstetrics and Gynaecology, and Professor McNeil in Paediatrics. Poles were appointed as readers or lecturers in these departments.

Clinical Teaching

Clinical teaching took place in hospitals in the Royal Infirmary, the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, the City Hospital in Edinburgh and, further afield, at Carstairs Hospital which was a military hospital during World War II. A separate initiative led to the setting up of the Paderewski Memorial Hospital in the grounds of the Western General Hospital. This was particularly welcomed both by the Polish students and Polish patients who travelled from across Britain to be treated there. Indeed, one of the authors' fathers was an inpatient there. His letters of the time suggest that being treated there was preferable to being cared for in a military hospital in England! The end of the war led to the hospital's closure in 1947 and the few remaining patients and members of staff were transferred to Ballochmyle Hospital. This was a further blow to the School as this, together with the return of British medical students to their studies, resulted in even greater pressure on clinical teaching facilities.

The Last Years of the School

From the outset the School was conceived of as a wartime initiative. It was the hope, and indeed the expectation of many, that the School would transfer to Poland after the cessation of hostilities, contribute to the rebirth of Polish medical academic life and be a centre of excellence. By the end of 1944, it was clear that the end of the war was not far off. Plans were made for the running down of the School's activities from the end of the academic year 1944/45. No new students were accepted into first and second years. Arrangements were made for Polish students who arrived from German prisoner of war camps. Some who had served in Italy were not able to matriculate, but Professor Jurasz set up a course for them in the Paderewski Hospital. While it was doubtless very valuable, these students were not able to graduate from the School. Agreement was given for the School to continue functioning until 1948/49.

Professor Jurasz stepped down as Dean of the School in 1945 and returned to Poznan. His stay there, however, proved to be short as he became increasingly focused on the fate of the Paderewski Hospital.

Following the signing of peace, the Polish Government–in–exile was no longer in control of Polish finances and was not recognised by the British

Government. Financial responsibility for the School was transferred to the Interim Treasury Committee under the management of Professor Sulimirski.

Professor Tadeusz Rogalski from the Jagiellonian University in Krakow succeeded Professor Jurasz as Dean but his tenure proved to be short, and he returned to Poland in 1946. The Anatomy Department closed down as no new entrants were being accepted into first and second years in accordance with the plans agreed for the running down of the School. Further terminations of contracts followed as more reductions in activity occurred and classes in various subjects were discontinued.

In 1946 Professor Jakub Rostowski, who had been a Professor of Neurology in the University of Lwow (now Lviv, in the Ukraine) was appointed as the third and last Dean of the Polish School of Medicine. By then there were further pressures on clinical teaching resources and, in conjunction with the Edinburgh University authorities, it was decided that the third year should be abolished, that third- year students should transfer to other medical schools including Edinburgh, and that only the fourth and fifth-year students should be allowed to continue their studies.

Rostowski's role overseeing the demise of what had been such a positive and unique academic initiative must have been particularly challenging. His last duty as Dean was to unveil the commemorative plaque in the Medical Quadrangle in Teviot Place on 15th November 1949. It was indeed a very sad and grey November day. By then 336 students had matriculated, 227 had graduated MBChB and nineteen doctors (including fifteen of the School's own graduates) had obtained doctorates or MDs.



The Polish inscription reads: 'This memorial was founded by the students, lecturers and professors of the Polish School of Medicine as a token of gratitude to the University of Edinburgh for establishing a Polish academic institution in Edinburgh.'

The Post-War Fate of the Polish School of Medicine Graduates

While a number of the students who had been studying at the Polish School when peace was declared returned to Poland to continue their medical studies in Poland or be reunited with their families, only a few of the Polish School's graduates returned to Poland after the war. More than half remained in the UK. Others emigrated to Europe, the USA, Canada, Australia, British Colonies and Protectorates and elsewhere. Prior to the outbreak of World War II special provision had been made for doctors with foreign medical qualifications to register with the General Medical Council and work as medical practitioners for the duration of the hostilities. These arrangements these remained in force until 1947.

In the case of Polish medical practitioners who remained in Britain after the war, two pieces of legislation were of vital importance to their life in the UK thereafter. These were the Polish Resettlement Act of 1947 and the Medical Practitioners and Pharmacists Act of 1947. The former recognised the great debt owed to the men and women who served under British Command and those who were refugees, and the need to make special provision for those who remained in Britain. Indeed, the terms of the Yalta Agreement meant that large swathes of eastern Poland were redistributed leaving many thousands of Poles, mainly from the Kresy region, forcibly moved to other areas or, in the case of those who had been fighting in the West or had fled as refugees, with no home to which they could return. Under the Medical Practitioners and Pharmacists Act of 1947 application could be made for their *Dyplom Lekarza* to be recognised as being equivalent to a British medical degree.

Editorial note: Part 2: Legacy and Heritage, by Dr Maria Dlugolecka-Graham, Dr Jacek Kwieciński and Prof Krzysztof Tomaszewski, will be published in the next issue of the Journal, Summer 2020.

Images:

Page 125: Dr Gertruda (Duda) Kolibabka (*née* Kuklinska) in her robes as President of the Edinburgh University Women's Union in 1946/47 academic year.

Page 127: Polish School of Medicine Memorial Plaque, Old Medical School, Teviot Place. Photography by Peter B Freshwater. The Polish inscription reads: 'This memorial was founded by the students, lecturers and professors of the Polish School of Medicine as a token of gratitude to the University of Edinburgh for establishing a Polish academic institution in Edinburgh.'

Managing Murder and Mayhem: Aspects of Forensic Medicine and the University

by Prof Anthony Busuttil

A shortened and edited version of a talk by the Professor Emeritus of Forensic Medicine in the University, to a Graduates' Association lunch on 3 October 2018 in the Playfair Library, Old College

In the academic sense, the term 'university' is a shortening of *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, i.e. a community of masters and scholars. Teaching by respected practitioners of arts and sciences is one of the original principal aims of universities, with the scope of eventually conferring 'degrees', i.e. quality-assurance certificates awarded on a satisfactory completion of a course of studies, and the attainment of certain skills, by the graduates, thus enabling the general public to be able to recognise those who are worthy of their qualifications.

The University of Bologna and its medical school, founded in 1088, is the oldest in Europe. The University of Edinburgh was founded in 1583 by the Town Council of Edinburgh and was the first civic university in Britain. It was one of fifteen universities to be founded in Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century, and the only one on the island of Great Britain:

1575/76	Leiden	Netherlands
	Helmstedt	Germany
	Avila	Spain
1577	Rome - Collegium Divi Thomae (Angelicum)	Italy
1578	Palermo	Italy
	Vilnius	Lithuania
1582/83	Edinburgh	Scotland
	_	
	Orthez	France
1585	Orthez Fermo	France Italy
1585		
1585 1585/86	Fermo	Italy
	Fermo Franeker	Italy Netherlands
1585/86	Fermo Franeker Graz	Italy Netherlands Austria
1585/86	Fermo Franeker Graz El Escorial	Italy Netherlands Austria Spain

The Medical School at Edinburgh traces its origins to the barber-surgeons in the early part of the 16th century, but the Faculty of Medicine gained formal recognition within the University only in 1726. It was modelled on those of the Universities of Padua (1222) and of Leiden (1575). Edinburgh's historic Anatomy Theatre (1889) is based on that at Padua.

In addition to world-class teaching and training for local and foreign men and women over the years, Edinburgh University, through the activities of the members of its medical faculty, has always addressed in a practical way, matters relating to all aspects of health within the city of Edinburgh. In fact, the history of Scottish medicine has always emphasised its dual roles of teaching and practical aspects involving the community.

In the light of this practical involvement in its constituency, one minor aspect of the activities of the Edinburgh medical faculty was a direct hands-on investigation of sudden and suspicious deaths, and deaths from epidemics. This too was the aim of the University of Padua which, by the middle of the 17th century, had produced a number of notable alumni, including:

- Nicklaus Copernicus (1473-1543), the Polish mathematician and astronomer who placed the sun at the centre of the solar system;
- John Caius (1510-1573), English physician and the second founder of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge;
- Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) known as the founder of modern human anatomy, who was offered a professorship at Padua, but died before he could take it up;
- Gabriele Falloppio (1523-1562), Italian anatomist, especially in the anatomy of the head and internal organs, and the reproductive organs;
- Sir Francis Walsingham (ca 1532-1590), English spymaster for Queen Elizabeth I;
- Sir William Harvey (1578-1657), English anatomist, who described functions of the heart and circulatory system.

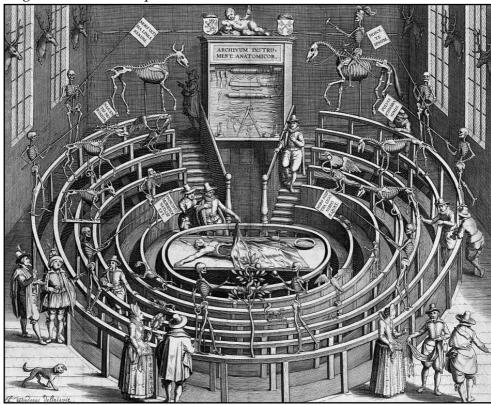


The University of Padua's Anatomy Theatre.

The University of Leiden was home to such figures as:

- René Descartes (1596-1650), French philosopher, mathematician and scientist;
- Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Dutch painter and printmaker;
- Christiaan Huygens (1629-1695), Dutch physicist, mathematician astronomer and inventor;
- Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) Dutch jurist;
- Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), Dutch philosopher.

The University of Edinburgh was thus modelling itself on members of the premier league. By the middle of the 18th century Edinburgh too was breaking new University ground, with the involvement of the Crown in making appointments to chairs, notably that of the Reverend Hugh Blair as Regus Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres, by King George III in 1762. This was the world's first Chair of English Literature. The University's English Literature Department is the oldest in Britain.



Engraving of the University of Leiden's Anatomy Theatre.

Andrew Duncan *primus* (1744-1828) was the first man in Britain to lecture in forensic medicine, beginning in 1789. He was a charismatic teacher who in 1773 founded, among many others, the Aesculapian Society (originally the Aesculapian Club) for the Edinburgh medical elite. Its meetings began at 4 pm with a brief medical discussion, followed at 5 pm by a feast of epic proportions. One menu records the evening meal as 'roast fowl with rice,

fish, curried chickens, crabs, salad, cold lamb, apple pye [sic], mock turtle, potatoes, eggs and all washed down with brandy, gin, whisky, port and sherry'. Duncan's family lair and monuments, sadly dilapidated, can be found in the Buccleuch Street Chapel burying ground.

In 1798 Duncan issued a Memorial to the Town Council of Edinburgh proposing that a professorship of medical jurisprudence and medical police be established at the University; and the Lord Advocate of the day brought this to the attention of the British Government. Hansard records one MP stating that he 'was at a loss to understand what the Ministry would mean by the establishment of a professor of medical jurisprudence in Scotland: he could not comprehend what was meant by the science'. George Canning, an MP on the Opposition benches, accused the Government of insolence; 'we will show them what we can do; we will create a



Andrew Duncan (1744-1828)

professor of medical jurisprudence'. In 1806 the University of Edinburgh became the first in the country to establish a Chair of Medical Jurisprudence: and its full title was indeed the Regius Chair of Medical Jurisprudence and Medical Police. The first holder of the chair was Andrew Duncan *secundus* (1773-1832), his son. He had trained in Scotland and also on the continent, in France, then Italy, and then again in France.

One of the founding figures in social medicine and public health, and one of the leading German physicians of his time, was Johann Peter Frank (1745-1821). He is best known for his *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey* (*A Complete System of Medical Police*), a multi-volume work published throughout his lifetime. In 1790 he gave a graduation lecture at Pavia (an even older university, founded 1361) entitled *De populorum miseria: morborum genitrices* (*The People's Misery: Mother of Diseases*), and Andrew Duncan *secundus* was in the audience. Frank's lecture was devoted to a discussion of how poverty causes ill health. He attributed poverty to social conditions, noting that:

'Every social group has its own type of health and diseases, determined by mode of living. They are different for the courtiers and noblemen, for the soldiers and scholars. The artisans have various diseases peculiar to them, some of which have been specially investigated by physicians. The diseases caused by the poverty of the people and by lack of all the goods of life, however, are so exceedingly numerous that in a brief address then can be discussed only in outline.'

Andrew Duncan *secundus* was impressed. He was the first holder of the Chair, from 1806 to 1819, and was succeeded by William Pultney Allison (1790-1859) who held it from 1820 to 1821. On the appointment of Sir Robert Christison (1797-1882) in 1822, the Chair was moved from the Faculty of Law

to the Faculty of Medicine. He was succeeded in 1832 by Thomas Stewart Traill (1781-1862) and he, in turn, was succeeded in 1862 by Sir Andrew Douglas Maclagan (1817-1900). Henry Duncan Littlejohn was appointed to the then Chair of Forensic Medicine and Public Health in 1897. However, the University established a separate Chair of Public Health the following year, and that element was removed from Littlejohn's immediate remit and became the responsibility of Charles Hunter Stewart (1854-1924), the first Professor of Public Health. The Institute of Public Health was established three years later, in 1906. Henry Harvey Littlejohn (1862-1927) succeeded his father to the Chair of Forensic Medicine until his death in 1927. In 1906 he also became Police Surgeon in Edinburgh.

The next incumbent was Sir Sydney Alfred Smith (1883-1969), who had been an assistant under Henry Harvey Littlejohn, and had also frequently acted as medical expert in court. His cases sometimes attracted spectacular attention in the press, notably that of Dr Buck Ruxton, who in 1935 murdered and dismembered his wife and nursery-maid and dumped their body parts in a burn near Moffat in the Borders. Sydney Smith had succeeded Littlejohn in 1928 and held the post until 1953, when he was succeeded by Douglas James Acworth Kerr (1894-1960). After Kerr's death the Chair seems to have been vacant until the appointment of John Kenyon French Mason (1919-2017) in 1973. It then fell vacant again, following Mason's retiral in 1985, until Anthony Busuttil was appointed three years later.

The autopsy (post-mortem examination) is the mainstay of the forensic pathologist and has become the main focus of many a crime novel and popular television drama series especially – it would seem – those set in Scotland. The worst part of the job is usually having to plunge your hands into the belly of the corpse, but it has to be done!

Further Reading:

- Jason Payne-James, Anthony Busuttil and William Smock. *Forensic Medicine: Clinical and Pathological Aspects*. London: Greenwich Medical Media, 2003
- Peter Vanezis and Anthony Busuttil, eds. *Suspicious Death Scene Investigation*. London: Edward Arnold, 1996
- Anthony Busuttil and Jean W Keeling, eds. *Paediatric Forensic Medicine & Pathology*. (Copyrighted material)
- John D Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine to 1860*. London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1927.

Images:

Page 130: Photograph of the Théâtre-anatomique-Padoue. Photograpghy by Marco Bisello. Uploaded 20/4/06. Original image at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Th%C3%A9%C3%A2tre-anatomique-Padoue.JPG

Page 131: Engraving of Anatomisch theater van de Universiteit Leiden by Willem Isaacsz van Swanenburg, 1610-04. Original image at: http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.181660

Page 132: Portrait of Andrew Duncan primus (1744-1828). Original image at: https://wellcomecollection.org/works/s7shz5u4

Lessons Learned from Edinburgh's Gallows

by Mr J R Sutherland

Sutherland studied English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, graduating MA (Hons) in 2010 and MSc by Research in 2012. He currently works as Assistant Editor of the University of Edinburgh Journal, and as an illustrator for the Aberdeen-based DS Design Studio.

hallenging ideas is a key component of any truly enlightened society. In an ideal world, there can be no subject or personage above open discussion or reproach, and each member of a society must remain free from embarrassment or ostracisation because of the opinions they proffer. Though much of the world has made great strides towards that kind of forum, there are still lessons we must learn. Virtually every day, news outlets publish an analysis of words spoken, tweeted, or otherwise published or printed by important figures of society, celebrity, or politics. Statements often so brief (tweets are limited to 280 characters) as to be analysable in just about any manner imaginable, and yet used as a means to judge absolutely the intentions and character of the person who uttered the words, regardless of context. Outright disinformation, promulgated to support the agenda of any number of organisations, muddies the waters still further in the pursuit of truth, and accuracy, revision, or correction are often deliberately overlooked – even censored. In such a world, we would do well to remember the lessons learned from the seventeenth-century execution of one University of Edinburgh alumnus, Thomas Aikenhead.

Scotland had undergone considerable change in the centuries preceding the events of Aikenhead's death. The sixteenth-century Scottish Reformation described the country's break from the Papacy and adoption of a predominantly Calvinist Kirk, with a Presbyterian approach to Protestant Christianity. The beginnings of the Acts of Union of 1706/7 were felt with the coronation of James VI and I (1567 in Scotland and 1603 in England), despite the fact that England remained a predominantly Catholic realm. Furthermore, the seeds of the Scottish Enlightenment were being planted with the slow exodus of upper-class society south of the border, leaving lawmakers, physicians, and academics to occupy the remaining vacuum,



Seventeenth-century Edinburgh

and the establishment of universities such as Edinburgh in 1582 with Royal Charter rather than Papal bull.

By the mid-1690s, Scotland's monarch, William of Orange, ruling from London, was forced to contend with foreign wars, potential usurpers and Jacobite uprisings, and growing pressures from the English clergy to encourage Protestant Scotland to conform under episcopacy. William had delayed his permission for the General Assembly of the Kirk to be held, understanding the danger in allowing an unprofitable and potentially insurrectious body to flourish. He finally assented in 1694, and uppermost in the Assembly's business was combating a rise in ungodliness, both in speech and in behaviour. Kirk members eventually circulated a draft of concerns which they planned to bring before the Scottish Parliament, including the following:

[...] notwithstanding of many good and excellent laws made against Prophanity of all sorts, yet all kind of Wickedness doth exceedingly abound, especially cursing, and swearing, Sabbath breaking, Drunkenness, Uncleanness, &c. And in all appearance will more and more encrease, unless some method be fallen on for a vigorous Execution of those Laws.¹

Eager to reinforce their position as spiritual rulers of Scotland, the Kirk's representatives introduced measures to tighten their control on the populace. Capitalising on the parliamentary act of 1661 deeming blasphemy illegal, another act was introduced to the House in 1695 which strengthened the sentence for committing such crimes, and extended the scope by which one may be considered to have spoken or acted against God. Distracted by the recent massacre of the MacDonalds by government forces, the Scottish Parliament passed the second of Scotland's Blasphemy Acts with nary a debate, eager to discuss the events and aftermath of Glencoe. The King, understanding all too well the dangers of being seen to defend blasphemy, did not stand in the way of Parliament's approval of the second Act.

Between 1693 and 1694, unbeknownst to the inhabitants of Scotland, a series of volcanic explosions in Hekla, Iceland, and Serua and Aboina, Indonesia, released a cloud of dust and ash that occluded the sun². This caused a series of crop failures in Scotland which, when compounded with the Darien colony disaster of the late seventeenth century, resulted in a famine-stricken and miserable population. These disasters were all too often interpreted as divine wrath levelled against the kingdom of Scotland as a consequence of their faltering from godliness, and provided the Kirk with a mandate to prosecute their agenda.

Thomas Aikenhead (1676-1697) matriculated at the University of Edinburgh in 1693. He made good use of the University of Edinburgh library, which held a number of controversial works by humanist and atheist authors such as Rene Descartes, Baruch Spinoza, Thomas Hobbes, and John Toland. Books such as Michael Servetus' *The Restoration of Christianity* (1553) and Toland's *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696) had furnished Aikenhead with an array of modern ideas which he discussed freely with his friends and peers in the coffee houses of Edinburgh, amongst them prime witness for the prosecution, Mungo

Craig. Aikenhead was witnessed arguing that: '[...] divinity or the doctrine of theologie was a rhapsidie of faigned and ill-invented nonsense, patched up partly of the morall doctrine of philosophers, and pairtly of poeticall fictions and extravagant chimeras'³. Amongst a slew of other utterances, he was also said to have enjoyed the teachings of Muhammad and preferred the warmth of Hell to the current Scottish climate.

Though certainly aware of the laws against blasphemy, Aikenhead may have been encouraged to speak as freely as he did because of the recent case of John Fraser. In October of 1696, Fraser had been charged with uttering: '[...] there was no god to whom men owed that reverence, worship, and obedience so much talked of, and more to the point that the beliefs in established religion were made to frighten folks and to keep them in order'⁴. Despite similarity to Aikenhead's own claims, and based on the facts that Fraser was a first offender and maintained strong familial links to the ruling classes of Edinburgh, he was sentenced to the Tolbooth for several months and sackclothed for his crimes. It is all the more tragic, then, that Aikenhead was arrested in the Autumn of 1696 for his opinions to be '[...] tryed [sic] for his life'⁵ for charges including denouncing God and Jesus Christ, railing against the holy scriptures, and speaking against all forms of religion.

Aikenhead was remanded to Edinburgh's Tolbooth gaol, where he remained until 23rd December 1696, when he was brought before the High Court to answer the charges levied against him. The prosecution was led by the Lord Advocate himself, Sir James Stewart. Stewart immediately demanded the death penalty to dissuade others from expressing the same opinions as Aikenhead; perhaps also because Aikenhead held no significant connection to any old or respected Covenanter family, nor did he have any relationship with Edinburgh's powerful ruling guilds. Five of Aikenhead's fellow students – Adam Mitchell, John Neilsons, John Potter, Patrick Midletoune, and Mungo Craig – testified against him. No defence was recorded. The verdict was returned the following day; Aikenhead was sentenced to be hanged until dead on 8th January 1697.

Aikenhead appealed to the Privy Council for mercy on the grounds of his 'deplorable circumstances and tender years' 6. A second appeal was eventually successful on 7th January 1697, though the Privy Council ruled that clemency would not be forthcoming unless the Kirk interceded on Aikenhead's behalf. His fate was thusly placed directly in the hands of the General Assembly, which was currently in session at the Capital. The Assembly was not minded towards leniency and, instead, urged '[...] vigorous execution to curb the abounding of impiety and profanity in this land' 7. At 2.00 pm on 8th January 1697 at Edinburgh's Gallow Lea (placed just off modern-day Edinburgh's Leith Walk), Aikenhead made penitent declarations to the residents of Edinburgh before being executed, with Bible in hand.

The execution, in the short-term, exerted the control for which it was designed. However, many of Britain's leading minds recognised Aikenhead's fate for the politically-motivated judicial murder it truly was. Thomas Babington Macaulay perhaps argued the point best in his *History of England*

(1848): '[...] the preachers who were the boy's murderers crowded round him at the gallows, and, while he was struggling in the last agony, insulted Heaven with prayers more blasphemous than anything he ever uttered'⁸. A scholar from our own era, Michael F Graham, explains the event just as precisely in his seminal monograph *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead* (2013):

'[...] a kingdom in growing economic and political crisis, governed by a regime struggling to keep alive a revolutionary legacy in the face of conflicting currents, many of them coming from England, its southern neighbour and more powerful partner in the union of crowns. A government that bases its authority on a particular ideology and that feels itself threatened will often prosecute an individual dissident to demonstrate that it still holds power.'9

There are myriad examples of such tyrannical control; Graham himself cites the death sentence imposed on Iranian historian Hashem Aghajari in 2002 for suggesting the Qur'an is subject to modern interpretation¹⁰. Aghajari's sentence was eventually commuted as the result of vigorous and widespread protest.

Amongst Aikenhead's final words was a letter he wrote to the friends who had testified against him. It read: 'It is a principle innate and co-natural to every man to have an insatiable inclination to the truth and to seek for it as for hid treasure'¹¹. Such words teach an invaluable lesson, especially when considering the circumstances under which they were born. In a world filled with so-called fake news, censorship, over-information, and media fatigue, seeking truth is not just a part of man's very nature, but more important a calling than ever before. Oppressive organisations, autocratic governments, surveillance states – none the this can be allowed to stand in the way of our pursuit of the truth.

Notes:

- **1.** Michael F Graham, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead: Boundaries of Belief on the Eve of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 39.
- **2.** J Gibson, A Scottish Martyr: The Story of Young Thomas Aikenhead, 2016 https://www.humanism.scot/what-we-do/humanitie/a-scottish-martyr/ [Accessed 24 November 2019].
- **3.** Graham, p. 103.
- **4.** Gibson, A Scottish Martyr: The Story of Young Thomas Aikenhead.
- **5.** Andrew Hill, *Thomas Aikenhead*, 2000. **http://uudb.org/articles/thomasaikenhead.html [Accessed 24 November 2019].**
- **6**. Gibson, A Scottish Martyr: The Story of Young Thomas Aikenhead.
- 7. Ibid.
- 8. Graham, p. 4.
- **9.** Ibid, p. 5.
- **10.** Ibid, p. 5.
- **11.** Hill, Thomas Aikenhead.

Images:

Page 134: The Citie of Edinburgh from the South, by Wenceslas Hollar, 1670. Available at: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Edinburgh_in_the_17thC_(detail)_by_Wenceslas_Hollar_(1670).jpg [Accessed 24 November 2019]

General Council of the University of Edinburgh

Half-Yearly meeting & Lunch

The next General Council Half-Yearly Meeting will be held on **Saturday 1st February 2020** at **10.30** am in **Lecture Theatre G.03**, the Bayes Centre, 47 Potterrow, Edinburgh.

The Principal, **Professor Peter Mathieson**, will present the Annual Report from the University. Coffee, tea and biscuits will be available in the foyer from 10.00 am.

We are offering an exciting opportunity for General Council members to **visit the Robotarium** before the meeting, at 9.30 am, to see a demonstration of some of the work carried out there. **Please contact the General Council office by 24 January if you would like to join this tour.**

As usual, following the Half-Yearly Meeting, members of the General Council, alumni, partners, family and friends are cordially invited to the General Council Lunch, which will take place this year in the Informatics Building, next door to the Bayes Centre.

The after-lunch speaker will be **Professor Sethu Vijayakumar**, Director of the Edinburgh Centre for Robotics and Co-Program Director of the Alan Turing Institute. Professor Vijayakumar will give a talk entitled: 'From Automation to Autonomy: The Future of Interactive Robotics'.

History of the University

From Reformation to Information

How well do you know the history of your University?

Join this course which runs one afternoon a week for five weeks, from 14.00 to 16.00, Monday 10th February to Monday 9th March.

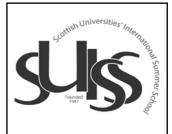
Tutor: Dr Ian Wotherspoon MA MBA PhD

For details and enrolment information visit:

https://www.course-bookings.lifelong.ed.ac.uk/courses/HS/history/HS257/a-history-of-the-university-of-edinburgh/

SUISS: Contributions to the *Journal*

The following pieces showcase the range and imagination of writers we've worked with at the Scottish Universities' International Summer School (SUISS); we are grateful to them for helping continue to make SUISS such a great success, and are proud to be sharing their work in the *University of Edinburgh Journal*. The first piece 'distance' comes from Yelyzaveta Khovrakh



(Ukraine), who beautifully gives voice to the paradoxical nature of human relationships and the desire to connect to a greater power. In contrast, Lisa Degens (The Netherlands) captures the fear of something unsaid, or the unthought known – the realization of which hums just below the surface of the poem. Finally, Chara Triantafyllidou (Greece) and Amrita Shenoy (India), through very different styles and backdrops (one eternal, the other quotidian), explore themes of recognition and responsiveness. We hope you enjoy reading these as much as we did.

SUISS will run for six weeks from the 6th July to the 15th August 2020. To learn more about the summer school and the courses we offer, please visit our website at **www.suiss.ed.ac.uk**

distance

too much not enough no shame in that impossible is impassable mountain crests in the dark

if time exists it better be solid like this cavernous crackling distance of the lost tracks wavering

to meet on top

Yelyzaveta Khovrakh

Untitled

Editorial Note: Previously published on https://dragonfuture.deviantart.com

tell me, stranger: have we met before? have we kissed on darkened streets surrounded by the smell of fear and petrol?

I cannot remember the texture of your lips. the road underneeth my feet is more familiar.

tell me, darling: have we talked before? shared words under lamplights at two a.m.?

I cannot remember the sound of your voice. the humming of the moths is almost deafening.

Lisa Degens

Immortality

Editorial Note: This is the third part in a trio of poems from Triantafyllidou.

The gate of Death was hard to guard, She would prefer to walk through it. Redemption was twice as hard to reach, She would prefer to die with sins. Poisonous fangs are such a blessing For those who smile while they are stabbed. No mourning for the monster's martyr When it is brought upon Her will. No fate finally fulfilled. For no Hercule's trophy Hydra is, Only the master of her own spear.

"I lived a life in the cave gutter,
The stalactites were my only stars.
Mighty Hera put me among them,
And now I am here, gazing Mars.
From the Underworld I came,
And to the skies I have travelled,
I died to be the constellation
That you will look at night and ponder".

Chara Triantafyllidou

Burgundy

"t was fifteen minutes to 9, he could come any moment. But wasn't he expected earlier?—never mind, there was much left to do; gently pan-Ltoast the garlic bread, take out the good glasses, new cutlery for the mains (the appetisers were crafted for hand-picking), take out some old CDs should they wish to dance in the event of finding nothing to say or do. Candles would be nice too, yes, oh! Candles. Now where had she put them? Made of perfumed wax, standing on a decent candle-stand she had brought from an exhibition 8 years ago. When was the last time she had put them to use? But fuck it, she had to do something about her face first. She couldn't have him see her with a haggard face from a long cook. She had to wear something different, and she wanted to smell nice. She was tired of smelling like apple pulp from the juice factory. And she could absolutely not have him see that horrid solitary twig of hair hanging limp but prominent, on the centre of her chin. Her face leaned close to the mirror and she squinted; with an exact movement of the tweezer, it was gone, that wretched strand of hair that reminded her day in day out, that she would turn 43 in 12 days. It would grow back soon she muttered dully, but for now, it was gone and he could come any moment, so she had to be ready.

She took out a resplendent Burgundy dress she had seen online; it was ill fitting in parts, after all, they look different on those waif-thin models, these dresses. Buy bigger sizes, and they drown you in their ocean volume. But the colour made up for the misfit; what a colour, burgundy! Life could be bad—or worse, exhaustively organised and perfunctory. But this colour could infuse vitality in it and even if only for a single evening, this was enough for her. If life was to end, it was to be in this dress.

The smooth-shiny plastic packaging of the apple juice was in a deep Burgundy box with a picture of two blunt, off white semi-circles of apple in the centre. This is where she had, looking at the colour every day, begun to see it as home, begun to love it. She eyed herself in the mirror, Burgundy could elevate her to personhood, no matter the wiry hair and perpetually haggard face. Besides, it was such an English colour. In India, one usually wore orange, yellow or variations of green, or indigo and thousands of reds and blues but no Burgundy. It didn't seem out of place in London, but stood out in the hoards of people boarding the Mumbai locals to work every morning. She wished she could go to London someday, a sister was there and posted a lot of pictures on Facebook. But this was a distant sister, and she has no money for a holiday abroad, so this dress was just fine. Oh! He would come any moment and she had to be outside waiting for him like she had never been waiting for him.

The smell of the garlic bread was wafting out in warning of being burnt and she scurried to switch off the stove. As she placed the pan away and assembled the bread neatly, she wondered why he had not texted in the past one hour, after all, he could come any moment, and here she was, waiting. The phone rang; it was him, he would be there in ten minutes he said. Relief. They had been in the factory together. Last checked, he was 26 on the identity card, and she was in love with him. He had been kind to her, and would even reply to texts. Once or twice, she thought she had seen him stare back at her as she watched him intently, and then, he had been kindest to her once in the storeroom. It was her turn to return the kindness now. Not just return it, but even delight him in this dress that made her look like expensive wine. And so, if life began at 6 in the morning and concluded at 10 in the evening every day, this would save her. The bell rang, and she opened the door to his stubble-face that drove her mad in silent hours of work in the factory.

He was nervous, and dressed in a T-shirt and jeans and handed over a carton full of apple juice packs. Come in, she said, but he thanked her and said he was in a hurry. But hadn't he said he would stay for dinner? Her army of garlic bread lined on the table looked expectantly at him. Oh, no, there must have been a misunderstanding, he pleaded. But I've cooked, see, even the table's laden, she begged. No, please Ms. Colaco, he said, then nervously averting her wet eyes, mumbled that he was engaged. 'It was a mistake, I am sorry. Please, I am not interested' came next, before he darted off like an anxious deer towards safety. The door closed with a soft click and she sat with the carton full of apple juice packs. She smelt of apple juice again.

Amrita Shenoy

Authors:

Lisa Degens is currently studying a 'Linguistics and English Language' Masters at Leiden University in The Netherlands.

Yelyzaveta Khovrakh is a Kyiv-based poet, writer, and translator. In 2018, she received the David Daiches Scholarship to participate in the SUISS Text and Context course in Scottish Literature.

Amrita Shenoy is a lecturer based in Mumbai, who delights in the small and ordinary things of everyday. She loves to write, travel, eat, and engage with people and cultures.

Chara Triantafyllidou is a postgraduate scholar at Trinity College, Dublin. Her creative writing journey began at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She is interested in subverting narratives and exploring stereotypes of terror.

Reviews

Jock Duncan, *Jock's Jocks: Voices of Scottish Soldiers from the First World War.* Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland and the European Ethnological Research Centre, 2019. Pp 296. Paperback, illustrated. ISBN 9781910682333. £12.99.

In the 1930s, when he was a young teenager, Jock Duncan found it interesting to chat to neighbours and acquaintances about their experiences in the Great War and to record their memories. He was perhaps motivated by the widely held suspicion that another war was imminent and that this time he would be part of it. After serving in the RAF, he returned to farm work but, after a few years, decided to go into the employ of the new Scottish Hydro Electric Board. He and his family eventually settled in Pitlochry, where he lives to this day. In addition to his pastimes of piping and folk-singing, at both of which he is highly accomplished, he continued to record veterans' experiences. In the 1970s, no doubt realising that the number of men who had served in the First World War was dwindling, he stepped up his efforts, tape recording interviews, and then meticulously preparing typewritten transcripts. He then re organised the material he had gathered into various themes, and it is this arrangement that forms the body of the book.

What sets this work apart, however, is that many of these transcripts, typically of Gordon Highlanders, are in the vernacular of north-east Scotland, often referred to as 'the Doric'. This is not as daunting for the reader as one might fear: a comprehensive glossary is included but after reading a mere few pages, and learning that 'fin' is 'when' and 'far' is 'where', it is necessary to refer to it only occasionally. More to the point, it provides an immediacy that serves to bring the characters to life.

There is a lengthy introduction prepared by one of the compilers, giving the author's background, a description of farming life before the war (as had been experienced by many of the interviewees) and a timeline of key events of the war. The knowledgeable historian will spot a few errors here, particularly in the outline of the Gallipoli campaign; however, these do not detract from the overall purpose of 'setting the scene'. This is followed by a chapter, prepared by the author, giving brief biographical details and, in several cases, photographs of the veterans whose experiences follow. They describe how and where they enlisted and underwent their training, give first-hand accounts of events in virtually every theatre and year of the war and then give their views on many aspects of active service: 'Wounded and Sick', 'Horses and Mules', 'Leave', 'Conditions at the Front', 'Officers', 'Prisoners', 'Enemies and Allies', 'Supplies', 'Patrols', 'Comrades' and 'Armistice and after the War'. This book would be a useful addition to any library as it contains a wealth of fascinating anecdotes and gives an intimate insight into the minds and attitudes of men who were there. It also contains a good variety of illustrations.

George Sutherland

Roger S Windsor, *The Veterinary Detectives – A Vet in Peru*. Kibworth: Book Guild Publishing, 2018. Hardback. ISBN 9781912362462. £16.95.

The Veterinary Detective is back. This is Roger Windsor's second memoir¹ ('sortabiography'), recounting professional and personal experiences in setting up house and home, and directing veterinary laboratory services, in far-flung corners of the world.

Newly returned from a tour in newly independent Kenya and Botswana, with a spell in Argentina thrown in, we reconnect with our Edinburgh vet as he contemplates a new job, in South America, with the Overseas Development Agency, tasked with setting up veterinary laboratory services in support of the ailing dairy industry of southern Peru.

Mid-eighties Peru still retains a degree of affection for the British, and holds a sizeable ex-pat community with which our hero enthusiastically identifies. ODA still has interests in Peru, and this new mission fits Windsor to a tee. Centrally, we hear how his scientific and socioeconomic *nous* – not to mention political and personal acumen – are brought to bear in building a *Brucella abortus* eradication scheme, in a region with an indigenous farming population largely ignorant of the cause and consequences of Brucellosis (a bacterial disease of cattle that causes abortion and hence reduced milk production). Windsor designs and equips the laboratory, recruits and trains his technical staff, and teaches them the science required to deliver the project. And, as the savvy public health specialist he is, he also educates the sponsors (government) and clients (dairy farmers) that use and pay for his service.

The detective work here is firmly grounded on veterinary medical laboratory science. But Windsor functions as more, much more, than a veterinary scientist. He also serves as a quasi-diplomat: our man in Arequipa, with a direct line to the British Embassy in Lima. His impact is aptly reflected in his being awarded an MBE in the 1992 Queen's Birthday Honours list, for services to veterinary development in Peru.

Windsor's accounts of travel in and around Peru are great fun. Parts read like a Lonely Planet travel guide, with nuggets such as the provenance of the first Lake Titicaca steamship (built in London), how to prepare roast guinea pig (first, flatten between two stones), and where to obtain the best Bloody Mary 'in the world' (Hotel International San Augustin, Cuzco). Fly-fishers (like myself) will be intrigued by the fishing expedition to Aguada Blanca, which teaches that fake flies do not tempt trout 4,000m up in the Andes, since real flies don't exist at that altitude!

This author is clearly used to getting things done his way, on his terms, but always, family first. His musician wife, Maxine's challenges and achievements clearly mean as much to him as his own. And he is intensely proud of their three children, who remain in the UK most of the time but occasionally join the Latin American adventure, during school and university (including Edinburgh) holidays: "...We had a wonderful six years, perhaps the most enjoyable of my life; we had a wonderful marriage where Maxine and I were both partners and friends, we had three delightful children all bright and happy and performing well in their educational institutions..."

This amusing and engrossing memoir makes for a highly enjoyable and informative read. It concludes with Roger's acceptance of a new post in not so far-flung Dumfries, Scotland, after the six-year stint in Peru. It is to be hoped that the fly-fishing in Scotland will be more productive than in Peru, and that a third volume of veterinary detection emerges in due course.

Prof Stephen G Hillier

Notes: 1. The first, *More Sherlock Holmes than James Herriot: The Veterinary Detectives* was reviewed in this *Journal* in June 2016, Vol 47:3.

Dòmhnall Eachann Meek. *Seòl mo Bheatha: Turas eadar Croit is Eilean is Oilthigh*. Inverness: CLÁR, 2019. Pp iv+283. Paperback, illustrated ISBN: 9781916145801 (pbk).

No Gael of his generation has ploughed as broad a furrow, or harvested as many different crops, as Professor Donald Meek. Crofter and poet, scholar and academic, broadcaster, champion of Gaelic, enthusiastic naval architect, Baptist lay preacher, restorer of ancestral buildings and ancient farm equipment – few of us can claim such a varied and interesting life. This book is his account of it.

Born in 1949, Meek grew up an only child in Caolas, Tiree, after familial duty brought his father Eachann, a Baptist minister in Islay, home to Tiree to look after the croft and its aging occupants. Donald's earliest memories involve these elderly grand-aunts and grand-uncles, and it is those memories – and the rich, idiomatic Gaelic in which they are expressed – that form the beating heart of this book. Combining personal recollections with rigorous research, oral tradition, family genealogy and lively anecdotes, Meek's first twelve chapters provide an extraordinarily detailed ethnographic record of life in Tiree in the twentieth century, told with warmth and humour. While he thoroughly appreciates the difficulties his parents faced in dealing with an old house, a demanding croft and a houseful of elderly people, the overall impression of these chapters is of his own delight: in the land, the sea, the animals, the neighbours, the natural environment, the farm machinery, the dinghies and the ferries, and all that his family and the surrounding community could teach him.

At the same time, Meek's understanding of how things used to be helps him explain the changes affecting island communities in his lifetime. While some of these changes – the banning of the tawse, the coming of the car-ferries – have been benign, too many others have not. The system that encouraged parents to send their gifted children, aged fourteen, to secondary school in Oban – a plan that Donald managed through guile to delay for two years; the gradual replacement of small shops and vans by supermarkets, and small community churches and the social hubs they provided by centralised congregations; the decline of collaboration among neighbours as farm equipment allowed one person to manage a croft on their own; above all, the constant emigration to the mainland, to Canada and elsewhere – such changes have, over a few decades, undermined islanders' self-confidence

and weakened the bonds that for centuries held their communities together. Today, Tiree has become, to many, a rest-haven for successful retirees, or a holiday home for incomers with fancy accents who sail pleasure-boats in the Sound of Gunna and build family compounds where croft houses and cottars' huts once stood. Meek does not hide his bitterness at such developments.

Meek's academic career spanned a period in which the ethos of Britain's universities, the narrowing trajectory of Celtic Studies in Scotland, and the fortunes of Gaelic both as a community language and as a medium of sophisticated discourse were comprehensively transformed. As a scholar, he has written about the historic struggles of nineteenth century Gaeldom, and about the diversity of thought and literature that emerged from those struggles. His studies of the Christian evangelical movement in the Gàidhealtachd have helped us understand this important aspect of religious belief and practice in Scotland. But while Meek's scholarly achievements are widely appreciated, they were hard won. Although scholarly interests are often what propels someone into academic life, today's universities tend to value scholarship not just for its intrinsic worth, but for its financial contribution to their 'bottom line' - an approach that privileges subject areas where research funds are needed and collaborative work is the norm. Meanwhile individual scholars who need neither research assistants nor expensive resources to conduct their investigations can feel that their work is going unnoticed and disregarded.

For Donald Meek, the dissonance between his expectations of an academic career and what he found when he achieved it became insupportable. Since taking early retirement in 2008, he has devoted himself to projects close to his heart: restoring 'Coll View', the 130-year-old croft house in Tiree where his daughter now lives; model boat-building; scholarly interests; painting; creative writing; and family life.

Gaelic-speakers may have heard the eight-part BBC series, *Seòl Dhòmhnaill*, broadcast in May in anticipation of this book, which is also in Gaelic. Because Meek's rich observations and trenchant arguments deserve a wider audience, one may hope that a translation may one day appear. Meanwhile Donald Meek must be congratulated on a superb contribution to our understanding of what it means to be a Gael, and on a life well lived.

Dr Virginia Blankenhorn

Dòmhnall Eachann Meek. *Seòl mo Bheatha: Turas eadar Croit is Eilean is Oilthigh.* Inverness: CLÁR, 2019. Pp iv+283. Paperback, illustrated. ISBN: 9781916145801 (pbk). (Translation of the review above by Dr Virginia Blankenhorn)

Pìor Ghàidheal den ghinealach a th' ann, cha do threabh sgrìob cho leathann 's cha do bhuain uiread barr ris a' Phrofeasair Dòmhnall Meek. Croitear agus bàrd, sgoilear agus acadaimeagach, craoladair is Fear-taic na Gàidhlig, fear-togail comasach bhàtaichean "modal", searmonaiche Baisteach neo-chlèireach, fear-càraidh seann toglaichean teaghlaich agus fìor-sheann uidheam croitearachd – chan eil moran nar measg aig an robh beatha cho ioma-fhillte no cho inntinneach. Tha an leabhar seo ga mhìneachadh dhuinn.

An aon phàiste san teaghlach, rugadh Dòmhnall ann an 1949 agus thogadh e sa Chaolas as-dèidh do dh'athair Eachann, e fhèin na mhinistear Baisteach ann an Ile, tilleadh dhachaidh do Thiriodh airson obair na croite a chumail a' dol 's an teaghlach a-nis a' teannadh ri seann aois. 'S ann air peathraichean is bràithrean a sheanair agus an dual-chainnt bhearteach aca tha na ciad chuimhneachain aig Dòmhnall agus a tha aig cridhe an leabhar seo. A' cruinneachadh ri chèile a chuimhneachain fhein le rannsachadh cùramach, beul-aithris, eòlas-sloinne agus sgeulachdan beòthail, tha a' chiad dusan caibideal a' toirt cunntas mionaideach de chaitheamh-beatha ann an Tiriodh san Fhicheadaibh linn agus e air innseadh gu blàth's gu h-eibhinn. A dh'aindheoin an deagh fhios a th' aige air na duilgheadasan a bha roimh phàrantan le seann taigh, obair chruaidh na croite agus làn taighe de sheann chàirdean, 's e an toileachas a bha e gabhail annta tha tighinn am barr; anns an fhearann, a' mhuir, na beathaichean, na coimhearsnaich, an àrainneachd, an uidheam, na geòlachan 's na bàtaichean-aiseig agus an t-ionnsachadh a bha e a' sughadh suas bho theaghlach fhein agus a' choimhearsnachd.

Aig an aon am, tha tuigse Dhòmhnaill air mar a b' aibhist gnothaichean a bhith a' toirt comas dha na h-atharraichean a tha air tighinn air coimhearsnachdan eileanach na bheatha fein a mhineachadh. Math 's gu bheil cuid dhiubh sin, mar casg chuir air an "tàs" 's na sgoiltean agus aiseagan-charbad, tha cuid nach eil idir. Is iad seo an siostam foghlam far am feumadh pàrantan an cuid chloinne a chuir gu Ardsgoil an Obain aig aois ceithir-bliadhn'-deug - le seolt' air choireigin chuir Dòmhnall fhèin seo air ais dà bhliadhna; mar a thàinig crionadh air an aireamh de bhùitean beaga agus bhanaichean-bàthair agus nan àite buth mòr no dhà; eaglaisean beaga coimhearsnachd le coimhthionalan sònraichte a' dol a bith san sluagh a' teannadh ri coimhthionalan nas motha; lùghdachadh air coobrachadh a-measg nabaidhean leis gum b' urrainn do dh'aon chroitear an obair a dheanamh leis fhèin ag uibhsneachadh an uidheam ùr; ach os-cionn gach nì dhiubh sin, sìor-gluasad an t-sluaigh gu Tir-mòr, do Chanada is eile; tha na caochlaidhean sin a' milleadh misneachd nan eileanach agus a' lùghdachadh nam bannan a bha a' cumail coimhearsnachdan ri cheile. Andiugh, tha Tiriodh na chaladh-tàmh do dhaoine th' air an dreuchd a leigeil dhiubh no na dharna dachaidh do dhaoine Gallda le Beurla len geòlachanspors ann an Sruth Ghunna agus an taighean- samhraidh far am b' àbhaist do chroitearan agus coitearan a bhith fuireach. Chan eil Dòmhnall a' cleith cho searbh sa tha seo ga fhàgail.

A-reir na h-uine acadaimeagach a chuir Dòmhnall seachad, aig an àm bha atharrachaichean a' tighinn air dàighean-smaointinn anns na h-Oilthaighean, beachdan air Eolas Ceilteach na h-Alba agus mar a bha Gàidhlig air a cleachdadh mar chànan làitheil agus na cainnt deasbud sgoilearachd. Mar sgoilear, tha e air sgrìobhadh mu strìth eachdraidheil nan Gàidheal san naoimheadh linn deug agus mu na deifir smuaintean agus an litreachas a dh'èirich bhuapa sin. Tha an rannsachadh a rinn e air gluasad Soilsgeulachd Chriosdaidh na Gàidhealtachd gar cuideachadh tuigse fhaighinn air creideamh agus dòighean-adhraidh ann an Albainn. Ach, fad 's sa tha sgoilearachd Dhòmhnaill air a dheagh mheas, bu daor an ceannach. Ged is e ùidh ann an sgoilearachd a tha a' brodadh dhaoine gu caitheamh-beatha acadaimeagach, chan eil Oil-thaighean an là'n-diugh a' cur uiread spèis ann an sgoilearachd air a cheann fhein seach a' mhaoin a dh'fheumas iad toirt a-staigh. Tha seo a' ciallachadh gu bheil buaidh aig cuspairean sònraichte aig a bheil feum mòr air airgead-rannsachaidh agus seo ag aobharach coobrachadh - ni tha fas cumanta. Aig an aon àm, dh'fhaodadh sgoilearan a tha ag obair air an ceann fhèin, gun chobhair bho luchd-rannsachaidh no maoineachadh mòr airson an cuid sgrùdaidh a bhi a' faireachdainn nach robh mòran spèis air a chur ron cuid obrach.

Do Dhòmhnall Meek, bha am bearn eadar na bha e a' cur roimhe agus na thàinig thuige ann an saoghal nan acadaimeagach ro mhòr. Ann an 2008, bhon a leig e dheth a dhreuchd tràth, tha e air a bhith an sàs anns na gnothaichean as dluithe da chridhe: ag ath-nuadhachadh, le nighean Rhoda, seann taigh na croite a bha stèidhichte bho chionn sia fichead bliadhna sa deich agus far a bheil ise nis a' fuireachd; a' togail bhàtaichean "modal"; sgoilearachd; peantadh dhealbh; sgrìobhadh cruthachail agus a bhith na neach aig cridhe a theaghlaich fhèin.

Tha fios gu bheil muinntir na Gàidhlig air sreath de phrograman a chaidh a-mach air Rèidio nan Gàidheal, "Seòl Dhòmhnaill", a chluinntinn goirid mun deach an leabhar Gàidhlig seo air bhog. Le seallaidhean beairteach Dhòmhnaill agus a chuid bheachdan geur, cumhachdach airidh air luchd-amhairc nas fharsainge, dh' fhaoidte gum biodh dùil ri eadar-thaingeachadh. An-drasta, ged-ta, is còir moladh agus spèis a thoirt do Dhòmhnall Meek airson na chuir e ri ar tuigse air dè tha e a' ciallachadh a bhith nad Gàidheal agus air a chaitheamh-beatha ion-mholta tha air a bhith aige thuige seo.

Flòraidh NicPhail

William McIntyre, *Fixed Odds: a Robbie Munro Thriller*. Dingwall: Sandstone Press, 2019. Pp [10], 263. Paperback. ISBN 9781912240723. £7.99.

Another Edinburgh University law graduate, William McIntyre, is producing an entertaining crime novel series, in which a Scottish criminal defence lawyer, Robbie Munro, has to act as a private eye in order to do his job. Defence lawyers always have a tougher, and therefore more entertaining, job to do than do prosecuting lawyers and procurators fiscal. Think of *Perry Mason*, and the *Kavanagh QC* and *Silk* television series which enjoy reruns on Drama, whereas *Sutherland's Law*, popular in its day, has apparently not stood the same test of time, and the English series *The Coroner* seems to be fading into obscurity. Robbie Munro and his team would make good television. *Fixed Odds* (which sounds more like a Dick Francis English horse-racing title than a Scots law one) is the fifth in what began with *Last Will* (2014) in the Best Defence Mystery series but which is now the Robbie Munro Thriller series.

McIntyre's style is very readable and is faintly reminiscent of Raymond Chandler's; and Robbie Munro, although a lawyer, may owe a little to Philip Marlowe, but McIntyre writes of Scots crime and criminal law in the gritty undergrowth Taggart's and Rebus's Scotland. Bloody Scotland's tartan noir has another great contributor of its own. The action is fast and furious, the plots and sub-plots are many, and justice and the greater good under Scots law prevail in the end. In the course of this novel, which is set accurately in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Munro ends up juggling three cases simultaneously, of which the principal one is that of a snooker world champion accused of losing matches, or individual frames, for the benefit of punters across the world; he also has personal and domestic problems which affect his family characters who have developed in the course of the series, and which compete for his time and energy. May they continue to do so for many books to come!

Peter B Freshwater

Victoria Crowe, *Beyond Likeness*; with an essay by Duncan Macmillan and commentaries on the portraits by Victoria Crowe. Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2018. Pp 96, illustrated. Paperback. ISBN 9781911054221. £14.95.

This summer's magnificent retrospective exhibition, 50 Years of Painting, in the City of Edinburgh Arts Centre, of fifty years of Victoria Crowe's paintings included one room devoted to her portraits. These reminded us of her no less splendid exhibition of portraits, Beyond Likeness, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery last year, 2018, and enabled the City Arts Centre bookshop to stock copies of that catalogue as well as the one of this year's exhibition; which it complements. Crowe's penetrating portraits include those of eleven Edinburgh University people, some of which were commissioned by, and hang in, the University itself, including: Kathleen Dalyell, Lady Dalyell OBE (graduate and Deputy Lieutenant, West Lothian);

Sir Thomas ('Tam') Dalyell MP (Rector); Professor Peter Higgs CH (Professor of Theoretical Physics); Professor David S Ingram OBE (Honorary Professor of Science, Technology & Innovation); Dr Jean W Keeling (Honorary Senior Lecturer in Pathology); Mr Callum Macdonald MBE (graduate and printer/publisher); Very Reverend Professor John McIntyre CVO (Professor of Divinity and Acting Principal); Dr Ann Matheson OBE (graduate and Secretary to the General Council); Thea Musgrave CBE (graduate and composer); Principal Sir Timothy O'Shea (Principal); and Dr Winifred Rushforth OBE (graduate and founder of the Davidson Clinic, Edinburgh). As such it deserves a place in any collection on Edinburgh University, beside the two volumes of The University Portraits (1957 & 1986) and Portraits of Excellence, by Ross Gillespie and Tricia Malley (1997).

Peter B Freshwater

William Croft Dickinson, *Dark Encounters: a Collection of Ghost Stories*; Introduction by Alistair Kerr. Paperback Edition. Edinburgh: Polygon, 2019. Pp xxiv, 196. Paperback, illustrated. ISBN 9781846975134. £7.99.

It is good to see a new edition of William Croft Dickinson's Dark Encounters in print, and this time in paperback. Alistair Kerr has continued his research on Dickinson and has been able to expand his introduction to include personal and academic information which had not been available for the 2017 edition (which was reviewed in the June 2018 issue of this Journal). The illustrations in this new edition have changed, and now include two by the wood engraver Joan Hassall which first appeared in the 1963 collection published by Oliver & Boyd, *The Sweet Singers*. It is a pity that more could not have been used, as they enhance these atmospheric stories and encourage the reader's imagination to soar to greater heights; perhaps a future edition can include them. Enjoy these stories anew, and add this edition to your collection of the world's great ghost stories!

Peter B Freshwater

Reviewers:

Dr Virginia Blankenhorn is Honorary Fellow in Celtic and Scottish Studies.

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

Prof Stephen G Hillier OBE is Professor Emeritus of Reproductive Endocrinology and former Vice-Principal International of the University.

Ms Flòraidh NicPhail, Sgibinnis (Skipness), Eilean Thiriodh

Mr George Sutherland is author of *Full Circle: A History of the City of Edinburgh Universities' Officer Training Corps* (2014), which was reviewed in the *Journal* Vol 47:4.

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 us by the Development & Alumni Office.

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 Council's website at 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

James Robertson Blackie BSc 1959 MSc 1962: on 11 December 2018, in Oxford, aged 81. Born in Earlston on 22 January 1937, he was educated at Hutton Primary School and Berwickshire High School before reading Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh. While there, he was a member of EUAS. On graduation, Blackie spent a year as Auroral Observer at Base Z, Halley Bay, in the Antarctic. He married in 1962 and he and his wife went to Kenya where Blackie worked on catchment research under the aegis of the then Ministry of Overseas Development. His research took him to all three East African countries - Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania - and what was a two-year posting extended to nearly ten. On his return to UK, he continued catchment research for the NERC, based at Crowmarsh, and remained there till his retirement in 1997.

Sheila Brown (née Wilson): in Edinburgh, on 8 September 2019, aged 85. For over 20 years, Brown was the Principal's Secretary, to Professors Sir Hugh Robson, Sir John Burnett, Sir David Smith, and Sir Stewart Sutherland. She retired in 1998.

Ian Bruce Doyle BD 1945 PhD 1956: on 26 May 2019 in Hamilton, aged 97. Born in Aberhill, Fife, on 11 September 1921, he was educated at Buckhaven High School where he was dux in 1939 and won a bursary to St Andrews University. Doyle went on to study at the University, where he earned a distinction in ecclesiastical history. He served with the 'Huts and Canteens' pastors, a group working with Allied servicemen stationed in Europe after the end of World War 2. Doyle was called to St Mary's Parish Church in Motherwell in 1946 and, in the same year, he met Tom Allen with whom he would collaborate on the influential 'Tell Scotland' movement in the 1950s. In 1960, he moved to the historic parish of Eastwood on the south side of Glasgow, where he served for the next 17 years. In 1974, he was appointed Convener of the Home Board and, in 1977, he left Eastwood to become its General Secretary. Doyle held this post until 1991 and had responsibility for national programmes with a local focus, bringing together various strands of the mission. He became Pastoral Associate at Palmerston Place from 1991 to 2006. His publications include the Church of Scotland's *Hymns for Special Services* and the music for the 'Tell Scotland' movement's anthem.

David Cairns Fulton MC BL 1946: on 18 July 2019 in Edinburgh, aged 96. Born in Edinburgh on 3 October 1922, he was educated at George Watson's College and Strathallan School before reading law at the University. In September 1941, he volunteered for the Royal Armoured Corps. After initial training, he attended the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst, and was commissioned into the 1st Lothian and Borders Horse. He then volunteered to go to the 2nd Lothian and Borders Horse in North Africa, sailing with them to Naples in March 1944. Fulton's efforts at the battle of Monte Cassino earned him the Military Cross. After war service, he completed his studies and apprenticeship, going on to work at Shepherd & Wedderburn WS. He then joined Tods Murray & Jamieson WS as a partner, bringing with him numerous modernisations to the historic firm still reeling from wartime losses. Fulton became senior partner in 1980 and retired in 1987. The Society of Writers to the Signet appointed him to their important office of Fiscal. He was an elder of Inverleith Church and served for a period as session clerk. Fulton was a governor of Strathallan School from 1965 to 1991, served two terms as the school's chairman, and became an Honorary Governor.

Thomas Graeme Cameron Gibson CM: in London UK, on 18 September 2019, aged 85. A novelist and conservationist, Graeme Gibson was born in London, Ontario, on 9 August 1934 and studied at the University of Western Ontario. His early novels Five Legs (1969) and Communion (1971) were welcomed as new writing in experimental literature, and his nonfiction book Eleven Canadian Novelists (1973) had also been welcomed. He came to Edinburgh University as a Writer-in-Residence in 1978/79 at the Centre of Canadian Studies, of which Professor Wreford Watson, himself an acclaimed poet as well as a notable geographer, was the first Convenor. Gibson brought with him his new partner, another writer just beginning to claim recognition, Margaret Atwood; Atwood's unannounced arrival in Edinburgh proved of great interest to the literary community in Scotland.

John ('Joffy') Gordon Hamilton: on 24 March 2019 in Aikenhall, Dunbar, aged 57. Born in Woolfords, Lanarkshire, on 25 June 1961, he was educated at Merchiston Castle School and went on to study at the Edinburgh Agricultural College, now part of the King's Buildings Campus. In 1988, Hamilton bought his first land at Cobbinshaw and Dykefoot before, in 1998, he purchased land in the East of Scotland at Aikenhall. Ten years later, Hamilton also acquired lands at Thurston Mains. He received numerous awards and commendations for the quality of his livestock, especially Blackface sheep, and farming ability. A pioneer, in 1993, Hamilton visited Wales to view the first windfarms established in the UK. Convinced of their value to the future of farming,

he set about constructing his own windfarm at Aikenhall which was completed in 2008 and continues to expand.

Betty Lockwood, Baroness Lockwood: on 29 April 2019, aged 95. Born at Shaw Cross, Dewsbury, West Yorkshire, on 22 January 1924, she attended Eastborough Girls' School before joining the Labour Party at age 18. Lockwood became active in local politics and, while working for the council first at the switchboard and then secretarial work, she won a scholarship to Ruskin College, Oxford. She studied economics, politics, and history for a year before accepting a part-time job with the Labour Party, combining it with further study at Ruskin by correspondence. For the next 30 years, Lockwood was a full-time member of the Labour Party staff. She joined the regional staff at Reading in 1948 and, two years later, became the regional women's officer in Yorkshire. She spent 15 years there before appointment as Labour's top female official in Transport House in 1967. During this time, Lockwood was also the secretary of the National Joint Committee of Women's Organisations. She became aware of the need for a statutory body to implement the Equal Pay Act, which resulted in plans to establish the Equal Opportunities Commission in 1975. In 1978, Lockwood was made a member of the House of Lords, becoming an active member of the Lords upon leaving the EOC in 1983. She was Deputy Speaker from 1989 to 2007. Other major appointments included membership of the Department for Employment Advisory Committee on Women's Employment from 1969 to 1983, and the Council of the Advertising Standards Authority from 1983 to 1993. Lockwood received honorary degrees from Bradford, Strathclyde, Birkbeck, Leeds Metropolitan, and the University.

Clifton Paget ('Tony') Lowther MBChB FRCPG FRCPE. A Glasgow graduate, Lowther was a Consultant Obstetrician in the Royal Infirmary Edinburgh and an Honorary Senior Lecturer in Geriatric Medicine at Edinburgh University. He and his wife Jean, who pre-deceased him, were life members of the Friends of Edinburgh University Library, and, from 1984 to 1989, he served a term on the Friends' Committee.

John MacInnes MA 1953 PhD 1975: in May 2019, aged 89. Born in Uig on Lewis in 1930, he was raised on Raasay before studying English and Old Norse at the University. After graduation, MacInnes took up a post with the University's School of Celtic and Scottish Studies, which he maintained for 30 years until his retirement in 1993. His book *Dùchas nan Gàidheal (Traditions of the Gael)* won the Saltire Prize in 2006.

John ('Jack') MacQueen BA MA DLitt FRS FRAS: in Dumfries, on 15 September 2019, aged 90. Born in Glasgow on 13 February 1929, he was a graduate of Glasgow and Cambridge Universities; his first teaching post was Assistant Professor of English at Washington University, St Louis, Missouri, 1956-1959 after which he came to Edinburgh as lecturer

in English Literature 1959-1963 before being appointed to the Masson Chair of Medieval English and Scottish Literature. In 1969, he and Professor C H Waddington founded the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and took over from Professor William Beattie as second Director. He later moved to the School of Scottish Studies where he succeeded Basil Megaw as second Director. He brought with him additional interests in place-names, saints' narratives, and in the southwest of Scotland, where his family roots were. In 1972, he was appointed to a Personal Chair of Scottish Literature and Oral Tradition. He drew the School more fully into the Faculty of Arts as initial offerings of first and second year courses in Oral Literature and Popular Tradition for outside subjects in other degrees developed into the undergraduate degree programme in Scottish Ethnology in the 1980s. Postgraduate supervision (MLitt and PhD) grew under his Directorship. His many books include St Nynia (1961), Robert Henryson (1967), Ballatis of Luve (1970) and Numerology (1985) and with his wife Winifred, who died before him, he edited A choice of Scottish Verse (1972) and The Scotichronicon in Latin and English (1989-1995). He contributed to many scholarly journals and edited Scottish Studies from 1969 to 1983.

John McLean: on 12 June 2019, aged 80. Born in Liverpool on 10 January 1939, he attended Arbroath Academy and spent summers working with the gillies and stalkers at Glen Esk. McLean read English at St Andrews but, in silent protest, refused to sit his finals. After a period of time with D C Thomson, in 1963, he went to the Courtauld Institute in London, graduating in 1966. He went on to teach art history at University College London and later Chelsea School of Art. In 1972, he won a commission to create large-scale works for the University's halls of residence. In 1980, after meeting Canadian abstract artist William Perehudoff, McLean was for several years invited to Emma Lake summer school in Saskatchewan. He went on to teach part-time at Winchester School of Art and, in 1983, spent a semester teaching in Boston. McLean spent 1988 as Artist in Residence at the University, which was followed by several one-man exhibitions at the Talbot Rice Gallery in 1985, 1994, and 2003. In 2009, he won the commission to create stained-glass windows for Norwich Cathedral, and international recognition finally came with a touring exhibition in China in 2016.

Noel McPartlin MA 1960 LLB 1962: on 23 June 2019, aged 79. Born in Galashiels on 25 December 1939, he was educated at St Margaret's Primary School and Galashiels Academy before going on to study at the University. McPartlin completed a solicitor apprenticeship with the Edinburgh firm Morton, Fraser and Milligan WS before taking a post with Stirling Town Council. Thereafter, he joined practices in Linlithgow, Glasgow, and Stirling, having set up his own firm latterly. McPartlin covered a wide range of work but became more focused on criminal and civil litigation. In 1976, he was admitted as a member of the Faculty of

Advocates after training under Robin MacEwan and John Wheatley. For the next seven years, he undertook cases in the Court of Session and High Court, work which led to his later appointment to temporary Sheriff. In 1983, he was made permanent Sheriff at Peterhead and Banff before transferring to Elgin until 2001. He was then appointed to Edinburgh for seven years, later returning to Elgin, and retirement in 2011. McPartlin continued to work part-time until 2014, sitting regularly in Aberdeen, Fort William, and Stornoway. A Francophile, he served as chair of the Franco-British Lawyers' Association, where he was honoured to sit as guest judge in courts in Bordeaux and Paris. McPartlin also served as president of the Moray branch of the University of the Third Age.

Jessye Norman HonDMus 1991: on 30 September 2019 in New York City, USA, aged 74. Born in Augusta, Georgia, USA, on 15 September 1945, she grew up singing in church before earning a scholarship to the historically black college Howard University in Washington DC to study music. She later studied at the Peabody Conservatory and the University of Michigan. Norman made her operatic debut in 1969 in Berlin, and went on to delight audiences in Milan, London, and New York. The Met Opera has hailed her as '[...] one of the great sopranos of the past half-century', citing her performance as Cassandra in Berlioz's Les Troyens during the 1983/4 season. In 1997, Norman became the youngest person ever to earn the Kennedy Centre Honour, and received her National Medal of Arts from former president of the USA, Barack Obama. She was awarded honorary degrees from Julliard, Harvard, Yale, and the University. Norman was a member of the British Royal Academy of Music and appears in the Georgia Music Hall of Fame. Frequently performing at the Edinburgh Festival, Norman earned 15 Grammy nominations, winning her first in 1985, and earning a Grammy Lifetime Achievement award in 2006.

Carole Satyamurti (née Methven): in September 2019, aged 80. Born in Bromley, Kent, in 1939, she was educated at Holy Trinity Convent and Bromley Grammar School for Girls. Satyamurti took her first degree in sociology at Bedford College, London, before postgraduate study at the University of Illinois, USA. She also undertook training as a social worker at Birmingham and Edinburgh Universities. A few years later, Satyamurti returned to academia to undertake a PhD at University College London. She then took up a post at the University of East London in 1968, which she maintained until 1992. In 1984, Satyamurti went on a poetry-writing course at the Arvon Foundation. Two years later she won the National Poetry Competition with the poem Between the Lines. Her first collection of poetry, Broken Moon, was published by OUP in 1987, and five further collections were published by OUP and Bloodaxe, receiving the Chomondeley Award, two Poetry Book Society recommendations, and various other accolades. In 2015, she published her retelling in verse of the great Indian epic poem Mahabharata. Satyamurti taught for many years at the Arvon Foundation and for the Poetry Society.

William Ian Hamilton Shedden BSc 1957 MBChB 1959 MD (Birmingham) FRCP Edinburgh FRCP London FACP FFPM RCP UK: on 6 January 2019, aged 84. Born in West Lothian on 21 March 1934, he was educated at Bathgate Academy and went on to read medicine at the University. After finishing his house jobs with R L Stewart and Prof Sir John Crofton, Shedden went on to become lecturer in virology at the University of Sheffield. He then moved on to become senior research fellow of the MRC, attached to the Department of Virology at the University of Birmingham; here, he received an MD for his work. In 1967, Shedden accepted a post as director of the British affiliate of Eli Lilly & Co, moving on to be European Director of Research and Development. In 1977, he became Vice President of Lilly Research Labs in the USA and was also appointed Professor of Medicine at Indiana University. In 1983, he accepted the post of Chief Executive of Glaxo Group Research, resigning after three years due to a serious conflict of interest. Shedden earned a qualification in law from London City University and went on to work part-time as Assistant Deputy Coroner for the City of London for 12 years. In 1988, he joined a group of former Glaxo Group colleagues as Director of Research and Development at Proton International plc. He retired at 64 but remained an active consultant for many years.

Michael ('Micky') Roland Steele-Bodger CBE: on 9 May 2019, aged 93. Born in Tamworth, Staffordshire, on 4 September 1925, he was educated at Rugby School where his love of sport first began. After leaving school, he went on to Caius College, Cambridge, to undertake veterinary studies. Here, Steele-Bodger rose to prominence as a rugby player, participating in Varsity wartime matches. He was selected three times and played in the Victory International during 1945/6. He captained the team in 1946 and won two blues. Steele-Bodger continued his veterinary studies at the University, where he was a valued member of the 1947 and 1948 teams, which won the Scottish Universities Championship. He was selected for the Barbarians in 1946 as an uncapped flanker, representing them 13 times and captaining them twice. He played in their first international game against Australia in 1948, and also played for Harlequins and Moseley. While here, his playing career ended with a severe knee injury. Steele-Bodger went on to become a selector and administrator, holding a number of prestigious positions, including: president of the Rugby and Football Union in 1973, chair of the International Rugby Board in 1981, chair of the Home Rugby Unions Tours Committee, and president of the Barbarians from 1988. Outwith rugby, Steele-Bodger was a successful veterinary surgeon at his family's practice in Staffordshire.

Stanley Stupart Hon MA 2003: in Edinburgh, on 5 April 2019. For many years Stupart had been an Administrative Officer, and latterly a Senior Administrative Officer and Assistant Registrar, in the University Registry where he had helped many generations of students resolve problems with fees and grants.

Iain Ferguson MacLaren MBChB 1949 FRCSE FRCS FRCPE

Born on 28 September 1927, Iain MacLaren was educated at Fettes College and graduated from Edinburgh University MBChB in 1949. A year later he was called up for national service, hoping to join one of the Highland regiments. He was very proud of his families' Celtic heritage, becoming a leading light in the Clan MacLaren Society, eventually serving as its Secretary and Chairman and leading it at the vast Highland Gathering at Grandfather Mountain, North Carolina. When attending for selection as a medical officer, he insisted on wearing the kilt but was, however, selected for the Lancashire Fusiliers. He became very proud of this association too; and as Captain MacLaren RAMC he served in Egypt and Cyprus. After service he returned to Edinburgh, training with Professor Sir James Learmonth, remaining here for the rest of his surgical career, and gaining the Fellowships of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of Edinburgh and of London. He worked for a year in Philadelphia with Dr John Howard, a towering figure in vascular and pancreatic surgery before being appointed consultant surgeon at the Deaconess Hospital, Edinburgh, and the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh. He enjoyed the best of both worlds, the less formal, family atmosphere of the former and the prestige of the great teaching hospital, whose history and heritage he greatly appreciated and knew so well. He had a remarkable depth of knowledge of medical, military, and Scottish history which, with his gift of eloquence, he readily shared.

Iain was a loyal supporter and Chairman of the Trustees of the Royal Medical Society, the Secretary to the General Council of the University of Edinburgh, and a life member of the Graduates' Association, serving a term as President and many years on the Executive Committee and the Editorial Committee of the *University of Edinburgh Journal*, eventually being elected an Honorary President of the Association. As a Fellow, he gave many years of service to the Royal College of Surgeons, where he is commemorated in the MacLaren Research Centre. He was delighted to be awarded the Fellowship of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh and of being made their honorary piper.

Iain MacLaren died at his home in Edinburgh on 3 October 2019.

Iain Macintyre

The *University of Edinburgh Journal* cannot be held responsible

for information received by other sources as we only publish data received and to our knowledge correct.

Programme of Events - Spring 2020

Members are advised that they can attend Members' Lunches for the guest speaker only at no cost. Please indicate this when you order tickets. Members are encouraged to bring guests.

Thursday 13th February

The AGM of the Association will be held at **12 noon** in the Raeburn Room at Old College, Edinburgh. The Agenda for this meeting, along with the 2019 Minutes, is contained within the Winter 2019 issue of the *Journal*, pages 86-90. Please apply for a ticket if you would like to join us for a light sandwich lunch following the meeting. **(£16.50)**

Wednesday 11th March

The Annual Reception and Buffet Supper will be held in the Playfair Library Hall, Old College at 6.30 pm. Our after-dinner guest speaker will be Mr Lukas Svoboda, co-founder of the 'Trek for Big Cats Team', which is a fundraising and awareness campaign around the plight of the big cats and their environment. Mr Svoboda will present an illustrated talk about his expedition to the base camp of Mount Everest. The *Journal* published an article on Mr Svoboda's exploits in the Summer 2019 issue, pages 53-59. (£40)

Wednesday 29th April - (Please note the venue)

Members' Lunch to be held in the **St Trinnean's Room, St Leonard's Hall, Pollock Halls Campus, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh** at 12.15 pm. Our guest speaker will be Mr Dennis Cowan who will present a talk on 'The Ancient Sundials of Scotland'. Scotland has a rich heritage of sundials, which are often found on seventeenth-century churches, on stately homes and in their gardens, and served a real purpose. Mr Cowan has an extensive collection of photographs of sundials, which he will draw on to illustrate this talk. **(£24)**

Tuesday 26th May

Guided tour of the Law School premises at Old College following the completion of the Old College Refurbishment Project, which has transformed the Law School's premises into a twenty-first-century home for the School, whilst celebrating and preserving the heritage and history of Old College. Meet at 2.00 pm in the Old Quad, by the War Memorial, for our visit. Tea/coffee can be purchased in the Law School café before or after the tour. (£5)

Friday 26th June

Meet at the Visitor Centre, Abbotsford House, Melrose, the home of Sir Walter Scott, at 2.00 pm for a guided tour of the Regency Garden, followed by a guided tour of the house. If you wish, you can allow time to take a stroll through Scott's planted woodlands, walk alongside the Tweed, and discover pathways and views which inspired Scott's imagination. You may also wish to browse the shop and visit the excellent exhibition in the Visitor Centre. Refreshments are available in the Ochiltree Café, which serves morning coffee, light lunches, and afternoon tea. For directions, timetables, and general information, please visit: www.scottsabbotsford.com (£20)

Application for Tickets

Please complete this form in **block capitals** and return with your cheque, made payable to **The University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association** to:

The Honorary Secretary University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association 1fR 18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN

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 use your surname as the payment reference.

Tickets will be sent by e-mail wherever possible, otherwise please enclose a stamped addressed envelope. Members are reminded that they must apply for tickets **no later than one week** before the date of any event. Full details of events can be found at **www.uega.co.uk/events**

Spring 2020 Events:

Annual General Meeting (Thursday	7 13th February at 12 noon)	
	tickets @ £16.50	£
Annual Reception and Buffet Supp	er (Wednesday 11 th March a	nt 6.30 pm)
	tickets @ £40.00	£
Members' Lunch (Wednesday 29th A	April at 12.15 pm)	
	tickets @ £24.00	£
Tour of the School of Law, Old Coll	ege (Tuesday 26 th May at 2.0	00 pm)
	tickets @ £5.00	£
Visit to Abbotsford (Friday 26th June	e at 2.00 pm)	
	tickets @ £20.00	£
Bank Transfer:	Total Amount Enclosed	:£
Name(s):		
Address:		
	Postcode:	
E-mail:		
By returning this application, I hereby give permiss	ion for the University of Edinburgh Gra	duates' Association

to store and use this information for the maintenance of my membership according to EU Regulation 2016/679.

Donation/Change of Address/News Form

Donations are extremely welcome and we are most grateful for them. It is hoped that Life Members, who joined at previous rates, will decide to make a donation to bring their original Life Membership subscription up to the current level. Names of members responding to this appeal will be published in the *Journal* subject to any alternative instructions. Amounts contributed will not be specified. Donations exceeding £15 will be acknowledged in writing. If you require a receipt please enclose a stamped addressed envelope. Readers are also encouraged to send information about themselves and/or other graduates for inclusion in the 'News' section of the *Journal*. Please complete the form using **block capitals** and return to:

The Hon. Secretary, UEGA, 1fR 18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN
Name(s):
Name(s) at Graduation (if different):
Degrees and Dates of Graduation:
E-mail;
Current Occupation:
Previous Address:
Postcode:
New Address:
Postcode:
Amount of Donation: £
News Item:
Signed:
Date:

By returning this application, I hereby give permission for the University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association to store and use this information for the maintenance of my membership according to EU Regulation 2016/679.



University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association

Patron

HRH The Princess Royal

Honorary Presidents

Cecily E Giles CBE

Timothy O'Shea Kt

President

Oonagh Gray

Vice-President: David R Gilmour
Honorary Secretary: David A Lamb
Honorary Treasurer: T Finlay Marshall
Honorary Editor: Peter B Freshwater
Immediate Past President: S Michael Langdon
Honorary Accounts Examiner: Eric Brown
Assistant Secretary: Joan Meikle

Executive Committee Members 2018-2019

Andrew M Bell
William M Buchan
Ian Campbell
Stephen G Hillier OBE
Lucinda L Mackay
Jack McLaren
Joyce E Richardson
Jennifer Scott
Essie Tough

Student Representatives

Andrew Wilson (President, EUSA)
Beth Fellows (Vice-President Activities & Services, EUSA)
Julia Stenhouse (President, EU Sports Union)

Editorial Committee

Ian Campbell (Reviews Editor and Convener)
Peter B Freshwater (Honorary Editor)
J R Sutherland (Assistant Editor)
Stephen G Hillier OBE
Lucinda L Mackay
Jack McLaren
Joyce E Richardson
Ritchie Walker
Ian Wotherspoon

The Graduates' Association acknowledges permission to use the drawing of the Old College by Lady Lucinda Mackay

Editorial Statement

The *University of Edinburgh Journal* is published twice a year, in Summer and Winter, by the University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association. It is distributed to all members and associate members as part of their subscription, to all Honorary Members, and to subscribing libraries and organisations. It has been published continuously since 1925, and its back volumes constitute an important archive on the history of the University. It is now published in digital as well as in printed format; the complete back run is also being digitized and will be available online.

Contributions are welcomed from members and from all University staff, students and alumni, as well as from external authors with an interest in the University, and should have a connection with the University. Articles should be 2,500 words in length, but shorter and longer ones may exceptionally be considered. Reviews (of books, journals, CDs, or DVDs associated with the University) should be 750 words, and notes for obituaries 150 words; items for review should be sent to the editorial address below. Copy deadlines are normally 31 March for Summer issues and 30 September for Winter issues; later ones will exceptionally be agreed in advance by the Editor.

Contributions should conform to the Modern Humanities Research Association Style Guide (via the MHRA website www.mhra.org.uk) or the Modern Languages Association Handbook (via the MLA website www.mla.org), and the Harvard style of reference citation may be used when appropriate. Articles may be accompanied by colour and black-and-white illustration images in high-resolution and of a quality no less than 300 dpi. Contributions should preferably be submitted as e-mail .doc, .docx, .rtf, or .txt attachments, with illustrations as separate .jpg, .png, .tiff, or .bmp attachments. Exceptionally and by prior arrangement, typescripts may also be considered. If accepted, authors will be asked to supply a brief biographical statement (75 words maximum) and a portrait photograph in high-resolution. Copyright in the *Journal* is held jointly by the Graduates' Association and individual contributors.

On publication, each contributor will be sent one free copy of the issue that contains their work, in addition to subscription copies where taken. The *Journal* does not offer fees to contributors, but reviewers retain copies of items reviewed for their own use.

The Editor of the *University of Edinburgh Journal*University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association
18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh, EH8 9LN
Telephone: +44 (0)131 650 4292

E-mail: gradassoc@ed.ac.uk

ed.ac.uk Website: www.uega.co.uk 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