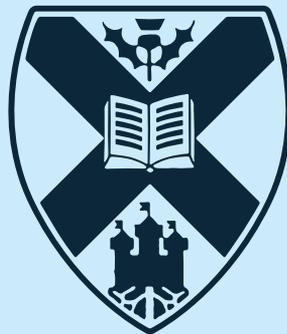


UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH JOURNAL



SUMMER 2022

Submissions to the *Journal*

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

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

Copy deadlines are 30 March for the Summer issue, and 30 September for Winter.

Please send submissions via post or e-mail to:

The Editor, *University of Edinburgh Journal*
UEGA, 1FR 18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN
gradassoc@ed.ac.uk

General Council Half-Yearly Meeting

Due to be held in the **John McIntyre Centre, Pollock Halls, Edinburgh EH18 5AY** on **Saturday 18 June 2022**.

The morning meeting will be followed by an event which will illustrate the University's involvement in and with its local community.

General Council meetings are open to all General Council members and are free to attend. Please contact the General Council office by email at General.Council@ed.ac.uk if you would like to attend, giving your name, email contact information, and criterion for membership, for example:

- Alumni - please provide your degree, year of graduation and subject of study;
- Other affiliation with the General Council, e.g. Member of the University Court

Further information, including papers for the meeting, will be included in the summer edition of *Billet*. Please note that this event will be filmed and photographed and the recorded material will be used for the General Council website and publications.

Please also advise of any access or dietary requirements.

Visit to Abbotsford House - £20

Meet at the Visitor Centre, Abbotsford House, Melrose, on **Friday 24 June** at **2.00 pm** for a guided tour of the Regency Garden and the home of Sir Walter Scott.

Members can walk through the nearby woods or along the Tweed, and refreshments and food are available at the Ochiltree Café.

For directions, timetables, and general information, please visit:

www.scottsassbotsford.com

University of Edinburgh Journal

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The Editor gratefully acknowledges the receipt of the following journals:

Bulletin, the University of Edinburgh Staff Magazine
Edit, the University of Edinburgh Alumni Magazine
EDUCT News, the Edinburgh University Club of Toronto Newsletter

The *University of Edinburgh Journal* is published twice a year in Summer and Winter, and is sent to all members of the University of Edinburgh Graduates' Association. For more information, please write to:

The Honorary Editor,

UEGA, 1fR 18 Buccleuch Place, Edinburgh EH8 9LN

Tel. +44 (0) 131 650 4292 (Monday–Friday, 9.00–12.30)

Website: www.uega.co.uk | E-mail: gradassoc@ed.ac.uk

From the Editor

Records of Student Life at Edinburgh University

History, it is said, is usually written by the victors. University history has usually been, but is now not always, written by the academic staff. Certainly, the published histories of Edinburgh University, of which there are many, have hitherto mainly been written by members of the academic staff who (it has to be said) have nearly all been male and White. Moreover, the traditional approach to University history has concentrated on academic and research achievements, with life outside the classrooms, lecture theatres and laboratories being relegated to short paragraphs and chapters inserted at random through the volumes.

As the *University of Edinburgh Journal* and its parent body, the Graduates' Association, approach their respective Centenaries in 2025 and 2024,



reviews of the first forty-nine volumes of the *Journal* reveal an extremely rich archive of accounts of University student life, as many alumni have recalled their years as students and as young professional people thereafter, and have committed their memories to articles in the *Journal*. Printed sets of these volumes are readily available for consultation in the University's libraries and are in the process of being digitised and made accessible via the internet. The *Journal* is now published in both printed and digital formats and has been for the last twelve years.

We are proud that this issue of the *Journal* continues this tradition of recording student life. The last (Winter 2021) issue opened with an account by Ellen MacRae, President of EUSA, on some of the problems encountered by students during and after the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns and included an article by the historian Yvonne Lewis on two young alumni and their relationship in the early eighteenth century. This issue concentrates on student life in the twentieth century, with David Boyd, a retired physician (and a former Editor of the *Journal*), recalling his years as a medical student in the post-war years of 1944 to 1949. The late Ian Wotherspoon opens his article on Scottish people in Scotland's imperial past with notes on his early postgraduate years of overseas service in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. John N T Martin continues his research into students and their life in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries by identifying and documenting student clubs and societies, and Lisa Williams, Honorary Fellow in the School of History and leader of the Edinburgh Caribbean Association, considers the identities of three Africans who came to Scotland and who were associated with the University. The Rector, Debora Kayembe, issues a challenge to graduates and other alumni. Nicola Ramsey, CEO of Edinburgh University Press, reviews the work of the Press as it approaches its 75th anniversary in 2024.

The articles in today's *Journal* become part of the University's archival heritage. Today's authors write for tomorrow's readers and researchers as much as for those of today.

Peter B Freshwater
Editor

University & Alumni Notes

Support for Ukraine: an Update on our Response

A message from Professor Peter Mathieson, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Since the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Government, colleagues across the University have been working tirelessly to support members of our community and I wanted to update you on some key developments.

First, I want to reiterate that we join our colleagues in the sector in condemning this invasion. Our thoughts are with Ukrainian people and their family members in Edinburgh and beyond, and we fully endorse the Universities UK statement on this issue: <<https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/latest/news/our-latest-statement-ukraine>>

Our immediate priority has been to secure the safety of our staff and students overseas. My huge thanks go to colleagues in Edinburgh Global, who worked around the clock and under immense logistical pressures to ensure everyone was able to return safely.

We are also supporting all of those affected, and colleagues in Edinburgh Global are in touch with them regularly. We are providing immigration and financial support for affected students, and we have further information on our website on

academic as well as wellbeing support. Our support extends to Russian students and staff too, many of whom have spoken out against the actions of the Russian Government at great personal risk. You can find a summary of all our actions so far at: <<https://www.ed.ac.uk/news/staff/2022/ukraine>>

Humanitarian Response

With around 1.7 million people now displaced by this conflict, and that figure likely to increase in the days and weeks to come, our attention is turning to how we can best support the growing humanitarian crisis. We recently met with our civic partners at the City of Edinburgh Council and the Acting Consul General of Ukraine. The city of Edinburgh is twinned with Kyiv, and we stand ready to provide whatever support we can to ensure a secure and welcoming environment for refugees and asylum seekers.

We have a long history of supporting staff and students displaced by distressing global circumstances. We are a founding member of the Council for At-Risk Academics (Cara) and were the first university of sanctuary in Scotland. Working with Cara, as we did for academics displaced by the conflicts in Afghanistan and Yemen, we have agreed funding to host ten at-risk scholars from conflict zones across the world, with a focus on Ukraine as the most pressing issue. Cara has set up a fundraising appeal to support their work bringing academics to safety: <<https://www.cara.ngo/10-x-20-appeal/>>

As well as supporting academics, we have agreed a scholarship fund for displaced undergraduate students seeking asylum to join us in Edinburgh. Our admissions teams are supporting prospective students who have been affected by this crisis, acknowledging that they may have difficulties gaining the qualifications and English language tests required to meet any offer conditions.

Looking to the future, we are working with our European partners on how we can best support Ukrainian universities to get up and running again, and develop closer long-term relationships with them to support this.

Reviewing relationships

In line with others in the sector, we have been reviewing our relationships with Russia. We have instructed our investment managers to divest all our Russian investment holdings at the earliest opportunity. We have agreed to review, as a matter of priority, the honorary degree awarded to the Head of the Ruskiy Mir Foundation, Vyacheslav Nikonov, and are now progressing the formal process to do this.

We do not have any institutional partnerships with Russian universities or organisations, so our current links are limited to individual academic projects and exchange programmes. These appalling events are the actions of the Russian Government and not the Russian people and we remain committed to the free exchange of ideas between universities and between academics, regardless of nationality or location, while recognising the importance of managing the risks associated with international collaboration.

Community Actions

Throughout the wider University, colleagues are supporting global efforts to save Ukraine's cultural heritage for future generations by helping to download and digitise collections from galleries, libraries, museums and archives. Our medical and veterinary school communities are also looking at specific ways they can support Ukraine directly. Our students too, in particular the Polish Society, have been quick to rally their support for those affected by this crisis.

We have also set up a SharePoint site with advice for staff and students on how best to support communities, both locally and globally: <<https://uoesharepoint.com/sites/EdinburghCommunityEngagementForum/SitePages/Helping-communities-ukraine.aspx>>

In closing, I am proud of the way our community has come together to support each other at this troubling time and I hope this message conveys the scale of the actions that have been taken in a relatively short space of time.

Professor Peter Mathieson
Principal and Vice-Chancellor

David Laing Book Collecting Prize 2022

This year's David Laing Book Collecting Prize competition attracted a large, varied and very interesting gathering of student book-collectors. The names of the prizewinners will appear in the next issue of the *Journal*. The competition, which is sponsored by the generosity of Dr William Zachs, an Honorary Fellow in the School of Literatures, Languages, and Cultures, is run jointly by the University's Centre for Research Collections in the Main Library and the Friends of Edinburgh University Library. For further information, please visit:

<<https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/about/news/david-laing-book-collecting-prize>>

Robert Blomfield: Student of Light

Robert Blomfield, *Student of Light* is an exhibition of magnificent photographs of the City and University of Edinburgh and their people in the 1950s and 1960s, taken by Robert Blomfield while a medical student and practising doctor in Edinburgh. It runs from 6 May until 1 October in the Main University Library Exhibition Gallery in George Square. Admission is free and does not involve admittance to the rest of the Main Library building. For further information please visit:

<<https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/library-museum-gallery/cultural-heritage-collections/crc/exhibitions/exhibitions-whats-on>>



Student Union, Teviot Row House, University of Edinburgh (1964) ©Robert Blomfield

Corrigenda to the *University of Edinburgh Journal*, Volume 50, No 2, Winter 2021

With sincere apologies for any embarrassment caused or misunderstanding arising, the Editor notes the following corrigenda:

Page 146: for ‘William Ferguson Building’ read ‘William Robertson and Adam Ferguson Buildings’.

Page 152: for ‘was elected Rector from 2018 to 2021’ read ‘was Secretary to the General Council from 2001 to 2009 and again during 2010-2011’.

Page 154: for ‘William Geddes’ read ‘William Gillies’.

Break the Bias and Make a Better World: the Rector's Address to the Graduates' Association

by Debora Kayembe

Dear Graduates,

This year, International Women's Day has adopted the theme of *#BreaktheBias*. I know that, for many of you, this is mainly in reference to women and the condition of women around the world. You are certainly right; but I would like the theme to be used for any time of the year, so that we can be less judgemental of our neighbours or of guests who visit our city in whichever ways they do, as migrants or as refugees.

I was very happy to be invited here today to address the Graduates' Association. For me there is no better opportunity to remind our graduates of their role in society, in our city, and around the world. Perhaps it will be appropriate for me to introduce myself and share with you some childhood experiences on my life growing up in Africa—yes, Africa!—the most beautiful continent on Earth. Some call it the Garden of Eden. Its soul remains beautiful, and its people are exceptional. Surrounded by poverty, diseases, and the lack of basic healthcare systems, the continent is still very much alive. It has survived from slave trade colonisation, apartheid, and now the COVID-19 pandemic. Against all odds, Africa still exists.

I was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo. As young girl, I always dreamed of a better life and to see less suffering around me. My family was

conservative of our customs and my father, a tribal leader, was polygamous. In the middle of that mist, my parents always taught me about kindness, love, and tolerance and the facts that 'guests' (foreigners no matter where they came from) are always welcome and should never be approached with unwelcome questions like 'Where do you come from? Where were you born?' I grew up naively to believe that everywhere else in the world is the same and that the rest of world treat people as such.

Throughout my years of education in the DRC, I have learned more about ways of life in other parts of the world. I have learned about the First and the Second World Wars, their causes, and their consequences; about the Jim Crow years in the American South; and, of course, about apartheid in South Africa.



These episodes, no matter how near or far from the African continent they were, made me understand that my very existence was an issue around the world.

Although raised without hatred and intolerance of others, the world around me was far from being perfect. I was always frustrated by the fate of African women, the lack of opportunity for young African men, human rights violations, poverty, corruption, and the massive migration of brilliant African scholars as a result of wars.

I am certain that I am not teaching anything new on colonisation, slave trade, fascism, and racism, and I will not spend this golden opportunity on these issues. I would like instead to talk about the making of a better world.

As graduates, the expectation from you is to be a light to our society and the ones that have the responsibility in guiding the making of that 'better world'. It has become the priority of our lifetime; with the excellent education you have received from this University, your contribution to society will enlighten any social issues in the world: social justice, climate emergency, current and upcoming pandemics to name only a few of these issues. We need to understand that there is urgency to invest in the virtue of humanity.

How do we make a better world? There are several ways to make a better world and I will share with you just three that this city needs; they have been part of an exercise my all life:

Recognising the humanity of other people and respecting their dignity. It is the most difficult exercise of our lifetime. We live in a world full of prejudice, stereotype and self-righteousness. Dignity is one of the most important things to the human spirit. It means being valued and respected for what you are, what you believe in, and how you live your life.

Treating other people with dignity means treating them in the way we 'like to be treated ourselves'. Dignity is the right of a person to be valued and respected for their own sake, and to be treated ethically. It is of significance in morality, ethics, law, and politics as an extension of the Enlightenment, the era of concepts of inherent, inalienable rights.

At its most basic, the concept of human dignity is the belief that all people hold a special value that is tied solely to their humanity. It has nothing to do with their class, race, gender, religion, ability, or any factor other than their being human.

Volunteer your time to your community and to the wider world, particularly to children. Whether you have a school-age child or not, children are the future of this world. It was very beneficial to me; I have learned so much during my years as a volunteer. Volunteering encourages young people to think of others and become compassionate young adults. It is the perfect way to discover something you may be really good at as you develop a new skill. It brings together a diverse range of people from all walks of life.

Be generous! My parents always say, 'be the most kind'. Kind and generous people are altruistic; they will go out of their way to help others. Kind people are always generous, but generous people are not always kind. We often see generous people giving a lot of money to support charities but being scoundrels in other aspects of life. That is why, in the making of the better world, we need to be both kind and generous.

These are secrets of my life in leadership! A friend of mine told me that his father used to say, 'there are two types of people in this world, the "Givers" and the "Takers"'. The Takers may eat better, but the Givers always sleep better'.

So my advice to all of you today is: be the Givers, the ones who give hope, justice, peace, and harmony to the world. Make that change, the change for a better world!

About the Author

Debora Kayembe was called to the Congolese Bar Association in 2000, and has been a member of the Institute of Translation and Interpreting from 2010 to 2020. In 2016, she joined the language services of the office of the prosecutor at the International Criminal Court and the International Criminal Court Bar Association (ICCBA).

Debora served as Scottish Refugee Council board member from 2013 to 2016. She also joined the Royal Society of Edinburgh/Young Academy of Scotland representing refugee minorities, and has a seat as an expert lawyer to the RSE Working Group for Africa. In 2017, Debora founded the charity Full Options.

In August 2019, history was made at the Royal Society of Edinburgh, when Debora became the first African to have her portrait erected at the wall of the society honouring her achievements and contributions to the Scottish Society.

In July 2020, Debora launched the Freedom Walk campaign—a civil rights movement which aims to lobby and campaign on behalf of citizens by promoting social reforms, racial justice and community harmony. Debora is also petitioning to the Scottish Parliament in favour of anti-racist education in Scotland.

In February 2021 Debora Kayembe was elected Rector of the University, the first person of colour to hold the post.

Notes

Images

Page 170: Image of Ms Debora Kayembe courtesy of the University of Edinburgh, <<https://www.ed.ac.uk/news/students/2021/debora-kayembe-elected-as-rector>>.

Edinburgh: at the University Press

by Nicola Ramsey

EDINBURGH University Press

As I was about to make a start on writing this article—to bring readers up to speed about the expansion of Edinburgh University Press in recent times—I was serendipitously sent a screenshot from one of our older books that our Chair of Trustees, Professor Ewen Cameron, had come across. ‘Evidence of how far we have come’, he said. The piece in question, entitled ‘Edinburgh and its University Press’, offered a succinct outline of our history:

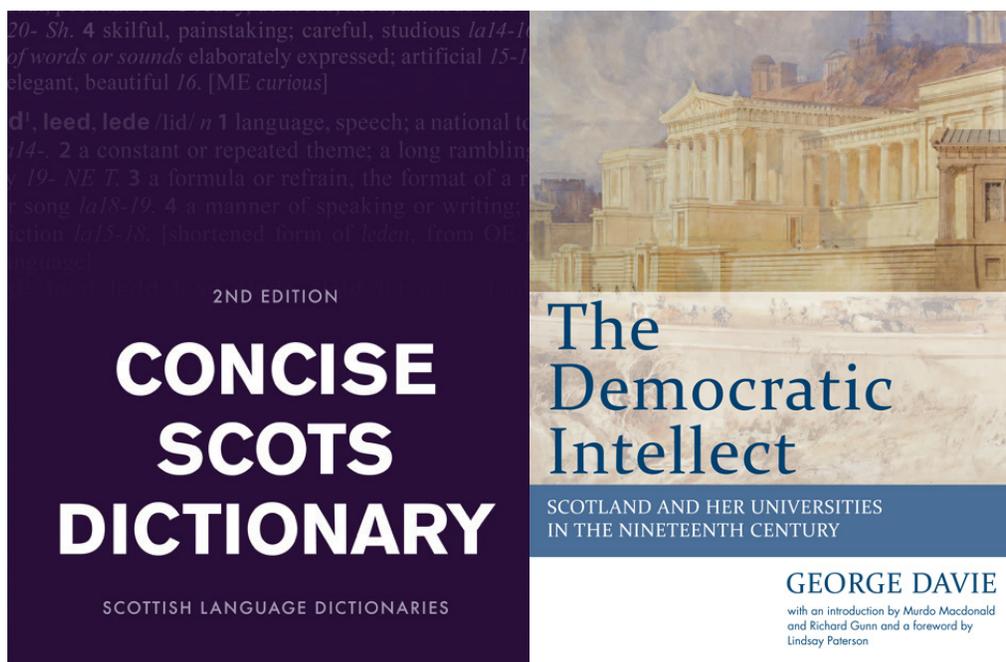
The first book associated with the University of Edinburgh was published in 1596. The office of *Academiae Typographus* was established in the first half of the 17th century, and in 1637 the University granted George Anderson permission to set up a printing press in the College buildings. Thirty years later that press became more firmly established under the direction of George’s son, Andrew, and later of Andrew’s widow. Andrew obtained by

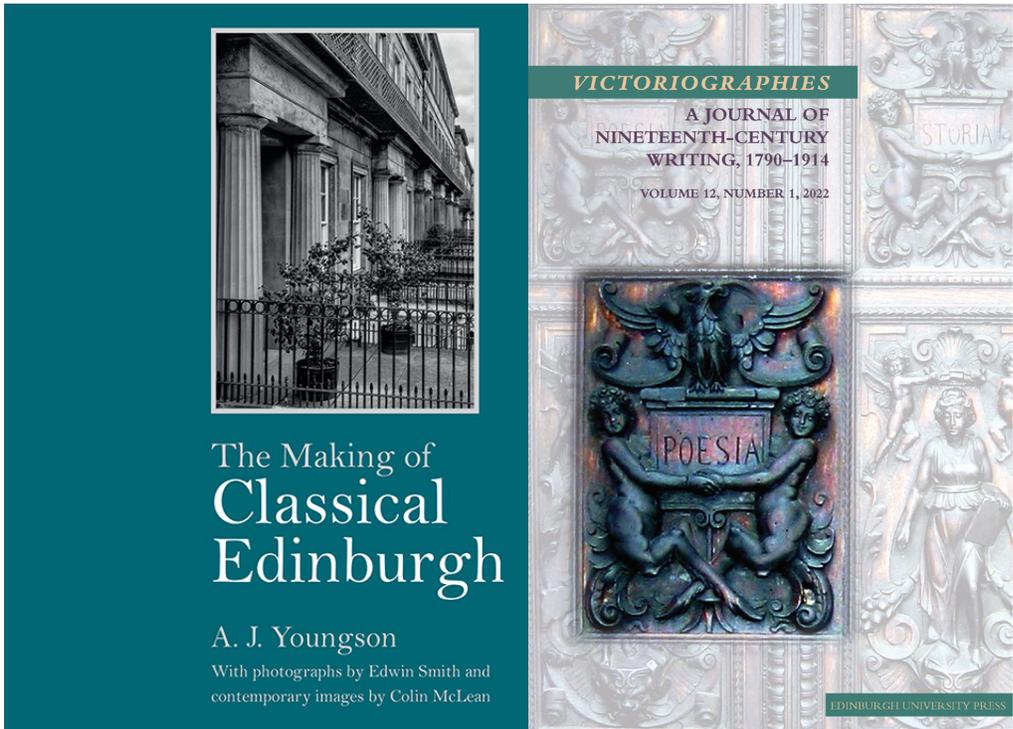
royal patent the monopoly of bible printing in Scotland, and Mrs Anderson maintained her monopoly for years, in the face of constant litigation. Albeit a wretched printer, she was a patriot, and we are indebted to her ‘university press’ for the record of the *Debates* that led up to the Act of Union (1707).

In the 18th century the great Edinburgh-based scholar printers—Ruddiman, Hamilton, Smellie, Creech—were all, in turn, ‘printers to the University’. Shortly after 1800 the colophon ‘Edinburgh: at the University Press’ came into general use, and appears in that form on the title page of Jamieson’s great *Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (1808).

The present successor to these presses was established by the University Court in 1949, and is a learned press wholly owned and controlled by the University of Edinburgh. It has a current output of about 30 books per year, and an enviable reputation for important scholarship, careful editing, exacting production standards, and imaginative book design.¹

What is fascinating is that, despite indeed reflecting on how things have changed (I would like to think no one would describe us as ‘a wretched printer!’), there are interesting connections with our current publishing—from the Scots Language Dictionaries (including a new edition of the *Concise Scots Dictionary*) to the continued presence on our list of publications from some of the authors of *Edinburgh in the Age of Reason*. G E Davie’s *The Democratic Intellect* remains in print, and, in 2019, we published a revised edition of A J Youngson’s *The Making of Classical Edinburgh*. And although we have grown somewhat from the output of 30 books per year, we still place great value on ‘important scholarship, careful editing, exacting production standards, and imaginative book design’.





Before turning to the present-day EUP, here are some of our milestones over the past twenty years:

2001

EUP becomes a wholly owned subsidiary business of the University of Edinburgh. Tim Rix is appointed its first non-executive Chair.

2002

Polygon, the Scottish fiction and non-fiction imprint of EUP (started as a student publishing venture by a group who included Gordon Brown), is sold to Birlinn publishers as part of a strategic review to focus the business on academic and scholarly publishing.

2004

EUP secures charitable status.

2011

EUP moves the distribution of its books to Macmillan Distribution.

2013

EUP moves offices from George Square to The Tun at Holyrood to accommodate a significant expansion in personnel, as a result of planned investment in the business.

2014

Acquisition of the publishing assets of Dundee University Press, allowing EUP to expand its Scots Law list.

Acquired copyright to *Journal of British Cinema and Television*.

2017

Acquired copyright to *Translation and Literature* journal.

2018

Acquired copyright to *Ben Jonson* and *Dance Research* journals.

2019

Acquisition of the publishing assets of Avizandum Law publishers, further developing our profile in Scots Law.

Acquired copyright to *Nottingham French Studies*.

2020

Ingram Publishing Services appointed as sales and distribution partners in the market of North America.

2021

EUP joins De Gruyter's University Press Library, making available the entire collection of our books in a digital format – some 3000 titles.

EUP hits a milestone of £4m in sales across its books and journals programme.

Coming forward to 2022, Edinburgh University Press (EUP) retains its position as a limited company with charitable status, and a wholly owned subsidiary of the University of Edinburgh. We sit as a division within the Corporate Services Group, and have a dual reporting line through the University Court and the University Senate. Our Trustees have ultimate responsibility for conduct of our business: they are appointed by the University Court and meet quarterly with the Board of Management (advised by a small group of Non-Executive Directors, with extensive experience within the academic publishing industry) to whom the day-to-day running of the Press is entrusted. The management team comprises the Chief Executive, and Heads of Finance & Operations, Journals, Editorial (Books), Marketing, Production, and Sales.

With a team of 40 people across these functions, we publish around 250 new books and 50 journals each year—with an expectation that we will exceed 300 new books and 55 journals by the time of our 75th anniversary in 2024. Our book publishing represented an eclectic mix of subjects in the early days—we could quite literally say we published on everything from Archaeology to Zoology. This has been refined over the years, with the recognition that the best way to develop a reputation and profile is by building strength in depth. We now focus on 10 core areas in the arts, humanities, and social sciences: Art & Visual Culture,

Classics & Ancient History, Islamic & Middle Eastern Studies, Film Studies, Language & Linguistics, Law, Literary Studies, Philosophy, Politics, and Scottish Studies. Within these areas, we publish journals and research monographs, reference works, textbooks, critical editions, and non-fiction trade books. Our primary readership is academics (whom we reach through libraries, and ebook aggregators, as well as directly through our website), while our textbooks are aimed at undergraduate and Masters students, and our non-fiction trade books are written to reach a wider audience.

Some of these lists have existed since the early days of the Press. Islamic Studies was developed by Archie Turnbull (Secretary to Edinburgh University Press, 1952–87) who worked with Professor William Montgomery Watt to develop the *Islamic Surveys* series. This series continues to flourish today under the watchful eye of Professor Carole Hillenbrand, and keeps in print classics from the 1960s such as *Islamic Political Thought* as well as publishing new works, most recently *Da'wa* and *Islam in Modern Turkey*.

Other lists are much newer, and our publishing in Art & Visual Culture, which draws on clusters of books we have across our subject areas, represents a new area of growth for the Press. *Image-Thinking* by the renowned cultural theorist, critic, video artist, and curator Mieke Bal, showcases a new series, *Refractions*, which we are publishing with Kamini Velodi, representing our collaborative relationship with the Edinburgh College of Art. We also began a publishing partnership with Studies in Scottish Photography in 2021, reflecting our aim to work with Scottish cultural institutions to help bring their important work to a global academic market.

Scottish Studies is, of course, of particular importance to EUP: we see it as central to our profile as the leading academic publisher in Scotland. The books and journals on this list focus on our core strengths in Scottish history, law, literature, politics, and philosophy, and are expanding into Scottish art and visual culture and architecture. Across all these areas, the drive is to diversify and modernise, curating a list reflective of the historic, as well as dynamic, nature of the cultural and political space. It is our ambition to become the international publisher of choice in Scottish Studies, with an outward-focused list offering a contemporary critical edge. It is this list, more than any other, where our publishing can extend beyond an academic market to reach a wider readership. We have seen this most recently with publication of *Slaves and Highlanders*, which tells the important story of the Scottish Highlanders who engaged in or benefitted from the slave trade and, crucially, brings to the fore the voices of enslaved Africans and their descendants. This is a troubling but vital book.

As a University Press, carrying the imprimatur of one of Britain's oldest and most distinguished centres of learning, we take seriously the responsibility of ensuring that every EUP publication is of the highest academic standard. Our Commissioning Editors collaborate with their authors, series editors, and journal

Volume 16 Number 3 2021

Corpora

Corpus-based
Language Learning,
Language Processing
and Linguistics

Edinburgh University Press

Journal of Social and Political Philosophy

VOLUME 1 NUMBER 1 2022

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY PRESS

社會和政治哲學

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT



W. MONTGOMERY WATT



MATTHEW J. KUIPER

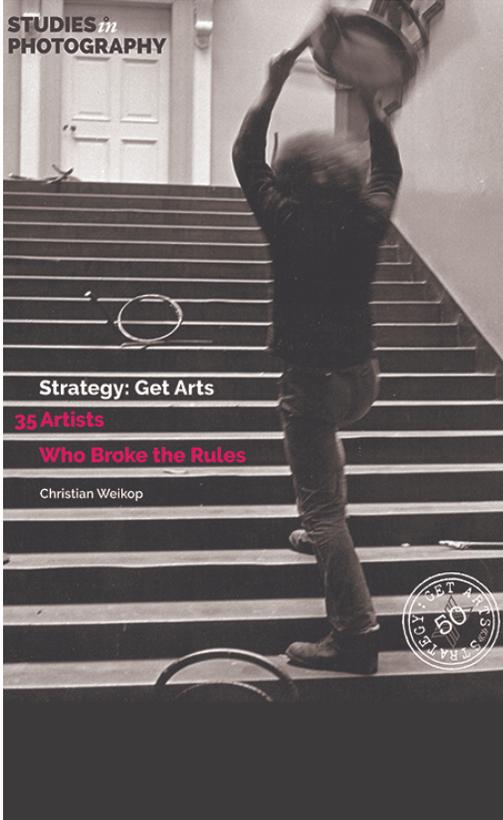
DA'WA

A Global History of Islamic
Missionary Thought and Practice



KIM SHIVELY

ISLAM IN MODERN TURKEY



STUDIES *in* PHOTOGRAPHY

Strategy: Get Arts

35 Artists

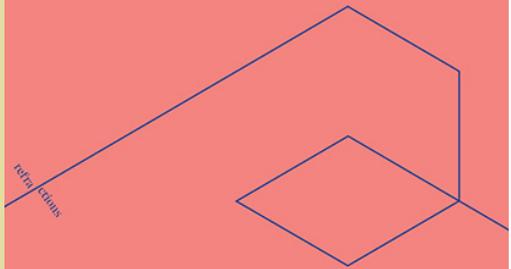
Who Broke the Rules

Christian Weikop



Mieke Bal

Image-Thinking



Artmaking as Cultural Analysis

'Necessary reading for our moment'
Galutra Bahadur

SLAVES AND HIGHLANDERS

SILENCED HISTORIES OF SCOTLAND AND THE CARIBBEAN

DAVID ALSTON

editors to bring out the best in everything that we publish. We draw on a community of scholars who review every book and article, and work with our Press Committee to appraise every planned publication.

The Press Committee, a committee of the University of Edinburgh, is responsible for considering and, if thought fit, approving all of our publication proposals. Its membership of senior academics is at the invitation of its Convener, subject to the approval of the Principal, and is representative of the academic fields in which we publish. They give thoughtful attention and consideration to every proposal and consistently seek to recommend ways in which our books and journals can have a greater impact and reach a wider audience.

Our author base is global. Within journals, 40% of our contributors are based in the UK, 21% in Europe, 21% in North America, and 18% are from ROW. Within books, 41% of authors commissioned to write for EUP last year were based beyond the UK and North America. We also value the relationships we can build with academics within the University of Edinburgh, and connect where we can with exciting new research areas that relate to our lists.

And where does all this publishing activity happen? For the longest time, our home was at 22 George Square. Built in 1774 on the same side of a Square that was home to, among others, Sir Walter Scott, who lived down the road at No 25, and whose collected works, *The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels*, are a distinguished part of our list of critical editions of the works of Scottish authors. The Press had been based at No 1 George Square from its inception, but moved to No 22 in the late 1960s, when No 1 was knocked down to make way for the Pharmacology Building. However, as we grew in number, it became evident that we would need to move, and move we did, in 2014, to The Tun, in the Holyrood area of Edinburgh. We swapped the Meadows for Holyrood Park, and a quaint but impractical set of offices for an open-plan and accessible space. Those of us who remember George Square do so with fondness for our proximity to our authors based at the University, and the garden which was the most glorious space in the summer, but perhaps with less fondness for the narrow stairs and wonky floors...

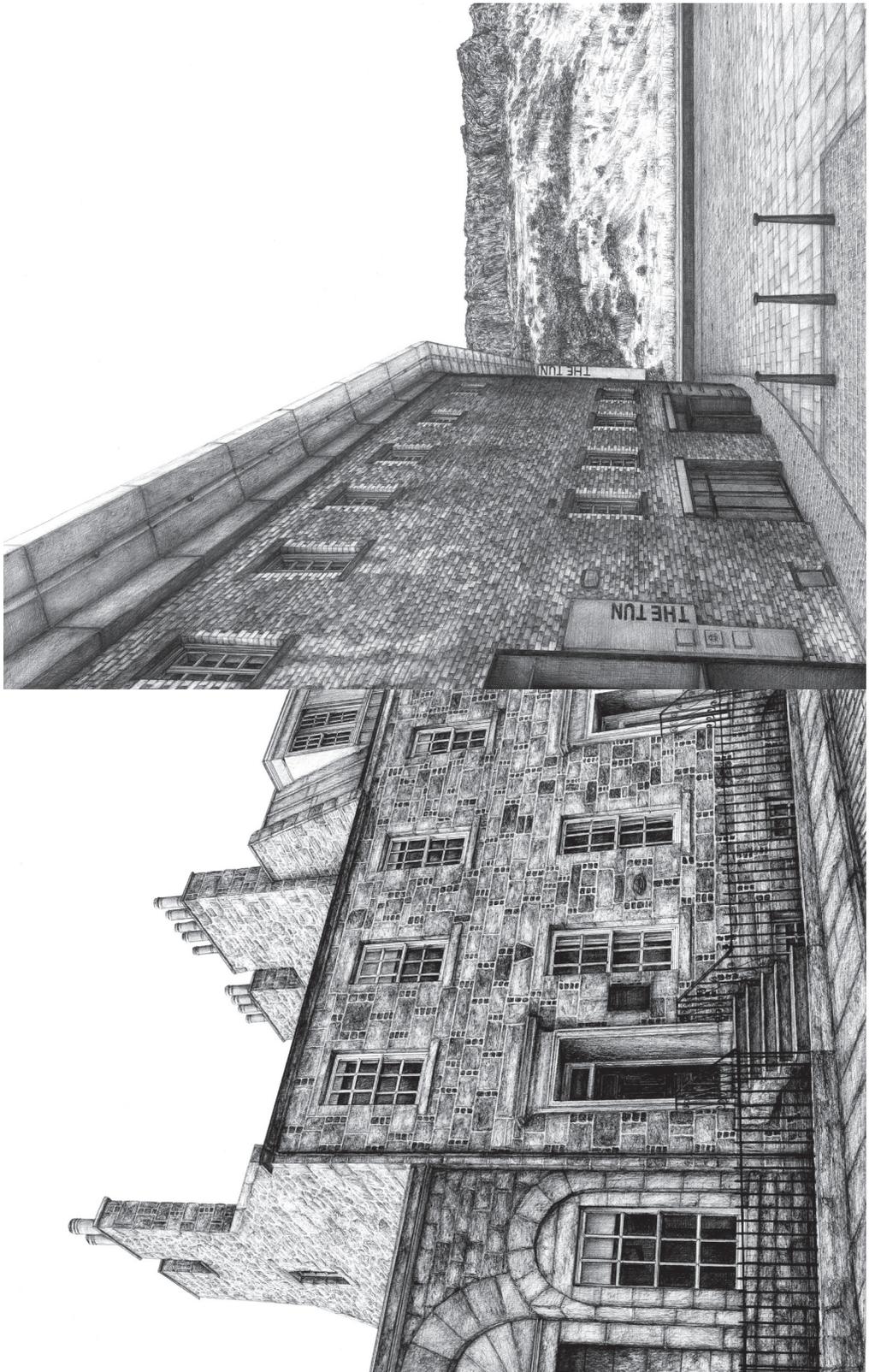
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EdinburghStaff20

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www.euppublishing.com



About the Author

Nicola Ramsey is Chief Executive Officer at Edinburgh University Press, Scotland's largest academic publisher. Prior to this role, Nicola was Head of Editorial (Books) at EUP and Publisher for their acclaimed Islamic & Middle Eastern Studies list. Here she commissioned numerous successful and ground-breaking books in the field, spanning history, religion, politics, art, language, and literature. She has worked at EUP for over 25 years, since graduating from the University of Stirling with an MPhil in Publishing Studies.

Notes

1. *Edinburgh in the Age of Reason: A Commemoration* by Hon. Lord Cameron, G E Davie, Duncan Forbes, Allan Frazer, Douglas Young & A J Youngson (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1967, p. 68).

Images

Page 174, Left: Cover artwork for *Concise Scots Dictionary*, 2nd Edition.

Page 174, Right: Cover artwork for *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* by George Davie.

Page 175, Left: Cover artwork for *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* by A J Youngson.

Page 175, Right: Cover artwork for *Victoriographies: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century Writing, 1790–1914*, Volume 12, Number 1, 2021.

Page 178, Upper Left: Cover artwork for *Corpora*, Volume 16, Number 3, 2021.

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Page 181, Upper: Sketch of the Edinburgh University Press offices at 22 George Square.

Page 181, Lower: Sketch of the Edinburgh University Press facility at The Tun, Holyrood.

Scotland's People in Scotland's Imperial Past Part 1: Trade and Religion

by Dr Ian Wotherspoon

This personal account is an edited version of a talk given by Dr Wotherspoon to the New Club, Edinburgh in April 2017. It has been divided into two parts. Part 2: Education, the Army, and Immigration will appear in the Winter 2022 issue of the Journal.

In 1967, Her Majesty the Queen unveiled a small tablet in the south cloister of Westminster Abbey. The gathering there was small, perhaps because sentiment then favoured looking to a hoped-for future rather than to a past tinged both with pride and sadness. The inscription on the tablet reads:

TO ALL THOSE WHO SERVED THE CROWN
IN THE COLONIAL TERRITORIES

Whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant

As the small crowd emerged from the Abbey into the spring sunshine, most would have recognised the significance of the event. Without pomp, and little ceremony, the British state was acknowledging that her overseas Empire, which once covered a quarter of the Earth's surface, was gone. The Captains and the Kings had departed.

Well, not quite. Shortly afterwards, I joined what had become the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and was posted first to the remote islands of the Western Pacific. From tiny low lying atolls only 8 feet above sea level to mountains rising to nearly 8,000 feet, they had evocative names like the Shortland Islands, the Line Islands, lonely Gardner Island (Nikumaoro, where the aviation pioneer, Amelia Earhart is thought to have perished in 1937), Tarawa and Guadalcanal (both so significant in the history of the US Marine Corps), New Caledonia, the New Hebrides and, of course, the jewel of them all, Fiji.

My first boss in those Pacific days—the District Commissioner—was a delightful Englishman, Dick Turpin, and yes, his wife Peggy was called Black Bess. ‘With your accent you’ll not be lonely here’, he told me when we first met, and he was correct. The District Medical Officer, the District Education Officer, and the District Engineer were all Scots. So were the captains of the vessels that brought our supplies; and the Bank Line managed by Andrew Weir from Glasgow collected the islands’ produce. One of our local planters, Lt Commander Ninian Scott Elliot DSO and Bar, RN (Rtd) hailed from an ancient Borders family. Each evening, he was piped into dinner by his local piper called Little Owl.

Why had so many Scots been involved in the Empire? Why did they leave Scotland? Who were they? Where did they go? And what, if anything, is their legacy? Let me share with you something of my journey into Scotland’s imperial past. I am not out to prove that the Scottish experience of Empire was any better, for example, than that of England or Ireland. It was just different, arising from the dynamics of Scotland’s turbulent history and the geography of our remote country perched at the end of northern Europe beside the wild Atlantic.

Scotland’s engagement with the British Empire had a faltering start. Excluded from England’s wealthy seaborne trade, it was not until 1707, with the union of the Scottish and English Parliaments, that Scots gained legal access, not only to trade in England, but also with England’s colonies and areas of informal influence abroad, such as China or the Argentine. People today forget that, in 1707, Scotland was effectively financially bust and that closer ties with England were a life saver.

Some Scottish historians will tell you that this involvement with England cut Scotland off from its cultural, commercial, religious, and intellectual partners who were on the continent. They argue that involvement with England and the Empire hastened a process of Anglicisation which led to a decline of Scottish culture and diminished Scottish identity. I believe that the Union catapulted the Scots into the modern world which, through the British Empire, they helped fashion and shape.

After 1707, Scottish entrepreneurs and businesspeople were determined to catch up. They sought out commercial opportunities generally at the cutting edge of imperial growth in areas not dominated by the English, where the risk profile was higher but possibly also the rewards as well. They soon made their mark on the imperial world and beyond. First they went west, leapfrogging the English settled

in Maryland and Virginia, and headed through the Appalachian mountains into the Midwest. There they played a formative role in developing the railroads that snaked across the United States and funded the homesteads that grew up beside them. The Scots headed north across Canada, and by 1800, eighty per cent of the employees of the Hudsons Bay Company came from the Orkneys.

They headed east to India and then China and beyond. Indigo was the first product to be developed in eighteenth-century Bengal followed by silk, rice, cotton, and jute. It was said that if you shouted Mac from the veranda of the Tirhut Club in Bihar at the Christmas week gathering, every face would turn! Building on their slaving connections with the Caribbean, they headed south to Buenos Aires on the southern coast of the Rio de la Plata. St Andrew's Church in Buenos Aires reminds us of their initiative, ingenuity, and expertise. Sometimes that expertise was misplaced. Scots made a major contribution to the development of sheep farming and cattle ranching in Argentina. In 1886, the Minister of the Parish of Lochs on Lewis recommended five shepherds for employment in Argentina. Off they set with their five dogs and duly arrived. It nearly ended in disaster; although the men were ready to work, their dogs could not because they only understood Gaelic and had to relearn all their commands in Spanish.

Other factors—such as the thinking of the Scottish Enlightenment and the Scottish education system—hastened Scottish involvement with the growing British Empire. In the period following the Act of Union in 1707, Scotland's place in the world altered radically. Scottish thinkers began questioning assumptions previously taken for granted and began developing a uniquely practical branch of humanism to the extent that Voltaire, with more than a touch of malice said 'today it is from Scotland that we get rules of taste in all the arts, from epic poetry to gardening.'

The focus of the Scottish Enlightenment ranged from intellectual and economic matters to the specifically scientific as in the work of the great physician William Cullen, the physicist and chemist, Joseph Black, and James Hutton, the first modern geologist. Men like them developed what they called 'the science of man'. Its core values were tolerance, rationality, and progressive improvement, and Adam Smith's idea of 'an invisible hand' guiding economic matters saw governments staying out of economic matters. These values had potency not only at home but in North America and the expanding Empire. Many Scots who went abroad in the nineteenth century were imbued with Scottish Enlightenment ideas and thinking and put them into practice.

India was a case in point. In the first half of the eighteenth century, Scots secured some twenty-five per cent of all Indian patronage and employment opportunities in the East India Company; completely out of proportion to Scotland's share of the UK population. India became what Walter Scott called 'a corn chest for Scotland'. Men like George Bogle sought fame and fortune in India. Educated

at Edinburgh University, he went on to become a Writer (or Clerk) in the East India Company in Calcutta. In 1774, as secretary to the Governor-General Warren Hastings, he visited Tibet for nine months, staying with the sixth Panchan Lhama, trying to find (unsuccessfully) an overland route to China. Bogle died of cholera in Calcutta in 1781, a not uncommon fate for these early adventurers of the Empire. He had never married but left three children, George, Martha and Mary of (we think) a Tibetan mother. The girls returned to Scotland and were brought up by Bogle's family at Dardowie on the banks of the Clyde. What happened to these first Tibetan Scots, and their mother, remains a mystery.

Trade

There were opportunities for Scots not just in India but around the world. Based on their experience in eighteenth-century Atlantic trade, they developed business connections and networks, usually based on close family, religious, or regional connections. They had a penchant for success and, by the late nineteenth century, their skill in business investment was extensive and widely recognised. By the end of the nineteenth century, Scottish businessmen were playing a dominant role throughout the Empire, driven by their uncompromising religious beliefs which equated commercial success with godliness. Touring the Empire in 1867, Sir Charles Dilke wrote that 'wherever abroad you come across a Scotchman you inevitably find him prosperous and respected'. He went on to say that 'for every Englishman that you meet who has worked himself up from small beginnings, without external aid, you find ten Scotchmen'.¹



One business group was a divergent and colourful one. The Inchcape group can trace its origins back to 1847 when William Mackinnon and his school chum Robert Mackenzie from Campbeltown met in Calcutta and formed Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. Ten years later, in 1856, they founded the Calcutta and Burma Steam Navigation Company, which would become the British India Steam Navigation Company in 1862. It grew into a huge business. As one of the largest ship owners of all time, in 1922 the company owned at its height 500 ships and managed more than 150 for others. Many of the BI's vessels were built on the Clyde. So successful

were the Scots in business life in India that, in 1930, India's five biggest commercial groups were, in order of size, Tata, Andrew Yule, Inchcape, James Finlay, and Burn & Co. The first was Indian; the other four were of Scottish origin.

The following year, David Cargill registered the Burmah Oil Company Limited in Edinburgh. When he died in 1904, he left an estate of over £1M, two-thirds of which was his holding in Burmah Oil. Under the leadership of his son John, the Company continued to prosper. By the early 1930s, Burma's total crude oil production rose to a million tons annually. Of this, the Burmah Oil Company produced 80 per cent. The Burmah Oil Company did not confine its activities to Burma. In 1909, it founded the Anglo Persian Oil Company, which was later to become BP.

There were other connections with Scotland in addition to trade and commerce. Just off Cape Negrais, west of the Irrawady delta in India, is the treacherous Alguada Reef, scene of many shipwrecks. The Royal Navy was anxious to have a lighthouse built there, and Captain Alexander Fraser of the Bengal Engineers was instructed to survey the reef and advise on the feasibility of building a lighthouse. Fraser returned to Edinburgh and consulted Alan Stevenson, the lighthouse engineer (and Robert Louis Stevenson's uncle). The Alguada light was completed in 1865 without loss of life and it is still the most important light in the Bay of Bengal. Would you recognise it? Of course: it is an exact copy of Scotland's tallest lighthouse, at Skerryvore.

Nearer home, Thomas MacFarlane's foundry at Possilpark in Glasgow came to dominate the architectural and decorative wrought iron market. His products were exported all over the world. If you are in Singapore and stop for a gin sling at the Raffles Hotel, admire the wrought iron verandas which were made by MacFarlane. So, too, is the ironwork at the Estacion de Luz—the Station of Light—in Sao Paulo in Brazil, as is the beautiful example of a drinking water fountain in the Concourse of the National Museum of Scotland in Chambers Street here in Edinburgh.

Half a world away in Canada, Donald Smith from Forres and his cousin George Stephen from Dufftown, formed a syndicate in Montreal in 1880 to construct a railroad to the Pacific. The CPR (The Canadian Pacific Railway) was established in 1881. Four years later, in November 1885, at Craigellachie, high in the Monashee Mountains, Smith hammered in the last spike on the transcontinental line. This was a defining moment in Canadian history as it saw off US territorial ambitions in the Pacific North-West and united Canada with a ribbon of steel.

The Scots kicked well above their height in the development of the business and industrial infrastructure of the Empire, much of it carried on vessels built on the Clyde. The Scots may have sniffed at the English, but they too were enthusiastic imperialists. And in almost all cases, the Bible read in a Scottish tongue followed the tall trading ships, whether that be in Africa, India, or East Asia.

Religion

A change in religious emphasis in Britain at the beginning of the nineteenth century called for Christians to promote their beliefs, not just at home, but around the world. The burning interest of men like John Wesley and William Wilberforce in contemporary British humanitarian issues, quickly extended to bringing Christ's gospel to areas where British control or influence was being established. The Church of Scotland was slow to become involved in missionary activities, largely because it thought there were sufficient social and spiritual problems to be addressed at home. (Does it ever change?) However, concerned evangelical Scots quickly found their way overseas through nondenominational agencies, like the London Missionary Society founded in 1795 in Baker's Coffee Shop in Change Alley in the City of London. One of their early missionaries was Robert Morrison who went to China in 1809. By 1819, with the assistance of another Scot, William Milne from Huntly, he had translated the whole of the Bible into Chinese—a monumental achievement.²

By the end of the nineteenth century, most Scottish Christians were articulate supporters of Empire. The death of General Gordon at Khartoum in 1885 was a significant factor, but David Livingstone was particularly important in Scotland. He died in 1873, having acquired the status of a national hero and protestant saint. His body was carried to the coast by his companions, and then by sea to the UK, and then to an elaborate funeral in Westminster Abbey. Significant was his glorification: he was Scots, working class, and nonconformist. By way of Africa and Christianity, it was possible to receive the highest accolades of the British people. It was a lesson not lost on his countrymen or co-religionists.

There were missionaries of another category as well: those who went to work in the emergent churches of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. One such was John Dunmore Lang, who became the first Minister of the Scots Kirk in Sydney, New South Wales, and is one of the icons of modern Australia. In Scotland today, he is less well known than he should be.

His story really starts in 1812, when we find him becalmed in the middle of the night on board the pioneering steam ship *The Comet* in the Clyde Estuary. The ship had broken down. He had taken the ship because it was faster than walking, but it was to be a long journey! The problem was that there were four ladies in the small cabin. How were the four men and the crew on board to get through till dawn? Men sang hymns at the bow of the vessel, and women retired as required to the stern.

Lang came from a family of small farmers who had prospered through thrift and hard work. Like so many of their fellow countrymen, they were independent-minded folk, religious but not overly so, with an enthusiasm for education and a fine sense of being Scots. It was qualities like these, and family memories

reaching far back, that sustained emigrants from Scotland as they fanned across the expanding British Empire in the nineteenth century. Lang was no exception. Paying his own passage, he arrived in Sydney Cove in May 1823. He quickly set about raising funds to build a Scots Church, which was opened on York Street in 1826. Lang was appointed Minister and remained so until his death over fifty years later in 1878.

Having got his Kirk, Lang set about filling it. He found ready support from the burgeoning Scots community in Sydney as well as from those living in the nearby Blue Mountains and along the banks of the Hunter River. In trying to figure out how to build a Presbyterian High School, Lang came to realise that the serious shortage of skilled workers in New South Wales was impeding development. Why not help alleviate poverty in Scotland by encouraging such people—competent, sober, God-fearing, reliable Scots—to emigrate to Australia? It was a cause he came to champion for the remainder of his life. Travel to and from Australia was a daunting undertaking for anyone in those days, but Lang was to make this journey nine times in his life to encourage emigration, recruit ministers for the growing Presbyterian community, and to publicise his views on everything relating to Australia.

At a time when voting rights were restricted, he was one of the first to propose universal adult suffrage in Australia, including the vote for women. Remembering how he had attended a terrified Aborigine on the scaffold, who cried ‘I am so scared, mefela go walkabout no more’, Lang was more sensitive than most of his generation to the appalling plight of the Aborigines in the face of the relentless onslaught of Europeans and their civilization. Influenced by the 1848 revolution in France, he formed the Australian League to campaign for full democracy and a federated republican Australia. His views remain topical today.

There were hundreds of other Scottish ministers, pastors, and padres shaping the emerging white colonies (as they were called at the time). Many became involved in politics. Others sought more spiritual objectives. My favourite is Norman McLeod from Ullapool (1780–1886). His ministry began in Pictou, Nova Scotia, in 1817. He intended to move on to Ohio in the USA but ended up at St Ann’s on Cape Breton Island. His next move, via Adelaide in South Australia in 1852, was quite a journey but continued to Waipu, north of Auckland, New Zealand, in 1853.

As Scottish religious influence was to be an important element in Empire building, so too was the impact on the British imperial world of Scottish educational ideas and practice.

Part 2: Education, the Army, and Immigration will appear in the Winter 2022 issue of the Journal.

About the Author

Dr Ian Wotherspoon was an overseas Administrative Officer of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office for nearly thirty years from 1969 to 1997. In retirement he became a history lecturer in the University Lifelong Learning programme, and an active member of the Graduates' Association. An obituary for him appears on page 240 of this *Journal*.

Notes

1. Sir Charles Dilke, *Greater Britain*. London: Macmillan, 1868.

2. Dr Ian Wotherspoon, *The Scots and China: Issues, Ideas and Identities*. Edinburgh: The Author, 2013.

Images

Page 174: Image of Dr Ian Wotherspoon.

Edinburgh University Faculty of Medicine and War Years: Some Reminiscences

by Dr David Boyd

The years I spent as a student in the Faculty of Medicine from 1944 to 1949 were not all dominated by war, but all were influenced by it. The excitement and anticipation of receiving, on matriculation, a card with the words ‘Civis Edinburgensis’ on it were matched by watching progress of the D-Day landings and the war in Europe. Male students in particular were deeply aware of the privilege of having their call-up for National Service deferred. Deferral, however, was conditional. We were allowed one failure at a professional examination; failure at the resit meant immediate call-up. Although confidence was increasing that victory in Europe would not be too long delayed, such confidence did not extend to the war in the Far East; the prospect of expected high casualty rates in landings on mainland Japan was daunting. The prospect of this disappeared, however, with events at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Unlike the severe air attack, blitz, on Clydebank in 1941, Scottish towns (mainly East Coast ports including Edinburgh/Leith) suffered relatively little damage and few casualties. Nevertheless, by 1944, the weariness of the war years was evident. Buildings suffered the lack of regular maintenance; clothes rationing did not allow exuberance in dress; food rationing was a war-time triumph of maintaining adequate nutrition in the general population (a situation that had not existed pre-war) but monotony was certainly a feature of eating; shortages of many items

were common, leading to a culture of ‘under-the-counter’ sales; accommodation for those students from outwith Edinburgh could be difficult to find, and, in my first year, this resulted in a twenty-five mile daily train journey to and from classes.

My first university lecture was in the anatomy theatre in the old medical school in Teviot Place. Professor James Brash began by explaining the shortage of ‘anatomical material’ and that he had put all his cards on the tables—a quip that brought only tentative and uneasy laughter from his audience. Of course, the unease was because we knew our introduction to the dissecting rooms was imminent and we had already bought the recommended dissecting kit of scalpels, retractors, etc., and a brown lab coat. We all dealt with this in our own ways, and I knew of no-one who had any serious emotional problems. Nowadays, it is recognised that this experience can lead to significant anxiety and distress, but also that exposure to dissection and overcoming its challenges creates a unique learning opportunity for students to develop coping mechanisms and confidence as well as build resilience. For me, it was helped by my partner working on the cadaver. He was a man who had abandoned his first-year medical studies in 1939 to volunteer for war service; he had served as a pilot in the Fleet Air Arm. There were about twenty such men who joined us at this time and who added gravitas and a real sense of purpose to the collection of schoolboys and girls which made the majority. One of the lecturers in the anatomy department was a legend to many years of medical students: Dr E B Jamieson, a tall, slightly stooping figure in a long white coat and black skullcap, was an imposing figure in the dissecting room. I had only one personal encounter with him in a practical examination. Raising a piece of tissue with forceps he asked, ‘What is this?’ My answer must have had a rising inflection of doubt. He glared at me and said, ‘When answering a question, never put a query in your voice’, something I have always tried to avoid. He never, I think, wholly accepted women in medicine and refused to lecture them on genito-urinary anatomy; this resulted in his infamous lecture, commonly known as the ‘Men Only’, a title derived from a well-known publication of the time.

The curriculum in our first year did not involve any contact with patients, which many of us found frustrating, but included some subjects I had not done in depth at school. Biochemistry lectures and laboratory work took place at Teviot Place, but we travelled to Kings Buildings to the Zoology Department where we dissected an earthworm, a skate, and a rat in ascending order of complexity. The rats were rather attractive white laboratory ones, and it was rumoured that some enterprising women students turned the skins into gloves; it was a cold winter. In the summer term, we attended the Royal Botanic Gardens at 8 am for lectures by the Regius Professor, Sir William Wright-Smith, who wore a black jacket, striped trousers, and a high-winged collar. The practical classes immediately afterwards included microscopic examination of plant sections cut by open razor and, although a trip to the gardens on a summer morning was very pleasant, I can say with truth that I learned little of

value to my medical career. The course in Physics was of use to me as I was deficient in my knowledge of the physics of light and heat, and my abiding memory is the demonstration of cooking a sausage by diathermy. But it was the Physiology course which really engaged me; one of the most memorable teachers in this department was Dr Mary Pickford who was adept at demonstrating physiological function, especially cardiovascular, using anaesthetised dogs. Inevitably, but unfairly, she was generally known as Bloody Mary. Although this subject was well taught, it did not escape the competition of ‘cram’ classes conducted by extra-curricular teachers who guaranteed success in examinations by emphasising facts almost by rote. This course took place on Saturday mornings in the Oddfellows’ Hall on Forrest Road. I attended one session and realised that this was not for me, and that I had better use for the money involved. At the end of our second year, the Physiology course led to our first encounter with a patient, albeit as an entire class in the large lecture theatre in the medical corridor of the Royal Infirmary.

My first student accommodation was in Marchmont at 16 Arden Street, and I shared with two others in my year. Our landlady was an elderly (or so she seemed to us) spinster to whom we handed over our Ration Books so that we each had our own little pots of butter and sugar renewed weekly. I’m sure she did her best to feed us, but she had no idea of the appetites (of all kinds) of eighteen-year-olds. She also belonged to a sect that I had never heard of. The British Israelites apparently believe that British peoples are descended from the Lost Tribes of Ancient Israel. We did not know exactly what her beliefs were, but we felt there was a flavour of Scots Presbyterianism involved. One of my companions was an accomplished pianist but was refused access to a piano in her parlour as his repertoire, mainly Chopin, was too frivolous. We learned to be circumspect in language and behaviour. Many decades later, I was surprised to find a plaque over the door at Number 16 recording, not where three medical students had lived, but its occupancy by Polish General Stanislaw Maczec who had commanded the 1st Polish Armoured Division during WW2 and lived with his family in Edinburgh until his death in 1994. His association with Edinburgh is also remembered by the naming of a walkway through the Meadows.

Food did take a surprising place in our thoughts at that time and into the early post-war period, when some items, such as bread, were rationed for the first time. The male-only University Students’ Union (now Teviot House) was particularly handy for medical students, with a cafeteria and a restaurant boasting white tablecloths, proper cutlery and cruets, and waitresses in traditional black and white uniforms. Despite this, there was no great range of meals (rissoles of dubious origins and chips being the commonest) but on one occasion, the only one to my knowledge, there appeared ‘braised steak’ in a rich gravy and the size of two weeks’ meat ration, which was whale meat. It was delicious. Edinburgh had few eating places then but, in 1940, the Ministry of Food had opened what were called

British Restaurants in which a reasonable meal could be had for shillings. Originally to serve bombed-out families, they spread all over Britain. One was opened in Nicolson Street between Surgeon's Hall and the Royal Bank of Scotland building. It was an occasional alternative to the Union and when finances were low.

Shortly after the war in Europe ended in 1945, I experienced my first Rectorial Election. Perhaps it was inevitable that the successful candidate was Admiral of the Fleet, Viscount Cunningham, who had led the Royal Navy to victory at sea. His nomination probably reflected the election of national heroes around the time of World War 1, who had included Lord Kitchener, Admiral Sir David Beattie, and Prime Minister David Lloyd George. As I remember, the theme of Cunningham's address to a packed audience in the McEwan Hall was based on service to King and country, working hard, and achieving. This seemed not to the liking of the majority of his audience and the occasion became riotous, much to the displeasure of the Admiral. Coming from a conventionally disciplined home and school, I was surprised that a national figure could be treated in this way. Three years later, I experienced my second Rectorial Election. The choice of Rector, his address, and the response to it could not have been more different. Alastair Sim was a well-known actor and lecturer who spoke of the role of the arts in society and the function of drama. He did not escape heckling, but handled his audience with great skill, and laughter was the predominant response. As part of his campaign, his supporters staged one of his films (*Green for Danger*, a medically based thriller) in the Department of Public Health in Marchmont's Usher Institute. An attempt to disrupt the event by conservative forces, I helped to repulse.

Despite the serious aspect of the times, and that I found the medical curriculum engaged my mental and physical energies to a great extent, diversions, as always, were available. For me, the Saturday night Union Palais was not a regular attraction but the popularity of the cinema was universal. Wednesday afternoons at Poole's Synod Hall (now the site of Saltire Court in Castle Terrace) provided happy memories of classical films of the war and immediate post-war periods. I had been a keen member of the Scout movement and so continued my association by joining the University Rover Scout Crew. It met in the University premises in the Pleasance and enabled contact with students of other faculties and, for the first time for me, contact with men from the African colonies. It also had regular weekend meetings with the Crews of the other three Scottish Universities. One of the supporters of the Edinburgh Crew was Colonel Ronald Campbell who was then Director of Physical Education at the University. He had been Commandant of the Army School of Physical Training, was an expert at fencing, and an all-round tough character. I was unwise enough on one occasion to take him on at quarterstaff. It was a bruising experience!

Preclinical subjects, such as Pathology and Bacteriology, I found a slog and it was a joy to progress to the clinical aspects of medicine. Pathology, however, implied

the attendance at post-mortem examinations (then performed more frequently than now) which was another emotional strain as they could involve patients we had encountered in the wards. The other method of learning in this subject was the study of specimens from post-mortems preserved in glass jars. I think that permission to preserve these was not as it is now.

The professorial ‘Gods’ included a high proportion of knights of the realm at that time. We sat at the feet of Sir Derek Dunlop, Therapeutics (literally on one occasion with him); Sir Stanley Davidson, Medicine; Sir James Learmonth, Surgery; Sir David Henderson, Psychiatry; Sir Sydney Smith, Forensic Medicine; and later Sir John Bruce, Surgery. Davidson’s prestige was worldwide, mainly because of his book. *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* was first published in 1952 and is now in its 23rd edition. Its origins were in his lecture notes which, in our final year, we could purchase on cyclostyled sheets of A4 from a scruffy little office at the top of Leith Street. Learmonth was nationally known when he operated on King George VI. I remember his lectures for some of his idiosyncrasies; he never touched chalk to write on the blackboard without donning a pair of white cotton gloves, and before early morning lectures during the winter he would allow thirty seconds for coughs and sneezes—then expected silence. On one occasion, he turned his lecture over to an Edinburgh surgeon who had been a prisoner of war of the Japanese. We listened in awe as he told us of the appalling conditions and the resourcefulness of his work there. John Bruce who, as a Brigadier RAMC, had been Surgical Advisor to the 14th Army in Burma, I encountered at a senior surgical clinic, learning the proper method of examining a knee joint. I remember this as it was a special knee joint belonging to Mr Eddie Turnbull, then a hero of Hibernian Football Club and a Scottish Internationalist. But it was Derrick Dunlop who I remember most vividly as a teacher and physician. A handsome, elegant man, his lectures were carefully prepared and memorably delivered, and he avoided the mundane. On one hot afternoon, he entered the large medical lecture theatre in RIE and announced, ‘We shall go alfresco’ and led the class out to one of the grassy spaces between the medical pavilions. There he stood under a tree while we sat on the grass, and I think he saw himself as a modern Hippocrates. There are many stories of his wise or witty words, some of which I am sure are apocryphal, but I can vouch for the following. Warning of the dangers of keeping the elderly in bed: ‘There they lie, the blood clotting in their veins, the calcium draining from their bones and the spirit evaporating from their souls’. His own experience of ageing: ‘When you achieve a full set of dentures and your hormone levels fall to negligible amounts, you achieve—serenity’.

Teaching ward rounds in RIE tended to have large numbers of students (it was an advantage to be tall to be able to see the patient) but in the senior years the clinics numbered a half-dozen or so. Wards, medical and surgical, varied in popularity often depending on the clinical tutor’s skill in teaching and the prestige

of being accepted in wards headed by influential Chiefs. Great emphasis was laid on history taking, a clinical skill which, in my personal experience, is not so well exercised now as before. Physical examination was also taught in great detail with abnormal signs linked to the names of nineteenth-century physicians. The advances in diagnostic procedures has perhaps lessened the importance of this skill. Individual Chiefs had their preferences, or otherwise, for students; to one physician, nicotine-stained fingers were anathema; others welcomed sporting 'Blues', especially Rugby. As a senior student on a medical ward, one was expected to attend the 'waiting days' with the chance to clerk admissions, and tasked with the testing of urine specimens. From the ward, these were brought in glass cylinders by a nurse to a room in the basement of the pavilion known as the 'Duck Pond' where there was an array of reagents and test tubes. This was a long and laborious task; 'dip-sticks' and such-like were far in the future. At that time, clinical experience revealed to us the diseases that were such contemporary scourges. A diagnosis of tuberculous meningitis, for example, gave no hope of survival; but with the advent of streptomycin, I can remember the emotion of witnessing a remarkable recovery in a young child. Chronic rheumatic heart disease figured largely and caused students much anxiety in learning to interpret varieties of heart murmurs. Can any student now recognise an 'Austin-Flint' murmur? Equipment and materials such as cotton wool were often in short supply and red rubber tubing, glass syringes, and needles were carefully reused. But war encouraged resourcefulness. In a medical ward, I saw a patient with grossly swollen legs leaking oedema fluid which were surrounded by sphagnum moss—a substance I had gathered as a young Boy Scout to 'help the war effort'.

The first part of the clinical aspect of obstetrics involved residence in a hostel in Chalmers Street which backed directly onto the Simpson Memorial Maternity Pavilion. About ten students would spend a week there to be summoned, day or night, by a very loud electric bell to attend 'abnormals': forceps deliveries and Caesarean sections. My most vivid memory is witnessing, in the early hours of one morning, a delivery involving destructive procedures on a dead foetus. With the others present, I found this a harrowing experience. But the second part was much more positive. We were required, in association with the midwife, to conduct ten domiciliary deliveries. This could be done in Edinburgh itself or in Leith; I opted for Leith. With a friend on the same course, I shared a room in a private house in Restalrig Road owned and run by an elderly lady and her daughter. They accommodated students for this purpose on a regular basis. They were a kindly and interesting pair who did their best to feed us in the light of continuing food rationing. The old lady wore a long up-to-the-neck black dress which had a puzzling grey streak down the front; until I discovered that she took snuff! Her daughter played the cello in a string quartet; her playing alternatively gave pleasure or infuriated when trying to catch up on sleep. The call to attend a

delivery came to the District Midwives opposite our digs, one of whom alerted one of us and together we walked or took a tram to the address. This was the first time I was exposed to the realities of poverty and poor housing. Edinburgh and Leith had some of the worst slums in the UK at that time. Basic provision for the baby was often lacking, and in some houses there was little food. On one occasion, when labour was prolonged, the midwife and I realised we had not eaten for some time. We put our shillings together, I went to the nearest chippy and we, the mother-to-be, and two female neighbours happily ate fish suppers round the bed. Never did any male appear on these occasions—presumably they sought solace in the pub. The deliveries were all uncomplicated but if they were not, I had a phone number with which to contact the ‘flying squad’ from the Simpson, not a straightforward task as it implied finding a phone-box that worked. In these pre-NHS days, I was struck by the gratitude always shown by the mothers and the respect we received. I think most knew we were students, but in my experience, we were always addressed as ‘Doctor’. In many ways, I found this part of the medical course one of the most rewarding.

The only other contact we had with patients outwith hospital was in the pre-NHS Dispensaries around the city. I attended one in Marshall Street where a small café now trades. This one was supervised by a physician from RIE who would see those attending from the poorer surrounding areas and give appropriate advice and simple medication, or refer if necessary. If someone ill at home was reported, a student (or pair of students) was sent to make an assessment for the physician to act on. It was also the place where we learned and practised the art of smallpox vaccination. General Practice was not taught as such, but aspects of it came into the lectures of Professor Francis Crew of the Chair of Public Health, a remarkable man who qualified in Medicine in 1912 but who became the first professor of Animal Genetics in 1928. In 1948, I remember him saying that Social Medicine was now taking the place of Public Health in the medical curriculum, and discussing many of the issues that had dominated the debate in the run-up to the NHS. He was also the foremost proponent of an Edinburgh event which was a direct result of the War, the creation of the Polish School of Medicine which existed from 1941 to 1949. In its last year, only a handful of its students remained; they joined us in classes and they stand with us in our graduation photograph. I have always had a sense of pride that the country, the city, and the university extended such a cordial welcome to Allies in these dark days.

During 1949, the written, clinical, and oral professional examinations in Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics & Gynaecology, and Child Life & Health had to be taken, with the papers all crammed into a nerve-racking week in June. My memory is of a hot summer but with relief coming from both weather and examinations by tram rides to Portobello and enjoying the splendid open-air swimming pool, complete with its wave-making machine. But by then, austerity was lessening, the

stress of war had gone, and life in general was more care-free. Towards the end of that term came the Final Year Dinner (still only unisex) in the Union with a four-course meal, wines to match, and my first dinner suit. Later was the Graduation Ball in the Assembly Rooms, the entire Year on this occasion, all with appropriate partners but no married couples as I remember. With all examinations over, the lists of successful candidates were posted at 6 pm precisely on a board in the entrance to the Medical School in Teviot Place. A crowd which had been hanging around now converged, all eager to identify their names, and there followed much hand-shaking and back-slapping (we were not ‘huggers’ in those days) between the successful, and not knowing what to say to the disappointed. Then came a dash to find a telephone to impart the good news to parents and others. A substantial number, all male I’m afraid, disappeared round the corner into Forrest Road and Sandy Bell’s which was very busy that evening. Graduation Day in the McEwan Hall was the icing on the cake. The final entry into the profession that we had worked so hard to be part of, came after that when we presented proof of holding the degrees of MBChB and became Registered Medical Practitioners. We were then entitled to ‘put up our plate’ if we wished; the preregistration year was in the future.

I know the student experience now, quite apart from COVID-19 pandemic problems, is vastly different from that of the forties, but I hope my successors in the University of Edinburgh, and the School of Medicine in particular, have as much enjoyment in their student days and as much satisfaction in their professional lives as I have had.

About the Author

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Student Societies in Edinburgh University—1720–1970+

Part 1: the Societies and their Evolution Over Time

by Dr John N T Martin

Preamble

The immediate trigger for this study was research I was conducting into the history of student theatre at Edinburgh University. Since student theatre is merely one strand within a hugely diverse range of student societies, I felt I needed a fuller picture of the historical development of student societies as a whole.

It soon became apparent that the various histories of the university say rather little about student societies, and such comments as there are have sometimes been dismissive and not well informed (e.g. Turner, 1933, pp. 354–355).

The focus, therefore, became one of providing an overall map of the student society domain (where ‘societies’ includes all societies, clubs, associations, unions, groups, and so on). This meant developing a comprehensive list of historical societies, categorising them, plotting their evolution, and exploring their overall statistics. Hopefully this basic map will make it easier for others to extract more detailed information: interesting stories, personalities, and so on.

The first society listed in this study was founded in 1737, but in practice, it wasn’t possible to take the analyses presented here further back than the early 1800s because of other data constraints. The time range then continues up

to 1969/70—a cut-off date which was determined partly by the time frame of the student theatre study, but also by the almost exponential growth in numbers of students and societies that was beginning at around this time, following new government policies (Higher Education Committee, 1963—the ‘Robbins’ committee). This huge expansion would have called for very different presentation and research techniques.

The full report of this study is lodged in the Edinburgh University Centre for Research Collections (Martin, 2021)—see the Note at the end of this paper for a list of the extra material it includes. However, the present, shorter, version is published in two parts. This part (Part 1) explains the background of the study, lists the societies that have been identified, and explores how different types of society have emerged and evolved. Part 2 (Martin, 2022) maps the societies on a year-by-year basis, and explores the remarkable stability shown over a couple of centuries in the relationship between numbers of students and numbers of societies.

Sources

The main data sources for both parts of this study have been the annual entries that student clubs and societies submitted each spring for publication around October, in time for the start of the following academic year. These were published in:

- *Edinburgh University Calendars* from 1866 to 1942
- *Edinburgh University Student Handbooks* from 1896

Quite a number of these entries contained foundation date claims that made it possible to take the record back to the 1700s, and this early material was supplemented with other information about student societies from 1720 to the early 1800s taken from various sources.

The Calendar Lists of Societies

The University Calendar first appeared in 1858, immediately after the Universities (Scotland) Act (1858) had empowered the University to take control of its own affairs.

Eight years later in 1867, we find the first information on a university society: an entry on the Athletics Club, which at that stage was a normal club (though subsequently it would evolve into the management umbrella for most other athletic

and sporting activities). In the following year, the Athletic Club entry is joined by the Boat Club and Music Society. By around 1880, the Calendar's annual 'Student Societies and Clubs' section was listing about 18, usually fairly brief, entries. Figure 1 is a typical example—a brief entry giving the society's name, its founding date (the previous year in this case), its officers, its meeting arrangements, its rationale, and its contact arrangements.

vi.—CHEMICAL SOCIETY.—INSTITUTED 1874.

President.—Prof. A. CRUM BROWN, M.D., D.Sc. *Vice-Presidents.*—Dr E. A. LETTS, F.R.S.E.; Mr J. H. MIDGLEY. *Secretary.*—GEO. C. ROBINSON.

This Society meets on alternate Wednesdays at 8 p.m. during the Winter Session, for the reading and discussion of papers, &c., on subjects relating to Chemistry.

During the Summer Session excursions will be made to chemical works, &c. For particulars apply to the Secretary at the Analytical Laboratory.

Fig. 1: Excerpt from Edinburgh University Calendar for 1875/6, p. 65.

In 1926/7 these entries reduce to a simple list of society names and officers, and in 1935/6 they reduce even further to a bare list of society names, stopping altogether after 1942/3. The Calendar's list of societies was never fully comprehensive, and there were significant data quality issues in its later years.

The Student Handbook Lists of Societies

The annual 'Student Handbook' (Edinburgh University Students' Handbook, 1896–1984) started as part of a flurry of student-oriented developments in the late 1800s (SRC, 1884; *The Student* magazine, 1887; the Union, 1889; the admission of women, 1892).

Its key role was to provide a catalogue of options for 'freshers' (the new cohort of first year students) to choose from, so its coverage of clubs, societies, student bodies, hostels, support agencies, and so on was excellent. Figure 2 shows a typical student society entry from the 1910/11 Handbook.

In the early years, many societies also provided annual 'syllabi'—time-tables (often quite detailed) showing the activities planned for the forthcoming year. However, syllabi were dropped in the late 1930s, and from the early 1960s even the main entries appeared in increasingly compressed formats.

The modern equivalent of these entries is the Students Association website (e.g. Edinburgh University Students Association, 2016–18 & 2020). In 2020/21 it listed around 349 societies.

The Edinburgh Indian Association

(*Instituted* 1883)

The objects of the Association are :—

(a.) To afford every personal assistance to persons of Indian parentage who come over to this country for study or business.

(b.) To promote social intercourse among the Indians resident in this country.

(c.) To hold debates.

The Annual Subscription is 5s. ; entry fee, 2s. 6d.

Membership is open to all persons of Indian parentage (ladies included).

Fortnightly meetings are held throughout the Winter and Summer Terms.

Office-Bearers. — *President*, P. Banerjee ; *Vice-President*, Dr. J. V. Karve ; *Hon. Secretary*, M. L. Bangara ; *Hon. Assistant-Secretary*, K. Ganapathy ; *Hon. Treasurer*, B. B. Kapila ; *Representative to S.R.C.*, J. C. Khambatta.

Fig 2: Excerpt from Edinburgh University Students' Handbook, for 1910/11, p. 282.

Earlier Societies

It was not until the start of the Handbooks in 1896 that the collection of annual entries provided what appears to be a reasonably comprehensive coverage of all societies, and there were no annual entries at all prior to the solitary 1867 Calendar entry for the Athletics Club. However (as illustrated in Figures 1 and 2) many society annual entries included foundation-date claims. For instance, though the first annual entry for the Dialectic Society is in the Calendar for 1873, that entry claimed that the society had been *founded* in 1787, 86 years earlier. These foundation date claims provide most of the information about societies in the 1700s and 1800s, as listed in Table 1.

Table 1: The 279 Societies - Legend

Column Labels: A=Index number, B=Foundation year, C=End year (or EoP), D=Category

Category Labels: A=Sport, D=Debating, G=Religious, H=Hobby, P=Political,
R=Roots, S=Subject, U=Umbrella

Table 1: The 279 Societies

A	B	C	D	Name of Society	A	B	C	D	Name of Society
1	1737	EoP	S	Royal Medical Soc	47	1891	1908	A	Shinty Club
2	1764	1899	D	Speculative Soc	48	1892	1897	H	Darwinian Soc
3	1776	1967	G	New Coll. Theological Soc.	49	1892	1925	G	Student Vol. Missionary Union
4	1787	1967	D	Dialectic Soc	50	1893	1924	D	Women's Debating Soc
5	1815	1966	S	Scots Law Soc	51	1894	1897	H	Union Lit. Soc (Union Affiliate)
6	1816	EoP	D	Diagnostic Soc	52	1895	1905	R	English Public Schools Club
7	1823	1841	S	Plinian	53	1895	1899	G	Women Arts Stud. Christian Assn
8	1825	1967	G	New Coll. Missionary Soc.	54	1896	1932	D	Summer Debating Society
9	1843	1899	G	Uni. U.P. Students' Soc	55	1896	1922	P	Women's Unionist/Conservative Assn
10	1847	1967	R	Dumfries and Galloway Soc	56	1897	1897	D	Ethical Soc
11	1848	1955	R	Celtic Soc	57	1897	1899	A	Women's Cycling Club
12	1853	1909	G	Total Abst./Temperance Soc.	58	1897	1941	P	Fabian Soc
13	1856	1941	R	Caithness Students Assn	59	1897	EoP	S	Historical Soc
14	1858	1955	D	Philomathic Soc	60	1897	EoP	S	Classical Soc
15	1858	EoP	S	Agricult. (Class Disc.) Soc.	61	1899	1911	D	Med. Women's Deb. Soc
16	1865	EoP	G	Christian Union	62	1899	EoP	H	Angling Club
17	1867	EoP	A	Athletic Club	63	1899	EoP	S	German Soc
18	1868	EoP	H	Musical Soc	64	1899	1912	R	Afro-W. Indian Assn (/Lit Soc)
19	1868	1930	A	Boat Club	65	1899	1905	R	Ed. Soc for Colonial & Indian Studs
20	1870	EoP	H	Dramatic Soc (& variants)	66	1900	EoP	S	French Soc
21	1871	EoP	S	Philosophy Soc	67	1901	1927	G	Womens' Christian Union
22	1874	1967	A	Rifle Club	68	1901	EoP	A	Women's Athletic Club
23	1874	EoP	S	Chemical Soc	69	1901	EoP	S	Engineering Soc
24	1874	1917	R	Australasian Club	70	1902	1921	G	Missionary Settmnt for Uni. Women
25	1876	1888	R	Students' Club	71	1902	EoP	S	Economics Soc
26	1878	1899	G	Ed. Med. Studs Christ. Assn	72	1902	1967	R	Orcadian (Ork./Shetland) Soc.
27	1879	1888	G	Prayer Meeting	73	1904	EoP	H	Union (Scot. Uni) Chess Assn
28	1879	EoP	P	Conservative Club, (Unionist Assn.)	74	1904	1939	S	Physiological Soc
29	1880	1891	A	Cycling Club	75	1904	1932	S	Education (& Psychology)
30	1880	1890	S	Natural Science Club	76	1904	1945	S	Edin. Women's Medical Soc
31	1881	1891	A	Golf Club	77	1905	1964	U	Women's Union
32	1881	1899	G	Student's Sodality	78	1905	1911	P	Tariff Reform League
33	1881	1938	R	South African Union	79	1905	1908	P	Free Trade Union
34	1883	EoP	R	Indian Students Assn	80	1905	1955	R	Welsh Studs' (Debating) Soc
35	1884	1891	G	White Cross Soc	81	1906	EoP	P	Uni. Settlement & Assn
36	1885	1966	S	Dental Students' Soc	82	1906	1918	P	Women's Liberal Assn
37	1886	1967	G	Free Church Students' Assn	83	1906	1921	G	Women Med. Christ. Union
38	1888	1911	A	Swimming Club	84	1906	EoP	R	Irish Soc (Irish Studs' Assn)
39	1888	EoP	G	Methodist /Wesleyan U/g Soc	85	1907	1912	D	Diacritic Soc
40	1888	1899	G	Arts Studs Christian Assn	86	1908	1955	G	Islamic Soc
41	1889	EoP	U	Union	87	1909	1917	P	Women's Suffrage Soc
42	1889	EoP	D	Union debates	88	1910	1914	H	Forensic Club
43	1889	EoP	P	Liberal Club/Assn	89	1911	EoP	G	Jewish Soc
44	1889	1891	G	Christian Evidence Soc	90	1911	EoP	S	English Literature Soc
45	1889	EoP	S	Physical Soc	91	1911	1930	R	Borderers' Assn
46	1890	EoP	H	Photographic Soc	92	1912	EoP	G	Catholic Students Union

A	B	C	D	Name of Society	A	B	C	D	Name of Society
93	1913	1924	R	Canadian Club	140	1932	EoP	S	Law (Law Faculty) Soc
94	1914	EoP	S	Russian Soc	141	1932	EoP	R	UN Stud. Assn (Cosmop.Soc)
95	1914	1917	R	Perth Academy Soc	142	1934	EoP	A	Spartans Club
96	1916	1950	R	Egyptian / & Sudanese Soc.	143	1935	1936	P	Scottish Work Camps
97	1917	1922	P	Vol. Aid Detach. – Ed.20 VAD	144	1935	EoP	S	Geographical Soc
98	1917	1919	S	Women’s Physical Soc	145	1935	EoP	S	Fine Art Soc
99	1918	1945	G	Church of Scotland Soc	146	1936	1938	R	Travellers Soc
100	1919	1932	G	Cowgate Dispensary (Medical Missionary Soc.) Hostel	147	1936	1938	P	Peace Council
101	1919	EoP	S	Forestry Soc	148	1936	1957	R	Sino-Scottish Soc
102	1919	1920	R	Angus Assn	149	1936	1959	A	Table Tennis Club
103	1920	1921	P	Council of National Liberals	150	1937	1942	H	Scottish Literature
104	1920	1939	R	Women’s Celtic (Highland)Soc	151	1937	1950	H	Wilderness Club
105	1920	1929	R	American Club	152	1937	1938	P	Left Book Club
106	1921	EoP	G	Anglican / Episc. Soc. / Union	153	1939	EoP	A	Yacht (Sailing) Club
107	1921	EoP	G	Baptist Students Assn	154	1940	EoP	R	Highland Soc
108	1921	1921	R	Brit Univ Australian Assn	155	1940	1945	H	Allotment Assn
109	1921	EoP	S	Biological (Zool.) Soc	156	1941	1942	R	Scoto-Slavonic
110	1922	1930	P	League of Nations Soc	157	1941	1953	H	Gramophone Soc
111	1922	EoP	G	Student Christian Mov.	158	1941	1947	S	Medical Assn.
112	1922	EoP	S	Spanish (Hispanic) Soc	159	1944	1945	H	Saltire Soc
113	1922	EoP	S	Commerce Assn	160	1944	1947	S	Industrial Group
114	1923	EoP	P	Labour (&) Socialist Soc./Club	161	1944	1949	R	Polish Students’ Assn
115	1923	1942	G	Evangelistic Assn	162	1944	EoP	A	Mountaineering Club
116	1924	1930	A	Law Boat Club	163	1945	EoP	S	British Med. Students’ Assn
117	1924	1930	R	London Junior Dinner Club	164	1946	EoP	H	Film Soc
118	1924	EoP	R	Chinese Studs Assn/Union	165	1946	EoP	P	Communist Soc (Club)
119	1925	1925	H	1925 Club	166	1946	1947	R	Ex-Service Students’ Assn
120	1925	1966	A	Rugby (Union) Fives Club	167	1947	1950	H	Poetry Soc
121	1926	1939	P	Students’ Settlement Assn	168	1947	1950	H	New Scotland Soc
122	1926	1932	A	Indian Sports Club	169	1947	EoP	A	Ski (Wintersports) Club
123	1926	1931	G	Colleges’ Evangelistic Union	170	1947	1958	S	Linguistic Soc
124	1927	1938	D	Talking Women	171	1948	1955	D	Hume Soc
125	1927	1929	R	Student International Club	172	1948	1948	H	Epicurean Club
126	1927	1957	R	Edinburgh Int. Club	173	1948	EoP	A	Riding Club
127	1927	1962	R	African Assn	174	1948	1951	A	Badminton Club
128	1928	1928	D	Knights Errant	175	1948	1948	A	Judo Club
129	1928	EoP	G	Congregational Soc	176	1948	1956	G	Aquinas Soc
130	1929	EoP	P	Nats. Club (Scot. Nats. Assn)	177	1948	EoP	S	Psychology Soc
131	1929	EoP	S	Social Study Soc	178	1948	1959	R	Ed. Christ. Council for Overseas Students
132	1929	EoP	R	West Indian Studs. Assn.	179	1949	EoP	S	Geological Soc
133	1929	1931	R	Burma	180	1950	1950	P	Western Democrats Soc
134	1929	EoP	A	Motor Club, 1929 & 1949	181	1950	1950	P	Convention Club (Scot Nat)
135	1930	1930	A	Rambling Assn	182	1950	EoP	S	Archaeological Soc
136	1930	EoP	H	Scout/Guide/Rover/BP Clubs	183	1950	EoP	R	Yorkshire Soc
137	1931	EoP	P	Politics Soc; Political Club/Platform	184	1951	EoP	H	New Scot Country Dance Soc
138	1932	1932	A	Fencing Club	185	1951	1952	H	Lifemanship Res. Grp.
139	1932	1939	G	Student Campaigners	186	1951	1966	H	Scottish Renaissance Soc

A	B	C	D	Name of Society	A	B	C	D	Name of Society
187	1952	1953	R	Commonwealth Soc	234	1962	1966	G	Baha'i Group
188	1953	1959	H	Music Club	235	1962	1962	S	Social Sciences Soc
189	1953	1967	S	(Social) Anthropology Soc	236	1962	1962	S	Biochemical Soc
190	1954	1955	H	Ornithological Soc	237	1962	1962	R	Ghillies
191	1954	1962	G	Evangelical Union	238	1962	1962	R	Outer Hebrides Soc
192	1954	EoP	R	Pakistan Studs Assn	239	1962	1962	R	London Soc
193	1954	EoP	S	British Dental Studs' Assn	240	1963	EoP	R	Centre of African Studies
194	1955	1957	H	Puppetry Soc	241	1964	EoP	H	Film Group
195	1955	1955	R	Lancastrian Soc	242	1964	1966	A	Volley Ball Club
196	1956	1956	H	Dancing Club	243	1964	EoP	A	Bowmen (Archery Club)
197	1956	1957	H	Philatelic Soc	244	1964	1964	P	Vigilantes Assn
198	1956	EoP	H	Jazz Club (Rhythm Club)	245	1964	1966	P	Socialist Medical Assn
199	1956	1957	R	Eng.-Sp. Un. of the C.wealth	246	1964	1967	P	Int. Vol. Service (Ed. Branch)
200	1956	1956	R	Afro-Asian Club	247	1964	1967	P	Anti-Apartheid Soc
201	1956	1962	S	Assn of Veterinary Students	248	1964	1966	G	Young (Soc. of) Friends
202	1957	1957	A	Skating Club	249	1964	1967	G	Humanist Club
203	1957	1966	G	Christian Science Org.	250	1964	1967	R	Zambesi Club
204	1958	1958	H	Rocket Soc	251	1964	1964	R	Sudanese Studs Assn
205	1958	EoP	H	Glee Club	252	1964	1966	R	Post-Graduate Studs Assn
206	1958	EoP	H	Astronomical Soc	253	1965	1966	H	Hermes Soc
207	1958	1958	P	Pacifist Soc	254	1965	EoP	S	Capt Thomas Dover Soc
208	1958	1961	R	Middle-East Soc	255	1965	EoP	A	Gliding Club
209	1958	EoP	P	War On Want	256	1965	EoP	P	European Soc
210	1959	1962	H	Tiddlywinks Club	257	1966	1967	S	Student's Architects Soc
211	1959	1959	H	Sporranslitters	258	1966	EoP	H	Steadfast Club
212	1959	1966	P	New Left (Review) Club of Ed.	259	1966	EoP	H	Railway Soc
213	1959	1967	P	Camp. for Nuc. Disarm. (CND)	260	1966	1967	R	Mature Under-grads Soc
214	1959	EoP	S	Italian Soc	261	1966	EoP	A	Exploration Soc
215	1959	EoP	R	Nigeria Union, Ed. Branch	262	1966	1967	H	Beagles
216	1959	1962	R	Malayan Students Assn	263	1966	EoP	P	Children's Hol. Venture Soc
217	1959	EoP	R	Ghana Union of GB & NI Studs	264	1967	EoP	A	Trampoline Club
218	1959	1962	R	Burke and Hare Soc	265	1967	1967	H	Ed. University Singers
219	1959	EoP	S	AIESEC	266	1967	1967	H	Patronage of the Arts Soc
220	1960	EoP	H	Esperanto Club	267	1967	EoP	S	Nursing Studies Soc
221	1960	1966	R	E. Africa Assn / Jambo Club)	268	1967	EoP	A	Expeditionary Sports Group
222	1961	1962	D	Cassandra Soc	269	1967	EoP	R	English Post-graduates Soc
223	1961	EoP	H	Savoy Opera Group	270	1967	1967	P	Council for Peace in Vietnam
224	1961	1961	H	Opera Soc	271	1967	1967	G	Church Service Soc
225	1961	EoP	H	Modern Dance (/Ballet) Group	272	1967	1967	H	Blues Soc
226	1961	EoP	H	Folksong Soc	273	1967	EoP	H	Ballroom Dancing Club
227	1961	EoP	A	Canoe Club	274	1969	EoP	H	Television Soc
228	1961	1962	S	Robertson Soc	275	1969	EoP	S	Sociology Soc
229	1962	1962	H	Heraldry Soc	276	1969	EoP	P	Shelter
230	1962	1962	H	Triangle Club	277	1969	EoP	R	North American Club
231	1962	1962	H	Newt Club	278	1969	EoP	H	Douallt/Tan-y-crisiau Dev. Soc
232	1962	1964	H	McGonagall Soc	279	1969	EoP	R	Biafran Union of GB & I
233	1962	1967	P	Uni. Fed. Animal Welfare					

I also explored other research studies that had looked at societies in the late 1700s and early 1800s—particularly McElroy (1951–52) and Speculative Society (1845). In the later 1700s, during the Scottish Enlightenment, clubs and societies had been popular in society at large. Rational argument was still believed to be viable in its own right as a method for enquiring about the natural world, so the ability to debate and discuss were seen not just as useful rhetorical skills, but also as important tools for understanding the world. For example, when the Literary Society spawned the Academy of Physics in 1797, that would not have seemed remarkable.

This fashion for societies also spilled over into the student community. However, the distinction between societies for undergraduates versus societies for graduates, professionals, or wider society was generally much less clear-cut than nowadays. Many students did not bother to graduate, and undergraduate societies often allowed members to stay on after graduation. In any case, the Edinburgh intellectual elite were a very small group, and Edinburgh was criss-crossed with all manner of social networks, so a willingness to discuss shared interests was probably much more important than status differences such as undergraduate versus graduate.

It is also noticeable that all the early student societies that have been identified here are ‘serious’ discussion groups. But in the wider society, there were also purely social clubs—think of Dickens’ fictitious ‘Pickwick Club’, described as occurring in the late 1820s. It is hard to imagine that the Edinburgh students of that era would not have had their high-spirited societies as well as their serious ones, but we do not seem to have any record of them, or their *modus operandi*.

These historical sources yielded some 30 societies founded between 1720 and 1865 that, at first sight, appeared to be of interest (see Martin, 2021). But the list shrank to nine after eliminating societies that had either ‘died’ before the earliest usable dates in this study (early 1800s), or were so robust that they continued into the Calendar/Handbook reporting era, and were already listed. Several of the nine were also problematic for other reasons, with only a couple being unambiguously ‘student societies’. Because of these uncertainties, it seemed safer not to include any of these additional societies in Table 1.

So, although one is left with a suspicion that early societies may be somewhat under-represented in Table 1, the shortfall is hard to quantify with any precision.

The Selection Criteria

The Handbooks aimed to reflect the rich student culture existing at the University (Abbott, 1971, p. 212), so as well as listing societies, they also included many other organisations, activities, and agencies that new students might need or be interested in. Thus, for the purposes of the present project, ‘non-societies’ needed to be filtered out.

The most important exclusions were military activities, such as the divisions of the Officers' Training Corps, and the sporting activities that came under the Athletics Clubs. Both of these involve spare-time activities that students sign up for, so in this respect, they resemble societies. They are nevertheless clearly *sui generis*, with different structures, reporting channels, and management arrangements. Other excluded groups included student hostels, the editorial teams for student publications, various support agencies and external groups, and various management groups with membership only by election or appointment (e.g. the SRC Committees). After these exclusions, the main collection contained the 279 societies listed in Table 1.

However, this '279' collection still included some borderline cases: residual 'umbrella' groups, such as the men's and women's Athletic Clubs and Unions, and also a group of unusual or specialised sports (such as Shinty and Skiing) that had started off as autonomous societies, but had later on moved across to be managed within the Athletic Clubs. These incomplete categories made no sense in the context of investigations such as the study described below, that required intact categories. Removing 33 borderline cases from the 279, left a subgroup of 246. The '246' subset can be derived from Table 1 by removing the societies marked as belonging to the 'Umbrella' (U) and 'Sport' (A) categories.

Table 1 is in foundation year order, and also includes foundation and end dates (or 'EoP' if the society was still in existence at the 'End of Project' in 1969/70). It also shows to which of eight categories (described below) each society has been allocated.

Many of the society names in Table 1 have had to be abbreviated for space reasons; for full names, see Martin (2021).

The Different Types of Society and How They Changed Over Time

To help students navigate the Handbook entries, its editors usually grouped societies by type. This was not a rigorous academic categorisation, and was often idiosyncratic. Nevertheless, the categories they chose tend to show a strong family resemblance across the years, and the scheme adopted here reflects this, albeit in re-worked form.

In order to restrict the analysis to intact categories, we now switch to the smaller '246' sample of societies (see above). This removes the incomplete '*Sport (A)*' and '*Umbrella (U)*' categories from Table 1, leaving six categories (shown with the identifying letter used in Table 1) as follows:

Debating Societies (D): These are some of the oldest societies in the University, concerned with the general development of rhetorical debating skills *per se*.

Religious Groups (G): Christian denominations predominate, but there are also some other religions, plus societies to discuss religious issues, plus religiously or morally motivated social interventions (e.g. the Temperance Society).

Hobby Groups (H): These include performance groups (e.g. music, theatre, opera, jazz, poetry, film, puppetry, etc.), enthusiasms (e.g. astronomy, railways, heraldry, ornithology, photography, chess, etc.), and wild idiosyncrasy (the McGonagall Society, the Newt Club, the Lifemanship Research Group), and others.

Political Groups (P): These include the familiar national political parties, plus political campaigns of the day (e.g. Women’s Suffrage, Free Trade, CND, Anti-apartheid, etc.) and practical activism (Shelter, the Settlement Association, etc.).

Shared Roots (R): These are groups from particular communities with shared experiences (e.g. the Outer Hebrides Society, the Sudanese Students Association, the Ex-Service Students Society, or the Mature Undergraduates Society).

Subject Areas (S): These are usually associated with particular university departments (e.g. the Engineering Society, the German Society, or the Dental Students Society).

There is a degree of potential overlap and ambiguity, but most societies were fairly easy to categorise, leaving only a few cases—perhaps 5–10%—where the categorisation adopted might be open to debate.

Showing the Development of Each of the Six Categories Over 160 Years

Figure 3 provides a separate graph for each of the six categories listed above. Each vertical bar shows the number of societies within a particular category that are believed to have been active in a particular year between 1810 and 1970.

The table embedded in Figure 3 shows, for each category, the **number of societies** it contained, the total number of **contributions** (as defined below) that the category as a whole made, and the **average number of contributions** for each society within the category. A **contribution** here means the appearance of one society for one year, as shown, for instance, by the existence of an annual entry in a Calendar or Handbook. So, one society appearing for 10 years, or ten societies each appearing for one year, are both ‘10 contributions’.

For instance, in the ‘*Subject*’ category, 48 societies emerged at one time or another between 1810 and 1970. Between them all they generated 1,654

contributions, and, on average, each ‘*Subject*’ society provided 34 contributions (i.e. 1,654/48) over its lifetime.

If you pool all categories together, there are a total of 246 societies, and 5,245 contributions, each society making, on average, 24 contributions over its lifetime.

Some Possible Interpretations

Many factors must have determined how societies and categories developed and/or declined. The narrative below explores some plausible elements of that story.

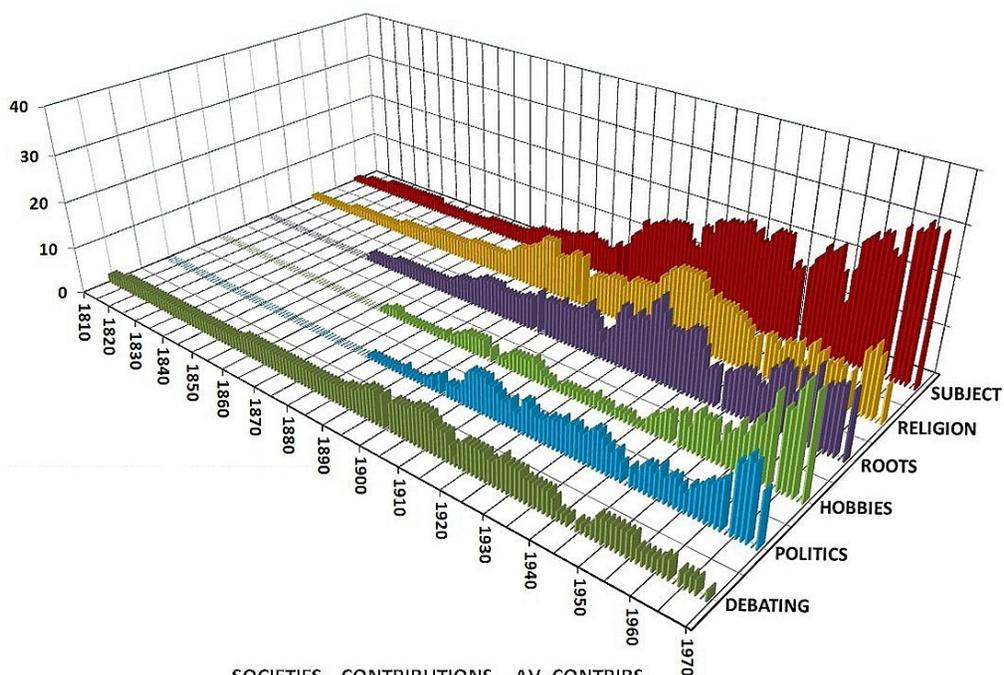
In the early days of the University, student assessment was largely oral, so students responded by creating settings where they could practice oral presentation and debate on chosen topics, helping them to master not only their subject, but also their oral skills. The ‘*Debating*’ and ‘*Subject*’ societies that emerged from these early forums could be quite small (perhaps 20–50 members). Often there were clear rules, such as being required to attend and contribute regularly, and to take part in running the society. Breaking the rules often involved penalties such as fines or even being thrown out of the society.

As the History chapter in *Speculative Society* (1845) puts it:

This succession of voluntary Associations of Students for mental improvement is very characteristic of, and very honourable to, the Universities of Scotland, and chiefly to that of Edinburgh, where these intellectual gymnasia have principally flourished. (p. 14)

Some of the early ‘*Subject*’ societies also began to acquire collections of books and equipment for their members to share (since they were often costly to buy). This, indeed, is why the Royal Medical Society acquired its royal charter. It needed to become a legal entity so that it could properly ‘own’ and manage its premises and its large, and by that point quite valuable, collection of books, equipment, etc. The obvious way to do this was to form themselves into a corporation and they applied to do this, but the University, presumably worried about potential loss of control, blocked them. Then a friendly legal student came up with an ingenious alternative: a royal charter would have the same effect, and would over-ride any official University opposition! They duly applied, got their charter, and became able to control their collection.

‘*Religion*’ appears shortly after the early ‘*Debating*’ and ‘*Subject*’ societies—though even here, the first ‘*Religion*’ society could be seen as the ‘*Subject*’ society for the Theology Faculty. Later religious societies were more aimed at other students, often with a tone of ‘moral welfare’.



	SOCIETIES	CONTRIBUTIONS	AV. CONTRIBS
SUBJECT	48	1654	34
RELIGION	37	1091	29
ROOTS	59	945	16
HOBBIES	53	440	8
POLITICS	35	466	11
DEBATING	14	649	46
	Total=246	Total=5245	Mean=24

Fig 3: Number of Societies of Each Type: 1810–1970

The earliest ‘*Roots*’ societies came soon after as Edinburgh began to attract students from further afield, initially from the remoter parts of Scotland, but then from much wider afield, including many countries from what was then the British Empire.

The earliest ‘*Hobby*’ society (the Music Society) comes next, though it is rather an outlier and has many of the characteristics of a ‘*Subject*’ society. ‘*Hobbies*’ did not really take off until the mid-1930s.

Foundation year statements suggest that the first ‘*Politics*’ society appeared in 1879, and ‘*Politics*’ societies were listed in the earliest Handbooks in the 1890s. But they don’t appear in the Calendar listings until the 1930s, and there is evidence of political societies not being allowed to meet on university premises. Presumably the university wanted to avoid any possible perception of ‘official’ partisan political involvement.

As student numbers increased, there was an overall growth in number of societies, but this was not always evenly distributed. For instance ‘*Debating*’ and ‘*Religion*’ begin to fall away from around the 1920s, reflecting wider social and cultural changes. There are also clear ‘dips’ around the 1914/18 and 1939/45 wars.

One can point to a number of general factors at play, some of which are largely internal to the institution and its students, while others are largely external

(though the causal web must inevitably be much more complex than such simple distinctions might suggest):

1. **Level of institutional support.** It helps a society to survive if it gets institutional support. For instance, even though the ‘*Subject*’ category has fewer societies than either ‘*Roots*’ or ‘*Hobbies*’, it has overwhelmingly more contributions. This is surely because ‘*Subject*’ societies get active support from their disciplines and so tend to survive indefinitely. Likewise, ‘*Religious*’ societies are often maintained by supportive chaplains, and ‘*Political*’ societies by their political parties.
2. **Degree of scope for expansion.** Some categories have almost unlimited potential scope for expansion—e.g. one can always come up with yet more hobbies! Other categories offer a much more limited scope: there are only a limited number of political parties or religious denominations.
3. **Attitudes to innovation versus longevity.** There aren’t many ‘*Debating*’ societies because they tend to value their traditions, their long-term continuity, and their exclusiveness. In contrast, there have been a great many ‘*Hobby*’ societies, but (with some notable exceptions such as the Music Society) many of these have been very short-lived, probably because they value the fun of setting up a new group much more than the development of traditions or lengthy history.
4. **Some periods are more vigorous than others.** The energetic development of student organisations in the 1880s and 1890s, and the optimistic Edwardian period from 1900 to 1914 were both associated with the creation of more societies. There were also boom periods after each of the World Wars. While the post-war era was difficult for many people in society at large, for universities the ex-service-people returning to finish their degrees not only brought a wave of increased student numbers, but also a wave of post-war euphoria that could be well-expressed using the skills and maturity derived from their active service experience.
5. **The inclusion of women into the student community.** Women gained admission (at last!) as full students in 1892, but early women students were often treated badly (cat-calls as they entered lectures, professors addressing classes as ‘gentlemen’, etc.). Up to World War I, women were generally excluded from male societies, resulting in a parallel universe in which women were represented and supported by a Women’s Union, a Women’s Debating Society, a Women’s Athletic Club, a Women’s Medical Society, Women’s political societies, and so on. After World War I, many of these divisions began to dissolve, with most societies becoming ungendered over time—though the Unions remained separate until 1971! In the most recent period, women students have begun outnumbering men throughout the University.

6. **The increasing secularisation of society.** Figure 3 shows a progressive decline of ‘Religious’ societies after World War I (though with an interesting upturn in the 1960s). This was presumably a reflection of a growing religious scepticism in the wider society.
7. **Wars and major economic crises tend to have major impacts on universities and their students.** Though the Napoleonic Wars (1790–1815) largely predate the present study, they did have a (considerable) aftermath for the University. There were direct impacts from the South African Wars of the 1890s, World War I (1914–18), the financial crash of 1929/30 and subsequent depression, and World War II (1939–45). Figure 3 clearly shows the reduced activity during the major wars—partly due to students joining the army, but also, particularly in the 1939–45 war, by students having to take part in war-related civilian duties of various kinds.
8. **The growth and decline of the former British Empire.** The effects of this are seen most vividly in the growth and decline of the ‘*Roots*’ societies, because students from various, mainly Empire, countries came to study at Edinburgh, particularly as medical students. ‘*Roots*’ changes also, of course, reflected events in students’ home countries—for instance the creation of the Pakistan Students Association, following the partition of India.

Part 2 of this paper (Martin, 2022) will look at the year-by-year statistics, and will explore a remarkable stability in the relationship between numbers of students and numbers of societies that appears to have persisted over a couple of centuries of immense change.

Acknowledgment

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Author’s Note

Additional items in the full version of this project report (Martin, 2021), include:

- A Microsoft Excel worksheet version of the project database (an enhanced version of Table 1 from this paper, integrated with Figure 2 from Part 2). Researchers are welcome to use and develop the database for further studies.
- Scanned copies of all source materials from the *University Calendars* and *Student Handbooks*.

- Additional analyses, plus discussions of data quality, interpretation, etc.
- Histories of the development of sports, military training, and hostels.
- A brief exploration of student societies in the 1700s.

About the Author

Dr John N T Martin grew up in Northern Ireland, becoming a student at Edinburgh University (1959–1965), starting as a vet, but ending up as a psychologist, with a lot of student theatre in between. After a PhD at Birkbeck, he moved to the MRC Applied Psychology Unit in Cambridge, and then to the Open University Systems Group, retiring in 2005.

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Three Black Men at Edinburgh University in the Early Nineteenth Century: Jean-Baptiste Philippe, Thomas Jenkins, and John Edmonstone

by Lisa Williams

The unhealed legacies of enslavement and racial thought still play out in Edinburgh and elsewhere, complete with hotly contested narratives of the past and present. Let us attempt to imagine the intellectual and social environment of two hundred years ago that provides the context for three men of African descent engaging with the University of Edinburgh at that time. The city itself, in the early nineteenth century, was at the heart of impassioned arguments raging around the abolition of African chattel slavery, despite certain enslavers successfully fabricating a veneer of respectability once they returned home. The revival of the abolition movement was in reaction to the failure of amelioration policies to reform slavery; that had neither significantly improved the lives of enslaved people nor effected a healthy rise in the population.

Abolitionist lawyer and Liberal MP, Henry Brougham, born in St Andrew Square in the New Town, had been working tirelessly since the fanfare of the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 to tighten the loopholes in British law that still facilitated the trade. The celebrated Edinburgh judge Henry Cockburn had, from 1814, reinvigorated a cause that had begun to flag after the national fatigue of the Napoleonic Wars. The 1823 Demerara Rebellion (in what is now Guyana) took place partly on plantations belonging to John Gladstone of Leith, and the vicious backlash by the authorities was denounced by many in Britain. In its wake, Thomas

Buxton headed the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society, calling first for gradual, and then immediate abolition.

Edinburgh's own uncompromising Evangelical minister of the Church of Scotland, Andrew Mitchell Thomson, demanded immediate abolition with fiery and influential speeches at two meetings in 1830. Thomson's friend, Thomas Chalmers, the future head of the Free Church of Scotland, had begun in 1826 to dream up an unpaid apprenticeship scheme to help compensate former slaveowners for 'freeing' the people they had enslaved. Gladstone, as an absentee planter, would receive the most in compensation money in 1837 for more than two thousand people who had been labouring on his plantations from Jamaica to Guyana. Agnes Renton had advocated early on for amelioration and then abolition, and Quakers like Eliza Wigham and others began, in 1830, to develop a uniquely effective womens' abolition movement that also later campaigned for civil rights of African Americans and women's suffrage.

The medical school at the University had been educating thousands of Scottish doctors since its founding a century earlier in 1726, many of whom developed careers entwined with the slave trade system, on ships and plantations, some becoming plantation owners themselves. In 1813, the medical school saw the first man of colour to graduate. This trailblazer was William Fergusson, a Jamaican of mixed heritage who went on to become the governor of Sierra Leone.

Fergusson had opened the door for another medical student of mixed African and European heritage from the West Indies, Jean-Baptiste Philippe. Having arrived at Edinburgh in 1812, Philippe graduated in 1815 at the age of nineteen. After his return home, he made history by petitioning the British Government for racial equality and personally delivering his address as part of a two-man delegation. Thomas Jenkins, the son of an African slaver, briefly attended Latin, Greek, and mathematics classes at Edinburgh shortly after becoming Scotland's first Black school teacher in the Borders before heading to Mauritius to teach in a British mission school. John Edmonstone, a man of African descent originally enslaved on a timber plantation in Demerara, was living in Edinburgh from 1823, and taught taxidermy not just to budding naturalist Charles Darwin in 1827 but also other students of the University.

The lives of Philippe, Jenkins, and Edmonstone were intricately bound up with the British slave trade system, not just in the West Indies and Demerara, but in West Africa and the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. Emerging from vastly different life circumstances, they were all greatly changed by the experiences of their years in Scotland in the early nineteenth century, whether that was in childhood, adolescence, or adulthood.

Understanding the unusual position of the slave-owning, 'free coloured' Philippe family helps us to understand Jean-Baptiste's limitations in his later demands for freedom for his community. Jean-Baptiste's aunt Judith was the matriarch of a wealthy mixed-race family who originated in the tiny island of Petite Martinique

in the Grenadines, close to Grenada. His uncle, Joachim, had been an important freedom fighter in the Fedon Rebellion in Grenada in 1795–1796, and who had escaped capture for several years until he was finally executed in 1804. His father, Louis, had taken a different path in life, emigrating to the more southerly island of Trinidad where he became one of the richest ‘free coloured’ planters in the southern area of Naparima. Jean-Baptiste and his younger brother, St Luce, were sent away to school in England at a young age. Their father, being a wealthy and ambitious planter, wanted an environment that would foster Jean-Baptiste’s mental alacrity, evident from a young age.

Trinidad had created a specific context for free coloured people to thrive socially and economically. The Cedula of 1783 had invited Catholics, including mixed-race Francophone planters from other islands in the region, to settle in Trinidad along with the African people they had enslaved. They were given political rights and land grants, although the latter were restricted in size compared to that of white planters. The sheer ratio of free coloured to white people created anxiety for the British colonial government that took the reins of power with the invasion of Scottish military leader Sir Ralph Abercromby in 1797. Just like they had done in the decades prior to the 1795–6 Fedon Rebellion in Grenada, the British began to enact laws and social practices that both restricted and humiliated ‘free coloured people’, particularly of African-French descent.

Thomas Jenkins also grew up in a family with wealth and privilege earned from their involvement in the slave trade, but in this case at source. It was suggested in a letter of 1818 from local Quaker William Watson to William Allen, the Treasurer of the BFSS, that he was from a place called ‘Cape Mountman’ in Sierra Leone, and that he was the son of a slave-trading chief from the area of the coast of Guinea, referred to as ‘Chief Cock-eye’ due to the loss of one of his eyes. Tom’s origin story suggests that his father presided over a vast area where British vessels regularly landed in order to purchase people to use as slaves. In 1803, Tom was sent by his father at the tender age of six years old for an education in Scotland. James Swanson, the son of a waiter at the Tower Hotel in the Scottish border town of Hawick, was a naval surgeon on board slave ships from 1798. He began to captain ships out of Liverpool to West Africa and trade, not just in ivory and gold dust, but the trafficking of people.

The ship on which Tom travelled to Liverpool was called the *Prudence*, built in Philadelphia in 1796. It had made two complete triangular voyages out of Liverpool as a slaving ship, between 1801–1803, and was then captured on the third voyage before trafficking more people from West Africa. The first voyage took 157 people from Cape Grand Mount to Kingston, Jamaica, and the second, with Swanson as captain, remained on the coast of Africa for two months filling the ship with people who were then taken to Demerara. Who knows if there is somehow a connection to John Edmonstone who grew up enslaved on a timber plantation in Demerara, and left for a new life in Scotland fourteen years after this ship *Prudence*’s

arrival? How much might have Tom known as a young boy, about the profit his father was making from this wicked traffic? Or know that his Scottish caretaker was directly involved in trafficking his fellow Africans to misery? The ship was captured on the Windward coast between Cape Mount and Assine (now Liberia and the Ivory Coast) on its third voyage. If Swanson had lived a little longer and taken him on the third voyage, what might have been his fate?

Alarming for Tom, James died shortly after their return to Hawick, perhaps of alcohol withdrawal. Tom had tried his best to take care of him as he lay sick and dying. Mrs Brown, the wife of the proprietor, witnessing this wee boy shivering with cold and hunger, took him in for the first couple of months. He settled more permanently with Swanson's brother-in-law, Tom Lunn, and family at 'Shuttlehaa' near Teviothead. Fortunate to have a young companion in James' illegitimate son and namesake, he mastered standard English and the local Teri dialect swiftly and began to shine both in his school learning and in dance. Working hard by day as a cowherd and errand boy for one local man and carrying out farm tasks for another, he was determined to continue the education he was sent away from his family to complete

Making the best of a tough situation, Tom collected used candle ends to allow his night-time study in a room above the stable. Already clearly showing his attunement to music through his deft dance steps, he also amused and perhaps comforted himself through playing the fiddle and enjoying the company of the horses. His determination and natural intelligence allowed him rapid progress at night school; he taught himself the rudiments of Latin and Greek, borrowing his friend's books whenever he could. Some of his observers admired his acuity and indefatigability and were encouraged to support his efforts. He



managed to save twelve shillings from his paltry wages in a bid for his own Greek dictionary at a local auction, and his friend promised to add a few pence to his hopeful sum. He must have cut a curious figure; dark in complexion in a sea of white faces, wearing a cast-off soldier's grey uniform, investing his own money to bid for a book of advanced Greek. David Moncrieff, an Honorary Burgess of Hawick and a man of means, observed the situation and paid the extra shilling needed to win. Tom triumphantly took the book home to study diligently alongside his equine companions.

John Edmonstone, cursed with the most inauspicious beginnings of the three men, grew up in the swampy interior of Demerara, a northern area of South America long populated by Scots. Demerara was one of three Dutch colonies surrendered to

the British in 1796 and ceded to Britain officially in 1814. He had been enslaved by a Scotsman from Cardross Park near Glasgow, Charles Edmonstone, and his wife Helen, who was of Scottish and Amerindian heritage. Charles was not just one of the wealthiest plantation owners in Demerara, but also entrusted with ‘ensuring the security’ of the slave colony. He led expeditions to capture and re-enslave African people who had emancipated themselves from plantations to join autonomous Maroon communities in remote areas. At times these communities blended with those of indigenous people. Charles Edmonstone, however, was well admired by enslavers and colonial administrators for orchestrating search parties to re-capture people who had escaped enslavement to settle in Maroon communities. He gave instructions for the execution of those who refused to return to the plantation.

However, European planters were also able to establish useful alliances with indigenous people to uphold the plantation system. The British followed the Dutch, strategically courting certain indigenous communities by trading ammunition, European goods, and monetary rewards for the capture of each self-emancipated slave. With assistance from certain indigenous people, Charles was regularly successful in his missions. Helen’s heritage and family connections also gave Charles access to useful knowledge of the difficult terrain of the region but also techniques for tracking people running far from the heavily regulated plantations. The Governor presented Charles with swords and decorative tokens of appreciation to reward him for decades of upholding a viciously oppressive system.

But what of John Edmonstone’s life as an enslaved labourer on his plantation, Mibiri Creek? As with most African people enslaved in the Americas, evidence of the details of John’s early life is scant. John learned the art of taxidermy from Scottish naturalist Charles Waterton, a close friend of the Edmonstone family, who married one of Charles Edmonstone’s daughters. Waterton had gone to Demerara to take care of the family plantations, though he was disgusted by the system of slavery. Upon arriving in Scotland with the Edmonstone family in 1817, John was able to live as a free man. This was nearly twenty years before the legal end of chattel slavery in the British Caribbean in 1834, but due to the ruling in the *Knight vs Wedderburn* case in 1778 in Edinburgh, it had been made clear that chattel slavery or ‘perpetual servitude without wages’ had no legal basis under Scottish law.

On reaching Scotland, relationships within the family started to fall apart. Helen, bitter at the favouritism shown by Charles to a woman who was enslaved in her name, refused to free her. This led to a breakdown in their marriage and Helen’s seclusion and addiction to opium. The skills John Edmonstone learned from Waterton were very specific. He knew how to remove the skin of a snake and to preserve and harden it with mercury chloride. There are records of him selling exotic animal specimens to the museum in Glasgow. John moved across to Edinburgh some time shortly after his arrival, and by 1823, he had his own successful shop on

Lothian Street near the University. From his shop, he sold preserved specimens to the museum, including birds and the skin of a 15-foot-long boa constrictor.

Charles Darwin arrived at Edinburgh in 1825 at the age of 16 to study medicine. Charles was revolted by dissecting cadavers, and in letters home, had been begging his father to leave the University. He had been complaining about his professors, who he considered boring and useless, including the eminent Dr Andrew Duncan who was then in his eighties. Darwin was more intrigued to learn of his neighbour John Edmonstone, a former servant of Dr Duncan, offering lessons in taxidermy to students for the modest fee of a guinea an hour.

Darwin's desperate pleas to leave Edinburgh were resisted by his father, who had sent him and his brother Erasmus to continue the family tradition. Charles spent many hours immersed in Edinburgh's extensive library, and joined several of the many learned societies in the city engaged in furthering the understanding of the natural world. In 1826, for two months around his seventeenth birthday, Darwin enjoyed taking lessons with Edmonstone for an hour daily. It seems like they developed a good relationship. In a letter to his sister, he declared his valued teacher to be a 'very pleasant and intelligent man'. As well as the skills of taxidermy, he gained a thorough knowledge of the fauna and flora of South America. Darwin's father eventually allowed him to give up medicine, and Charles left Edinburgh to train as a minister.

Shortly after, Darwin was given the life-changing opportunity to sail on the ship *SS Beagle* as a companion to Captain Fitzroy. When he reached Argentina, he was able to preserve eighty different types of birds during a two-week expedition into the forest. With the help of John Gould on his return, Darwin was able to identify the way the beaks of finches from the Galapagos Islands had adapted over time depending on the food available in their area. This formed the basis of his revolutionary theory of natural selection and his famous 1859 book *On the Origin of Species*. Darwin's ideas on race became increasingly complex as the century continued. Yet, in his 1871 book *The Descent of Man*, Darwin understood the human race as a single species, and how unimportant differences were between 'races'. He made reference to the 'full blooded negro with whom I happened once to be intimate' (Darwin, 1871) as an example of non-Europeans having 'very similar minds' to Europeans.

It seems hopeful that John Edmonstone's life continued in a positive direction after his arrival in Scotland. As a legally free man, he was able to pursue a life, career, and family in ways previously denied to him. Mary Kerr was a young Scottish woman who lived in a house directly located between Darwin and Edmonstone. There is archival evidence of pre-nuptial banns for John and Mary being read on three consecutive Sundays in 1824 at St Cuthbert's Church. Reading the banns was prevalent in Scotland at the time to check for support from the community; there were no objections raised to the marriage from the congregation in Edinburgh. The marriage of an enslaved Black man and a white woman would have proved

impossible in Demerara in 1824. With stiff resistance to marriages in Trinidad of women of colour and white men to prevent property inheritances, Jean-Baptiste Philippe was also warned of the pressure he would have faced if he had returned with the white romantic partner he'd met on his travels in Europe.

Taxidermy grew in popularity during the Victorian era, and it seems likely that it was the same John Edmonstone mentioned in the archives as operating a business in South St David Street, a more central and prestigious premises, between 1826 and 1843. The 1841 Census shows a 45-year-old shopkeeper by the name of John Edmonstone, born abroad, living with a woman named Mary and their three children in James Court, a quiet courtyard just off the Royal Mile.

How did Jenkins and Philippe fare during and after their time spent in Scotland? Tom Jenkins' fortunes continued to be dependent on the altruism or prejudice of those around him. After he beat three other contenders to the post of teacher at the local school, the Presbytery rejected Tom for being a 'pagan' and probably also because of his African origins. However, the local heritors (people of privilege in the parish), including the Duke of Buccleuch and Hawick minister, Reverend Arkle, recognised his talents and advocated in his favour. They rallied to convert a 'smiddy' or a blacksmith's workshop in Teviothead into a schoolroom and Tom's school became popular with aspiring pupils from the surrounding area.

In addition to his diligence and intellect, Tom was said to be courteous and kind and against using corporal punishment, which must have created an irresistible pull for both pupils and parents. They removed the young white man who had been hired and replaced him with Tom. On Saturdays, he took the eight mile walk to Hawick to continue his own education with classes at the grammar school, and on Sundays, dutifully walked again to church. A man from the neighbourhood recommended him to the Christian Knowledge Society to become a missionary to enslaved children and adults in the colonies and was strongly encouraged to go to Mauritius. William Watson, a Quaker businessman from the Hawick area, and Moncrieff, who had also assisted Tom with accessing classes at the University, arranged for his transfer to London where his teaching at schools in Pimlico and Fitzrovia earned him his teaching certificate a week before sailing to Mauritius in August 1821.

Mauritius had become important for British commerce from 1814 when the island was ceded from France to Britain. In the run up to emancipation, the British were threatening the Mauritian planters with zero compensation due to their minimal influence in the Parliament and evidence of illegal slave trading. The British government had paid out bounties for the capture of people illegally brought into the island, but then registered them as government slaves or on 14 year apprenticeships. Christian instruction and the elevation of some of the 'liberated' as privileged 'commandeurs' helped to integrate them into the hierarchical slave colony system. The British, as they had done in the British Caribbean from the

1760s, were still rapidly converting French coffee plantations to sugar, the back-breaking labour of which required a huge workforce.

In 1820, British governor Sir Robert Farquhar visited Britain and advocated educating the children of the enslaved population. Tom was recommended as a teacher, being of African origins and well educated in Scotland. The London Missionary Society thought this would reassure Mauritian parents who originated in Madagascar, Mozambique, and West Africa. Some planters and British government officials were keen for mission schools to foster Anglicisation and the acceptance of the social order whilst others feared a shift in the balance of power.

During this period, rates of marronage were high for enslaved Africans and significant even for indentured Indians; the flight from plantations supported by free, urban people of colour who constituted a fifth of the population. Tom arrived just months after the beheading of Prince Ratsitane from Madagascar, authorised by Farquhar. Ratsitane, resentful of King Radama's alignment with the London Missionary Society and subsequent power grab of Madagascar, was encouraged to instigate an uprising by the enslaved in Mauritius and was then betrayed. His severed head was publicly displayed as a deterrent to freedom fighters, a strategy the British used all over the West Indian colonies, notably in the Demerara Rebellion of 1823.

The school opened with a handful of pupils in January 1823 and expanded rapidly. As the decades passed, Jenkins took pride in having prepared his graduates for posts in business and government and made a huge influence on the colony. Regardless, his widow, fellow teacher Augustine, was still denied a pension on his death in 1859.

After Jean-Baptiste left school in England, he enrolled at the University of Edinburgh in 1812, graduating three years later with a thesis written in Latin named 'Hysterical Moods'. He had been immersed in the Enlightenment debates Edinburgh was famous for, and his subsequent travel to Europe immediately afterwards introduced him to French and other European Enlightenment thinkers.

After a spell in Europe, Jean Baptiste Philippe returned home to Trinidad as part of an ambitious new cohort of educated 'free coloured' people, hopeful for a career as a doctor. Governor Thomas Picton, ruling from 1797 to 1803, had considered them to be potentially dangerous revolutionaries sharing French inspired republican ideals and, from 1804, this community had to prove their status as free people. Governor Ralph Woodford, whose long administration began in 1813 and ended with his death in 1828, was particularly unhappy with the numerical superiority of people of colour relative to whites, and the humiliation and subjugation of this community was part of the plan to restrict their power.

In 1817, white immigration was encouraged, as was marriage between whites, and payments were offered as inducements to have children. Woodford, concerned that white fathers were leaving property to mixed-race children, introduced discriminatory inheritance laws and began to ban the immigration of people of colour in a stark reversal of the Cedula. Racial segregation was introduced, from theatres to burial

grounds. Particularly galling was that, as corporal punishment was being phased out for enslaved African people, it was being reinstated for free people of colour.

For a newly qualified medical graduates like Philippe, the barriers against people of colour to become doctors, were particularly frustrating, especially when witnessing white people with no qualifications accepted to practice. These incidents of discrimination and abuse are documented in detail in his 1823 address to Lord Bathurst, where he skilfully employed literary persuasion in an appeal to reason and a sense of duty over prejudice and passion. As a slave owner himself, he made no appeal for abolition. He praised the anti-slavery activists in Britain, yet was concerned that the policies in Trinidad would set ‘slaves against masters’. He abhorred the violence of the Haitian Revolution, yet indicated the ‘bright rays’ of progress made by people enjoying freedom after self-emancipation. He expressed great sympathy for the indigenous people of Trinidad, exploited and abused, yet made no reference to the state of enslaved Africans at home. He pointed out the ‘glare of whiteness’ was unfairly overriding any criminality, even in cases of child rape and murder by white men. He deftly made reference to his Edinburgh University education, quoting the denouncement of ‘corrupt governments’ in William Robertson’s *History of Scotland*.

His petition, that he delivered in person along with another free coloured man, a lawyer named John Congnet, is an important piece of Caribbean literature in its own right. Philippe, the hope and dream of his illiterate Black mother and his ambitious planter father, schooled in England in 1808 as somewhat of a child prodigy, who wrote his thesis in Latin, toured Montpelier and Leyden, helped to shift along the movement towards racial equality in a significant manner. Unfortunately, he died at the age of 33, just two weeks before the law changed, granting full equality to the community of free coloureds to whom he had dedicated his life.

About the Author

Lisa Williams is a graduate MA in Arts, Festival, and Cultural Management, Queen Margaret University, and an Honorary Fellow in History, Archaeology, and Classics of the University of Edinburgh. She is Founder of the Edinburgh Caribbean Association (www.caribscot.org) and Leader of the Black History Walks, Edinburgh.

Notes

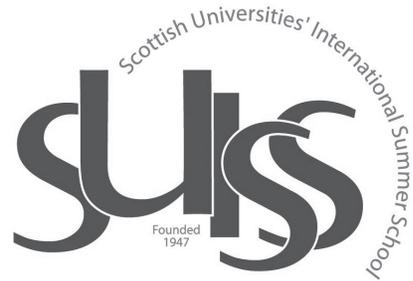
A complete list of references and further reading is available from the author or the Editor of the *Journal*. Please contact gradassoc@ed.ac.uk for more information.

Images:

Page 218: Thomas Jenkins studying by candlelight, © The Johnnie Armstrong Gallery.

SUISS Contributions to the *Journal*

The Scottish Universities' International Summer School (SUISS) has endured a challenging two years, like so many organisations have. However, it has also proved to be a time of great reflection and improvement. The summer school, in addition to its residential courses, is now able to offer a host of online options that, going forward, will cater to people unable to make the journey to Edinburgh. In doing so, the summer school honours and achieves a greater level of inclusivity—David Daiches' guiding principle for establishing the summer school in 1947. This year will, of course, see a return to a more normal SUISS experience for our students, and we are looking forward to embracing this wholeheartedly—authors have been invited, festival tickets have been booked! Mariam ElGallad, a recipient of the 2021 SUISS Middle Eastern Scholarship, has written an honest and insightful poem that could easily be applied to the summer school: like 'a body that desperately needs / a little bit of light [...]', 'I spot so much hope / within [...]'. 'Hope'—something we could use in abundance. Here's hoping for a wonderful 2022 summer school and beyond.



I Spot

by Mariam ElGallad

I spot a building
I spot a bee
I spot love
next to a tree
I spot a home
that doesn't include me
I am here with all the love to give
I am here with a world to see
I say nothing but see it all
and do nothing but feel it all
I spot a house
I spot a sea
I spot kids
and I spot a me
that doesn't know where to sit
or most of the time
how to really be
I see myself the way I feel
crooked and scared
here and there
more later than now
and more anxious than steady
I see myself the way I was
lazy, tired
helpless, clueless
and never ready
I don't understand
why when I tell a story
everybody listens
and I don't know why
I don't believe it
I spot days passing
I spot old shoe boxes
where I kept so many memories
unopened
I spot prayers unanswered
and hearts broken
I spot reassurances
not granted
and a fear of asking for them
I spot a building
I spot a tree
I spot a love
that doesn't have a place for me

I spot a house
 I spot a room
 I spot a mirror
 and I spot a reflection
 that doesn't know
 how to stop the vulnerability
 from washing over and over
 I spot a body
 pleading for a kindness
 that was always granted
 and never believed
 I spot a light
 that stops at the window
 and I spot a home that's always cold
 I spot my hand
 and all the poems it wrote
 I spot myself with a lump in my throat
 too much to say
 too much to see
 too much to worry about
 and way too much me
 I remind myself
 I am lazy tired
 helpless and clueless
 but I see the world
 and still catch a glimpse of love
 no matter what's dark
 On some days
 I spot a clear blue sky
 and my favorite book
 I spot an anxious mind
 with nowhere to look
 I spot a friend's laugh in an evening
 where nothing goes right
 and a body that desperately needs
 a little bit of light
 and that is when I always count
 one
 then two
 then three
 and sometimes
 I spot so much hope
 within me

Mariam ElGallad is an English Literature graduate. She took part in SUISS when she got the online Middle Eastern scholarship for the Contemporary Text & Context Course. Mariam currently works as a junior editor in a magazine in Egypt where she gets to put her passion of writing into her everyday life.

Reviews

Donald E Meek, *A Croft in Caolas: A Tìree Holding and its People 1770–2020*. Falkirk: Leabhraichean Tìrisdeach/Tìree Books, 2021. Pp 256. Paperback. ISBN 9781527283992. £10.00.

Reviewed by Ann Matheson

Donald Meek published his Gaelic autobiography *Seòl Mo Bheatha: Turas Eadar Croit agus Eilean agus Oilthigh* on reaching his seventieth birthday in 2019. In *A Croft in Caolas*, two years later, he has turned his lens on his forebears and their lives on the land in Caolas, Tìree. In this accomplished study, he describes his own personal experiences growing up in his own family and casts his scholar's penetrating eye on the Caolas people, the values underpinning their way of life, and the historical context that shaped them. His engrossing account encapsulates an upbringing and a style of life that was replicated across the island and mainland communities of the Gàidhealtachd, and was carried to the diaspora, with the Gaelic language as its distinctive and unifying force. The book covers the period from 1770 when the Estate Censuses first record his MacDonald ancestors in Caolas, through the successive generations who worked the land and confronted hardship

with stoic endurance, to the transformation of the present day. Thanks to the careful retention of family photographs, the book is richly illustrated, giving a vivid picture of the author's family and the rhythms of their daily lives. Useful reference maps of Caolas have been added, along with a select bibliography.

Donald Meek's family background was Highland and Lowland, Tìree MacDonalDs on his mother's side and Meeks from West Lothian on his father's, with Falkirk the meeting ground. As so often in Highland history, emigration determined the future when family members went to Canada, while the author's father, Hector MacDonald Meek, remained on Tìree with his grandparents. After becoming a Baptist minister, and serving on Colonsay and Islay, he returned to Tìree in 1949, with his wife, Isabella Marion MacDonald, and his son Donald. There they spent their lives and young Donald enjoyed the boyhood on which he looks back with such fondness, and which he has described in such masterly detail.

What makes this book of interest both to the general reader and to the scholar is the author's skill in illuminating from his own personal experience a way of life that was generally the norm not only on Tìree but across the Highlands: the need to leave for employment and tertiary education; the resulting depopulation and loss of young people; and the pull of emigration. Not until the middle of the twentieth century did these barriers begin to be grappled with, and the author rightly points to the creation of the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) in 1965 as a decisive step.

The most engaging part of this book is the author's account of the personalities of his family and those in his wider community, which will be immediately familiar to the majority of people brought up in the West Highlands: the close ties between generations, elders encouraging the young and the young learning from them; the 'natural theatre' of strong personalities and the gentle teasing of personal habits and quirks; the innate mindset of working for self and for neighbours and township; the presence of strong religious faith; and the forgiving nature of the people and their contentment, despite hard toil. Only music appears to have played less of a part in the author's upbringing than was common in some parts of the West Highlands, irrespective of religion.

Drawing on his surviving war diary and letters, there is a moving chapter about the author's relative John MacDonald, who returned from Canada and signed up as a volunteer with the 8th Battalion of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders at the start of the First World War, only to be killed at the Battle of Arras in 1917, while saving the life of a senior officer. The author contrasts the early twentieth century when young men were brought up with a sense of strong allegiance to 'King and Country' with his own views of war, which were formed in the 1960s and the Vietnam War, to him 'the nadir of humanity, or rather inhumanity'.

The latter section of the book deals with the family's valiant efforts to maintain the historical link with Caolas. Today, the author's daughter lives in the family home

at Caolas, working the land, as in generations past, but she is a digital consultant and runs her own business. This too can be seen as a mirror of the wider experience of the Highlands, where greater self-confidence since the middle of the twentieth century and the harnessing of natural talents, inward migration and modern technologies have made this an increasingly attractive and sought-after part of Scotland.

This study of the township of Caolas is ultimately an optimistic book. The author does not flinch from the tribulations of the past, but he addresses them with a clear eye: while leaving their homeland was a deep and continuing wrench, emigration brought people greater freedoms (especially in regard to land). Donald Meek is proud of his upbringing and his Gaelic heritage, or as Douglas Stuart has recently put it, writing about an urban environment, ‘a sense of belonging in the place we grow up’. In examining his own family’s history and their lives in Caolas and Canada in this carefully researched book, he has shown the way for others to follow.

Graeme D Eddie, *Swedish Foreign Policy, 1809–2019: A Comprehensive Modern History* (New York: Peter Lang 2020). Pp 424. Hardback. ISBN 9781433174827. €102.51.

Reviewed by Per G L Ahlander

‘Sweden is a neutral country’ has been the official Swedish mantra ever since 1818, when king Karl XIV Johan (‘Jean-Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, Marshal of France, and Prince of Pontecorvo, the son of a prosecutor from Pau on the northern edge of the Pyrenees’ (18)) ascended to the throne. Ruling over both Sweden and Norway (Union of Crowns between the two countries from 1814 until 1905) at the time, he ‘declared that the policy and interests of Sweden-Norway would always lead the two Scandinavian peoples – geographically separated as they were from the rest of Europe – to refrain from involving themselves in any dispute which did not directly concern them’ (2). In previous years, Sweden had nurtured expansionist ambitions and the long seventeenth century saw Sweden establishing itself as an important player on the European stage during *Stormaktstiden* (the Era of Great Power). From the catastrophic losses to Russia at Poltava in Ukraine in 1709, however, the decline began, and by 1809, when Sweden had to surrender Finland (the eastern half of the kingdom) to the Russians, the moment of glory was over—the *Mare nostrum Balticum* (Our Baltic Sea) now belonged to history. ‘Sweden would never fight enemy forces on its own territory again after 1809, never tried to regain Finland, and after a brief war against Norway in 1814 never again declared war against another country’ (371).

From Sweden’s self-imposed political neutrality at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Graeme D Eddie travels through time at a record speed to

the era of the Cold War, with very limited analyses of either the Great War, when Sweden was at the brink of revolution, or the wheeling and dealing that went on during World War II, when both politicians and leading industrialists made the most of the country's by then rather thinly worn veil of neutrality.

Thereafter, however, from the Cold War period and onwards, Eddie's detailed account of what happened in Sweden regarding both defence and foreign policies is meticulously researched and explained, occasionally at the cost of clarity and overview. 'Having become a natural border area between the military blocs through the policy instrument of peacetime non-alliance' (63), Sweden's focus at the start of the post-war era was its neutrality status, backed up by a strong defence, but over the years, the amount of money spent on the military forces began to be disputed, and from 1972 onwards, there would be constant cuts in the defence budgets. Sweden's self-image as an international role model was also beginning to disintegrate and '[b]y the beginning of 1990, [...] foreign admiration for Swedish model had become severely dented' (121). After 1990 though, with the break-up of the Warsaw Pact and the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was 'huge optimism, offering the prospect of eternal peace, and over succeeding decades Sweden [...] focussed much less effort on its national defence' (321). Although neutrality was still the official policy, Sweden became increasingly orientated towards European cooperation, joining the EU on 1 January 1995. In 2000, when Øresundsbron—the first fixed link between Sweden and Denmark—opened, Sweden was no longer the island nation it used to be, who, like the UK, would gaze across the waters and make out Europe through the sea mist, somewhere over there on the other side. Politically as well as militarily, Sweden was by then clearly siding with the West and would, over the years, cooperate with a multitude of defence organisations, including NATO, frequently taking part in both international peacekeeping operations and important armed forces exercises. Nonetheless, still in 2014, incoming Prime Minister Stefan Löfven (Social Democrat) would maintain in his *Regeringsförklaring* (Statement of Government Policy) that Sweden 'should not apply for membership of NATO' (346).

Despite the predominant euphoria regarding eternal peace in the early 1990s, there were certain fears that 'Russia again [might] be resuscitated under a new regime – an authoritarian regime willing to exploit Russian and Slavic nationalism and the revival of interest in the Orthodox religion' (183). '[I]n 1991 the thirty-nine-year-old Vladimir Putin had just resigned from the KGB, and become head of the Committee for External Relations at the Mayor's office in St. Petersburg [...] What signs were already there of an autocrat in the making?' (183–4), Eddie asks rhetorically. Now, when penning this review at the end of March 2022, we sadly know the answer to that question. Recent weeks have seen a unanimous decision by all eight parties represented in the *Riksdag* (the Swedish Parliament) to increase the spending on military defence considerably, since '*Ett väpnat angrepp mot Sverige kan inte uteslutas*' (An armed attack against Sweden cannot be ruled out).¹ Likewise, there

is a drastic shift towards a Yes to NATO among both the general public and the political parties, in Sweden as well as in Finland. Even the Swedish Social Democrats, with their longstanding resistance towards a Swedish NATO membership and their links to the peace and nuclear disarmament movements, have begun to reconsider their position, and right now it seems more a question of *when* than *if* Sweden and Finland will hand in their joint applications for NATO membership.

1. Regeringskansliet: 'Överenskommelse om det militära och civila försvaret', published 16 March 2022 <<https://www.regeringen.se/4947b3/globalassets/regeringen/dokument/forsvarsdepartementet/overenskommelse-om-forsvaret-16-mars.pdf>> [accessed 3 April 2022].

David Alston, *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. Pp xviii, 381. Paperback. Illustrated. ISBN 9781474427319. £14.99.

Reviewed by Peter B Freshwater

The fires of Scotland's welcome and overdue interest in the history of, and its links with, the legacy of slavery and the slave trade are brilliantly fanned by David Alston's *Slaves and Highlanders*. It is a compendium of hard genealogical facts of the people of colour who were brought to the Highland (and connected Lowland) estates as slaves and, later, as freed people, and the families who brought them here. These are many of the facts behind creative productions like James Robertson's novel *Joseph Knight* (2003) and Gordon Napier's award-winning short film *1745: an Untold Story of Slavery* (2017).

Alston's book is stuffed full of hard facts, seasoned by occasional and appropriate anecdotes, and is not an easy narrative read; but it is a most impressive reference book. Its focus is indeed on Highland families, their estates, and their people, of colour. Some connected Lowland families are included, such as John Wedderburn of Ballendean, master of Joseph Knight; and James Wedderburn of Inveresk, who turned away from his door his own son Robert, who was later involved in the Cato Street conspiracy, like William Davidson from Jamaica, who studied in Edinburgh and who also gets a mention. Its chapters, grouped by category and Caribbean country or region, are backed up by a full and detailed name and subject index and extensive chapter notes. The notes, however, are not easy to scan swiftly, and an itemised bibliography of source material for further reading would have been an advantage. The last section of the book, Part 4: 'Reckonings', is a helpful analytical essay.

This is an essential book for all those interested in the Black history of Scotland.

The People's City, in support of the One City Trust;
foreword by Frank Ross, introduction by Irvine Welsh.
Edinburgh: Polygon, 2022. Pp xii, 162. Paperback. ISBN
9781846976018. £7.99.

Reviewed by Peter B Freshwater

The One City Trust was established in 2003 to support charitable and constituted groups within the City of Edinburgh, by advancing, facilitating, and promoting education, social welfare and human rights, extreme income and social exclusion inequalities. *The People's City* is the second of two collections of short stories commissioned to raise funds for the work of the Trust; the first, *One City*, was published in 2005. The writers of stories in this collection, Anne Hamilton, Nadine Aisha Jassat, Alexander McCall Smith, Ian Rankin, and Sara Sheridan, are masters of their craft, and their stories are a delight to read. They are best read one at a time focusing, as they do, on different *conditions humaines* in a thought-provoking way. They conjure up memories of time and place and may be especially and evocatively appealing to Edinburgh alumni and former citizens now living away from the City. Most evocative, perhaps, to older alumni is McCall Smith's 'In Sandy Bell's', set from 1957 to 1995. Rankin's story is set in the South Side, Hamilton's in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Jassat's in Rosebank Cemetery, and Sheridan's 'On Portobello Prom'. They are all about people rather than place, and the Edinburgh places chosen are different from those in *One City*. Irvine Welsh's introduction is as hard-hitting as ever, and demands to be read first.

Everyone who lives or has lived in Edinburgh will appreciate and enjoy this collection.

Donald E Meek, *Shore Lines: Word-Pictures from an Island*.
Stornoway: Acair, 2019. Pp [10], 273. Paperback. ISBN
9781789070163. £15.00.

Reviewed by Peter B Freshwater

Donald Meek's latest collection of poems in English and Scots (mostly English) is a delight and, in its way, breath-taking as to the range of different verse styles in which he paints his word-pictures of life on the island of Tiree. Free verse; the short alliterative lines of the Anglo-Saxon poets in 'Old Mill' ('Ears to hear once again / The flap of those floats / The whirl of agile axles / On oiled gear-wheels [...]'); four-square ballads peppered with pastiche and parody (usually

acknowledged) like ‘Auld Lang Twine’ and ‘Fair Tìree’ where, unlike Yeats’ Isle of Innisfree, not all is idyllic. All are here in profusion, and conjure up images of a way of life that some of us remember from our own childhood: washing days, schooldays, and the Kirk on Sundays. It is an illustrative companion to *A Croft in Caolas*, the story of his families who occupied and still occupy the island family farm, which is reviewed on pages 223–25 of this issue of the *Journal*.

Meek brings his readers to Tìree and keeps them there, in the local community. You hear the sounds of the sea, of course, and feel the ‘Strong Winds’ on your face, but you also see the dancing husks created by ‘My Father Winnowing’; and you hear the wireless broadcast of Sydney MacEwan singing ‘Old Rugged Cross’. Many of the descriptive poems are in free verse, which enables Meek to recreate violent emotions as in ‘Storm’ (‘Yesterday I was fighting for life / Pinned hard against a rock / On my own mental shoreline [...]’), or the patter of the ‘Crossapol Auctioneer’. Ballad formats, reminiscent of Kipling and the Australian bush balladeers, do justice to the mechanical members of the community, such as ‘The Mighty Clansman’ (‘Press on, press on for Barra, / Till Maol Dòmhnach comes to view, / But throttle back a little, / Till we align a buoy or two [...]’), ‘The Lovely Old Claymore’, ‘Tilley the Tìree Turbine’, and the second love of Meek’s life, his grey Ferguson tractor, in ‘Homecoming’: (‘Just to get home to the little grey Fergie, / Just to get back to the spanners and rags: / Just to climb up to the choke and the throttle - / In dirty old tee-shirt and oily blue bags [...]’)

Like sweets in a well-filled jar, *Shore Lines* are best savoured one or two at a time; but you always want to know what is on the next page, and the next, and the next...

Giles Ramsay, *From Gods to Bad Boys: a History of Theatre in Twelve Lives*. Independently published, 2021. Pp 263. Paperback. ISBN 9798774158959. £15.00.

Reviewed by Bridget Stevens

Giles Ramsay’s theatre credentials are impressive; and not just impressive but wide-ranging. As a regular guest lecturer at Edinburgh University’s Continuing Education Summer Schools, he introduced many hundreds of adults from all over the world to the excitement, challenges, and joys of Edinburgh’s August festivals. With several professional careers running simultaneously, he was also a respected independent theatre producer, specialising in the creation of new work with artists in developing countries. His charity, Developing Artists, continues to do great work in post-conflict situations around the world. Ramsay’s output as a playwright is modest but he has directed a number of award-winning shows, including on the Edinburgh Fringe. A true theatre polymath, his experience and knowledge

are crystallised in this comprehensive history, its pages filled to overflowing with accounts of colourful theatre practitioners from Dionysus to Joe Orton. Yet, much more than just a catalogue of famous names, the book does not shy from challenging myths and asking difficult questions about morality and beliefs.

The depiction of five thousand years of theatre history within the space of 240 pages is a major undertaking which could easily have resulted in a dense and difficult read. Ramsay has avoided this danger by using context—social, political, and historical—to make his personages and events more real. Some commentators have described Ramsay’s style as ‘anecdotal’ but I prefer the word ‘accessible’. He states in a foreword that the book is ‘not intended for experts’ (it is doubtful, however, if any expert would not learn something new from the book’s eclectic contents) and that his aim is to make the process of connecting with live theatre a little easier. Another tool he employs to achieve this is the use of twenty-first century references and idioms, as well as humour, but always steering a careful path through the potential minefield of serious disapproval on the part of any readers whose opinion of theatre history and how it should be presented might differ from his; although, on reflection, I believe that Ramsay might relish some disapproval and would enjoy a debate about the content and style of his book.

Some typos and inconsistencies do not detract from the appeal of the book, which is both scholarly and quirky. Ramsay’s familiarity with, and enthusiasm for, his subject are beyond question and, in his aim to share some of this with his readers, he is undoubtedly successful.

Tales for Twilight: Two Hundred Years of Scottish Ghost Stories, edited by Alistair Kerr. (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2021). Pp xxi, 276. Hardback. ISBN 9781846975264. £10.00.

Reviewed by J R Sutherland

‘We are now in the night world, the hauntings have begun’ writes Alistair Kerr as he closes the introduction to this splendid collection of Scottish ghost stories. Kerr is quoting Sacheverell Sitwell here, and his words ring true in the ear of the reader as the first story begins. This collection is a welcome drop of icy water during a time when books, films, and television all-too-often focus on the excessively gory aspects of horror at the expense of true psychological terror.

Tales for Twilight brings together fifteen of the finest Scottish ghost stories, written both by some of the most recognisable Scottish writers, such as Sir Walter Scott and Muriel Spark, and lesser-known but equally skilled figures, including Algernon Blackwood. Spanning a period from the birth of the archetype itself to

the present day, Kerr's selection allows readers to enjoy a broad range of writing styles, from early Victorian prose to the familiarity of such modern masters as Ian Rankin.

The stories draw upon traditional Scottish folk ideas, such as the doppelgänger or visitations from the dead, to convey both a sense of wonder and dread. From classic allusions to the Devil in Hogg, to passing associations with Burke and Hare in Stevenson, *Tales for Twilight* delights in frightening the reader with variety and depth. One of the most interesting additions is James Robertson's 'One Night in the Library', which is a mere 365 words long (written as part of a personal challenge, as Kerr later explains) and yet still manages to craft an air of mystery and undefined fear, leaving the reader wondering about the nature of world in which we live.

The stories are supplemented by a sizeable introduction which gives a primer on the history of Scottish ghost stories (as distinct from their Gothic cousins) and a rationale for the pieces chosen, brief biographical notes on the authors, a résumé for Kerr himself, and some appropriate poetry to bookend everything. Published by Polygon, the hardback cover artwork is nicely designed and gives flavours of an old, haunted mansion. It is easy to overlook some minor typesetting missteps and slightly pixelated page ornaments to imagine this lovingly produced collection of bone-chilling tales equally at home by one's armchair as it is read around a campfire. An essential purchase for anyone interested not only in Scottish literature and folklore, but those looking for a well-crafted fright.

About the Reviewers

Dr Per G L Ahlander is a graduate (BSc) of the Stockholm School of Economics, BA & MA (Stockholm University), and PhD (University of Edinburgh).

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

Ann Matheson was Secretary to the General Council from 2001 to 2009 and again during 2010–2011.

Bridget Stevens was Director of International Summer Programmes for the Office of Lifelong Learning at the University of Edinburgh.

J R Sutherland is Assistant Editor of the *Journal* and works as an illustrator for Aberdeen-based DS Design Studio, and offers his editorial skills freelance.

Obituaries

The following deaths of members of the University community have been intimated to the *Journal*. Further details, in some cases, may be found in *The Scotsman*, *The BMJ*, *The Veterinary Record*, and other newspapers and journals. The annual list of deceased graduates is issued by the General Council in the Annex to the Billet at: www.general-council.ed.ac.uk/publication/annex-billet

The *University of Edinburgh Journal* cannot be held responsible for information received by other sources as we only publish data received and that, to our knowledge, is correct. If you have any supplementary information, please contact the Editor. We will do our best to publish additional information with a future issue of the *Journal*.

David Baird CBE

13 March 1935 - 12 February 2022, aged 86

Professor David Baird was born in Glasgow and attended Aberdeen Grammar School and Aberdeen University before going on to read natural sciences at Trinity College, Cambridge. He undertook his clinical studies at the University, graduating in medicine in 1959. He went on to various roles in hospitals across Edinburgh and London. In 1965, Baird was awarded a Medical Research Council (MRC) travelling fellowship which allowed

him to carry out research at the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology in the USA. He worked with Gregory Pincus, Min-Chueh Chang, and others to develop the first contraceptive pill. Baird returned to the UK in 1968 and joined the department of obstetrics and gynaecology at the University. In 1972, he was founding deputy director of the MRC Unit of Reproductive Biology. In 1977, he was appointed Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology. In 1985, the MRC and Edinburgh University offered him the role of clinical research professor and his research significantly contributed to the early development of IVF. In 1995, he launched the Contraceptive Development Network (CDN), funded by the MRC, which linked researchers in the UK, China, Nigeria, and South Africa. He retired from the University in 2000, but continued to work for the CDN. Baird published extensively, was a member of the Royal College of Physicians (London) and the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and was awarded CBE in 2000.

Alan Cameron

27 May 1960 - 18 December 2021, aged 61

Alan Cameron was born in Blairdardie, Glasgow, and educated at St Aloysius College before going on to study English and Classical Literature at the University. After graduation, he dabbled in a number of jobs, including teaching English in Greece, and, in 1987, he moved to Preston to study journalism. He joined the Newton and Golborne News as a reporter soon after. Cameron's attention for detail saw him move from reporter to sub-editor, working at papers in Chester, Yorkshire, and with the *Aberdeen Evening Express*. He then spent a short period as communications manager for Railtrack in York before returning to newspapers in 1995, when he joined the *Edinburgh Evening News* as deputy features editor and then chief sub-editor. In 2000, Cameron became sub-editor and later assistant editor of the *Yorkshire Evening Post* and later took up a post with Upstream Oslo.

Geoff James Clarke QC

3 May 1966 - 27 January 2022, aged 55

Geoff Clarke was educated at North Berwick High School and went on to study at the University. He went on to become an advocate and, in 2008, took silk and became a Queen's Counsel. In recent years, he took on the role of Chairman of Faculty Services. He enjoyed teaching and led the Diploma in Legal Practice, always quick to volunteer for training and conferences. Clarke inherited a love of martial arts from his father, practising Tae Kwon Do, Judo, and Tai Chi.

Fiona Denison

22 July 1970 - 8 January 2022, aged 51

Fiona Denison was Professor of Translational Obstetrics at the University and Honorary Consultant Obstetrician at NHS Lothian. She was appointed Chair of the NICE Medical Technologies Advisory Committee. Denison undertook award-winning research into reproductive medicine, improving the health of mothers and babies here in Scotland and abroad, particularly Uganda. She became seriously unwell after developing COVID-19

in the first wave of the global pandemic. During therapy sessions for acute stress and severe depression, she developed a talent for painting. Denison took her own life after contracting COVID for a second time.

Samuel James 'Jim' Hall OBE WS

19 May 1930 – 7 March 2022, aged 91

Jim Hall was born in Edinburgh where he attended Daniel Stewart's College (now Stewart's Melville), where he was a member of the cadet corps and played for the 2nd XV. He went on to study law at the University. After graduation, he undertook National Service with the Royal Army Service Corps in Gibraltar and Cornwall. On return to civilian life, Hall completed an apprenticeship as solicitor in an Edinburgh firm before joining Robson, McLean and Paterson, WS, where he spent the next forty years in practice. Hall retired in 1997. He was an active member of the Territorial Army for nine years, again with the RASC, rising to the rank of Captain. He was President of Stewart's Melville FP Club and a regularly supporter of the FP rugby team. Hall was an elder for forty years at Palmerston Place Church, and was a member of Probus, becoming President of the Craighleith branch in 2011–12. Hall was a long-standing member of the Bruntsfield Links Golfing Club and was awarded OBE in 1997.

Ruth Innes

8 September 1956 – 15 March 2022, aged 65

The Rev Canon Ruth Innes was raised in the Tollcross area of Edinburgh where she attended James Gillespie's School for Girls. She undertook a number of jobs in her early career, including bar work, running a graphic design studio, and working with the Rock Trust, an Edinburgh-based charity for the homeless. She began going to church at the age of 28, and went on to study divinity at the University's New College before attending the Theological Institute of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Her first post was as Deacon at St Ninian's Cathedral in Perth, where she was ordained a priest in 2001. She faithfully served her congregations at Linlithgow, Bathgate, Portobello, Falkirk, and St Fillan's in Buckstone before retiring in 2021. She was made honorary canon of St Mary's Cathedral in Edinburgh.

Andrew 'Sandy' McLaren Jenkins MBChM 1962 ChM FRSCed FRCSEng

9 April 1937 – 28 February 2022, aged 84

Sandy Jenkins was born in London and grew up in Sunningdale, Berkshire, before being evacuated to Scotland at the outbreak of war in 1939. Living first on Mull and then in Moffat, he returned to his family in Sunningdale in 1945. He was educated at Canford School, Dorset, before beginning his studies in medicine at the University in 1956. After graduation, he began postgraduate training as a surgeon in a number of Edinburgh posts. In the late 1960s, Jenkins spent three years working in surgical research regarding organ transplant and, between 1972 and 1976, he was an honorary Consultant in general surgery and kidney transplantation, finally being appointed to the Vascular Unit at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh. He flourished in this role and went on to become a well-respected

vascular surgeon. He retired from the NHS in 2002 and from clinical practice in 2007. Jenkins enjoyed salmon fishing and travelled extensively in pursuit of it. He published an autobiographical account of his experiences, *Cast of a Lifetime* (2008), and a historical novel, *The Ring and the Swastika* (2016).

Jane Margaret Claire MacGregor MA Dip

21 August 1932 – 9 January 2022, aged 89

Claire MacGregor spent the war years first in Yarrow in the Borders and then at Esdaile, the Edinburgh school for Church of Scotland ministers' daughters. She went on to graduate with an MA in general arts from St Andrews University. In 1952, MacGregor's Spanish tutor arranged a placement au pairing to General Franco's Foreign Minister and brother-in-law, Ramon Serrano Suñer. She went on to earn a Diploma in Phonetics from the University which marked the beginning of a long career as teacher of pronunciation to international students. She worked on the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, which had by then its own department at the University, collecting phonological data in the Borders and Fife. In 1970, she took up a post at Tehran University in Iran. Throughout the 1980s, MacGregor worked in Bill Currie's Edinburgh Language Foundation in Haddington and Edinburgh. In the late 1980s, she spent her final two professional years teaching at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey. After retirement, she worked for thirty years as a guide in St Giles' Cathedral, Greyfriars Kirk, St Cuthbert's and Newhailes House.

William 'Bill' Barrie McGuire PhD 1956

27 September 1928 – 25 November 2021, aged 93

Bill McGuire was educated at Boroughmuir Secondary School and spent seven years, from 1945 to 1952, taking classes at Heriot-Watt College, gaining a degree in chemistry. He worked as a lab boy in the chemistry department at Surgeons Hall Medical School from 1945 to 1947 and, at the amalgamation of the school with the University's School of Medicine, he was appointed as a lab technician. In 1953, he secured the post of assistant lecturer in biochemistry with research towards his doctorate, which he earned in 1956. In 1957, he became a researcher with Scottish Agricultural Industries (SAI) in Leith and, in 1960, was made production manager at the SAI animal feed factory in Glasgow. In 1963, he became SAI's production and distribution manager in Dumfries and, three years later, he transferred to the head office, Edinburgh, as the distribution manager. After redundancy in 1969, he took up the position of area director for Oxfam. He travelled extensively to India, East Africa, and South America to visit the charity's development projects.

Stephen Robb-Russell O'Rourke

17 May 1976 – 8 December 2021, aged 45

Stephen O'Rourke was born in Gourrock and went to St John's Primary School in Port Glasgow and St Aloysius' College. He went on to read law at the University, graduating with First Class Honours. After earning his Diploma in Legal Practice at Edinburgh, he trained first as a solicitor with Dundas and Wilson before going to the Bar where he

devilled for James Wolffe and Robert Milligan. He was appointed an advocate-depute in 2010 and prosecuted a number of murder trials. O'Rourke was appointed a standing junior to the UK Government in 2013 where he acted mainly for the Home Office in immigration appeals, and occasionally for HMRC. He qualified as a chartered mediator in New York, became a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Arbitrators, and was appointed a legal member of the Parole Board for Scotland in 2017. He also took silk in the same year. Called to the English Bar in 2018, he joined Field Court Chambers. His fellow counsel in Scotland elected him Keeper of the Advocates Library in 2021. His final appointment was as Principal Crown Counsel. He published a novel, *The Crown Agent* (2019), wrote a regular column, principally in *The Scotsman*, and edited a glossary of Scots legal terms.

Morley Hodkin Sewell MA VetMB PhD

1 September 1932 – 24 February 2022, aged 89

Professor Morley Sewell was born in Sheffield and educated at the King Edward VII School where he excelled in athletics. Sewell taught himself Latin to gain entry to Cambridge University to study veterinary medicine, from which he graduated in 1957. In 1959, while studying for his PhD, Sewell responded to a call for veterinary parasitologists to work in Africa. He secured a Colonial Office scholarship and left for Nigeria with his family, completing two tours with the Federal Veterinary Department in Vom between 1960 and 1963. He gained his PhD in 1961. After seeing an advert in *The Veterinary Record*, Sewell took up a position at the new Tropical Unit at the Royal (Dick) School of Veterinary Studies at Edinburgh. The Centre for Tropical Veterinary Medicine (CTVM) was opened in 1970 and soon developed a reputation for excellence. In 1989, Sewell became Director of the CTVM, then Associate Dean, and later Dean, of the Royal (Dick) School. He was promoted to a Personal Chair in Tropical Veterinary Medicine in 1992 and, in 1994, he became Dean of the Faculty of Veterinary Science. During his term of office, he secured approval for the construction of the Hospital for Small Animals, which opened in 1999. Sewell retired in 1997.

Owen Swindale

26 January 1927 – 5 June 2021, aged 94

Owen Swindale was born in the East End of London. During the first year of World War II, he lost both of his parents and was subsequently raised by an aunt. He developed an affinity for music and studied the piano throughout the Blitz at the Guildhall and earned a living working in Broadwood's piano factory. After beginning his studies at the University, Swindale opened a café with his brother-in-law, The Conspirators, which was open until midnight. He conducted the student orchestra and also worked as a music critic for *The Scotsman* from 1954 to 1961. After graduation, Swindale was recruited by Henry Havergal to teach at the Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama in Glasgow, and taught there from 1956 to 1970. During this time, he wrote his seminal textbook *Polyphonic Composition*, which was published by OUP and remained in print for decades. Becoming disillusioned with academia, Swindale and his family moved to Malvern, Worcestershire, where he started making and selling jewellery. In 1980, he moved to Arran with his family and continued to make jewellery. While there, he slowly began composing again.

William Alastair Paterson Weatherston CB MA (1957)

20 November 1935 – 8 February 2022, aged 86

Alastair Weatherston is remembered by many alumni as the Secretary to the General Council of the University who brought a senior civil servant's experience and wisdom to the organisation of Council in a changing world at the beginning of the new Millennium. Born in Peebles in 1935, like many of his family he attended Peebles High School before matriculating at Edinburgh University in 1953, graduating in 1957 with an MA in history. He did his two years' military service in the army before joining the staff of the Scottish Office, where he made his civil service career. He served successively in the Scottish Courts Administration and the Fisheries Department, and for a time joined the Cabinet Office staff in Whitehall. His last post was as Permanent Under-Secretary in the Department of Education, retiring from the service in 1995. For his service he was made a Companion of the Order of the Bath (CB) in 1983. For a few years he was an Administrator at the University of Strathclyde and retained his interest in education policy and management, continuing assiduously to read Government white papers and consultative documents in his retirement. Public duty remained an important part of his life. He served a term of duty as Secretary to the General Council of the University of Edinburgh from 1997 to 2001, but ill health prevented him from seeking a second term. An enthusiastic rugby player, he was delighted to be able to live in Coltbridge, Murrayfield very close to the Scottish national rugby stadium. He was also a devoted Elder of Murrayfield Parish Church.

Ian Wotherspoon MA 1969 MBA PhD 2002

19 May 1948 – 22 December 2021, aged 73

Ian Wotherspoon was born and brought up in Glasgow and became the first member of his family to go to university. He came to Edinburgh, from which he graduated in 1969. With his new degree and his newly wedded wife Margaret, whom he had met at university, he joined the staff of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and was posted to the British Solomon Islands as an Administrative Officer with the Western Pacific High Commission; here he was appointed as a district officer in Auki, the capital of Malaita Province. In many ways, this would remain his favourite posting. He remained in the FCO overseas service for the whole of his thirty-year career, serving in the Gilbert & Ellis Islands before being appointed as an Administrative Officer with the Hong Kong Government, where he remained until he retired in 1997, wishing not to stay on after the handover of sovereignty to the People's Republic of China. He and Margaret returned to Scotland and settled in Edinburgh where he found new outlets for his very caring nature in teaching a variety of history courses in the University's Lifelong Learning programme. One of these was on the history of the University itself, which he taught with two Graduates' Association colleagues for three years. He served on the Executive Committee of the Association and on the Editorial Committee of the *University of Edinburgh Journal*, to which he contributed several articles based on his years in the FCO, pursuing his historical research interest in Scots in the Empire and the Commonwealth, and especially in China, on which he also published three books. His last article in the *Journal*, based on a talk that he gave to the New Club in 2017, appears in two parts, with the first in this issue; the second will appear in the next.



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