Scots in the North American West

by Ferenc Morton Szasz

Historians' recent flurry of interest in western ethnic history has strangely excluded one group: the Scots. In the words of Charlotte Erickson, they have become "invisible immigrants."[1] Part of this neglect may be due to numbers, for Scottish immigration was never overwhelming. According to Roland T. Berthoff, about five thousand Scots (on average) arrived yearly in the United States from 1820 to 1950. During the peak period—1881–1900—only 184,057 Scottish immigrants entered the country.[2]

But statistics alone may be misleading because the Scots played a role in western history that far exceeded their numbers. This was especially true during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During that period, many Scottish immi-

grants achieved prominence in the West—in mining, cattle and sheep ranching, gardening, and professional golf, while simultaneously creating a distinct Scottish-American identity.

As soon as they stepped off the boat, Scots discovered that they possessed several advantages. Not only did they command English (Gaelic speakers from the Highlands usually immigrated to Canada), the traditional Scottish ideals of individual achievement, economic advance, resistance to privilege, and abhorrence of caste happened to coincide with mainstream American goals as well. Scots' values of self-restraint, hard work, and education were also the ideals toward which many reformers sought to push the United States.[3] Thus, Scots met virtually no antagonism in Victorian America. Even when they were called "Jock," "Sandy," or "Mac," the term carried no negative connotations, as "Deutscher," "Paddy," or "Mick" often did. The Scots' "faults"—their alleged dour nature, lack of a sense of the beautiful, thriftiness bordering on parsimony, supreme self-confidence, and a tendency toward overindulgence—were usually treated with tolerance.

Often these "failings" were resolved via humor. Consider the number of jokes about Scots that burlesqued their stinginess. Which was the least disturbed mouse in Scotland? The one living in the offertory box of the Aberdeen cathedral. How do you take a census in Glasgow? Throw a penny in the street. From this it was but a short jump to an American version: How did the Grand Canyon come about? A Scot lost a dime (and dug until he found it).

Tucson Celtic Festival and Scottish Highland Games, Tucson, Arizona

Scots have long been an invisible ethnic group in western history, but a renewed interest in Scottish culture has led to a revival of Scottish traditions, including bagpiping and traditional games like throwing the Scottish hammer, events photographed in the mid-1990s at the Tucson Celtic Festival and Scottish Highland Games held annually in Tuscon, Arizona.

Evelyn Cameron, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena

Scottish emigrants like Ewen Cameron, who came to Terry, Montana, in 1889 from his family's estate on the west coast of Scotland, brought their social traditions with them. In the above photograph Cameron poses (right, circa 1897) with his Irish wolfhounds and horse rancher J. H. Price. "Riding the hounds" was a popular activity among members of the British colony in eastern Montana.

Because of this lack of prejudice, immigrants to early America created few purely Scottish towns like those established in Ontario, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, or on Prince Edward Island. Although American Scots never established ethnic towns as did the Canadian, they did participate in various "British colonies" that arose during the mid-nineteenth century. During this era, at least six British colonies, ranging in philosophical orientation from atheist to Owenite to utopian, sprang up in Illinois, Kansas, and Iowa, and all contained a few Scots. These colonies soon boasted yacht clubs, fox hunts, formal dinners, and elaborate banquets.

The British colony that included the largest number of Scots was Victoria, located southeast of Hays City, Ellis County, in western Kansas. Victoria was founded by George Grant, a Scottish crofter's son who had made his fortune in the cloth business. Enticed by American railroad advertisements, Grant toured North America seeking a site for a colony and a country estate. Rejecting Canada because of its climate, he fell in love with the grasslands of western Kansas. In 1871 and 1872 he purchased more than thirty-one thousand acres of railroad land at the bargain price of eighty-eight cents an acre. Some credited him with being the largest landowner in the nation.[4]

1. Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972). This essay is derived from Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Scots in the North American West, 1790–1917* (Norman, 2000).

2. Roland Tappan Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 5-7.

3. Laurence J. Saunders, *Scottish Democracy, 1815–1849: The Social and Intellectual Background* (Edinburgh, 1950), 1-3; Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States, 1820–1920* (Aberdeen, U.K., 1984), 186.

4. Blanche M. Taylor, "The English Colonies in Kansas, 1870–1895," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 41 (March 1972), 24.

5. William T. Chapman, "The Wakefield Colony," in *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*, 17 vols. (Topeka, Kans., 1875–1930), 10:501-2.

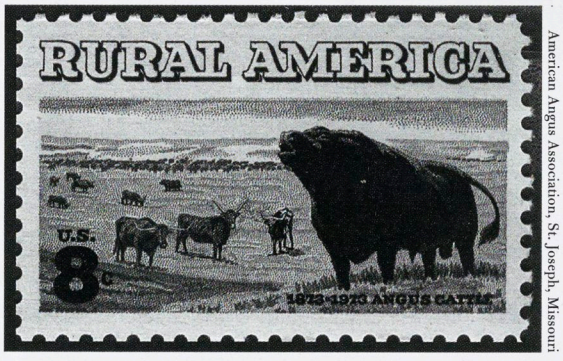
6. James L. Forsythe, "George Grant of Victoria: Man and Myth," *Kansas History*, 9 (Autumn 1986), 102-14.

7. New York *Scottish American*, May 4, 1867.

Grant was both potential land baron and potential philanthropist. Part of his Victoria scheme was to invite poor Scottish small farmers known as crofters to his colony, and he launched a considerable publicity campaign to that end. The promotional literature spoke of "the champagne air" of western Kansas. "The climate is salubrious," one pamphlet said. "The winters are quite as mild as in Morayshire, snow seldom lying on the ground for more than a few hours."[5] Although a number of Scots, both aristocrats and artisans, responded, mounting criticism—especially from the Scottish agricultural press—kept overwhelming numbers from immigrating.

Unfortunately, Grant died prematurely in 1878, well before his dream had been given a fair chance. This loss of leadership, plus the drought of 1873–1874 and a subsequent grasshopper invasion, sealed the colony's fate. A few "English lords of Victoria Manor" remained, and a stone Episcopal church that Grant had erected continued to hold services until 1913, but the colony never recovered. A band of Russian German farmers who arrived in 1876 proved far better suited to the region and eventually absorbed the remnants of Victoria.

But Grant's Victoria colony did post one success—the introduction of the hardy Aberdeen Angus cattle to the state. The Aberdeen Angus Society officially credits Grant with this accomplishment and in 1943 erected a stone pyramid over his grave in the little Episcopal churchyard. Ironically, Grant's Aberdeen Angus cattle thrived in western Kansas, but his Scottish settlers all eventually moved elsewhere.[6]



American Angus Association, St. Joseph, Missouri

Scottish businessman George Grant founded the colony of Victoria in western Kansas in 1871, in part as a philanthropic effort to provide opportunity for poor Scottish farmers. The failed colony resulted in the introduction of the most widely recognized of all Scottish cattle breeds—Aberdeen Angus—to the United States. A 1973 postage stamp picturing Aberdeen Angus on rangeland near Victoria (above) commemorates the hundreth anniversary of Grant's contribution to the American cattle industry.

The saga of Victoria was writ small in other regions of the Great Plains. Various visionaries continued to promote similar colonies for years. Immediately after the Civil War, a Scottish laird devised a scheme to send Highland crofters to the South to replace the former slaves as agricultural workers, but that plan failed to materialize. In 1867, however, a Houston firm actually imported eighteen Highlanders to serve as plowmen for ex-Confederate farmers in Texas.[7] So many Scots arrived in the region of Miles City, Montana, that the First Presbyterian Church was virtually a Scottish club for years. Scottish ranchers introduced polo games to the area, and rumor persists that once they even staged a steeplechase. One North Dakota émigré actually "rode the hounds" with wolves rather than foxes as his quarry.

In addition to ranchers and farmers, the West also attracted a number of skilled Scottish craftsmen. Generally, these craftsmen did well in America. Historian R. H. Campbell attributes this to the fact that the least skilled Scots migrated chiefly to Australia, whereas the better skilled ended up in the States.[8] While the major demand for skilled craftsmen lay in the factories east of the Mississippi (especially after the Civil War), pre–gold rush California saw a number of skilled Scots working as loggers, carpenters, and (especially) as trappers.[9]

The discovery of precious metals that began at Sutter's Mill and spread to Colorado and Nevada enticed hundreds of Scots into American mining ventures. One of the most colorful was Eilley Orrum, a Scottish Mormon convert who rejected polygamy and moved on to Nevada. There she allegedly used a crystal ball to locate silver and became known as the "Queen of the Comstock lode."[10] A 1912 survey of the Rock Springs, Wyoming, Union Pacific Mines revealed that 3 percent of the work force (eighty-five men) hailed from Scotland. Glasgow-born John Calderwood emerged as the most prominent labor leader during the 1894 Cripple Creek, Colorado, miners' strike. His lengthy essay "The Strike of 1894" is still the chief historical source for this labor dispute. Fellow Glaswegian John Stewart MacArthur probably had more impact on American mining history than any other immigrant. A chemist, MacArthur discovered the cyanide process, a means of extracting gold from discarded mine tailings, and he brought the science to Colorado's Crestone Mine, in Saguache County, in

8. R. H. Campbell, "Scotland," in *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750–1914*, ed. R. A. Cage (London, 1985), 15.

9. James Paul Allen and Eugene James Turner, *We the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity* (New York, 1988), 39-47.

10. F. S. Buchanan, letter to author, May 1999.

Nevada Historical Society, Reno

A Scottish Mormon convert who rejected polygamy, Eilley Orrum (left) became known as "Queen of the Comstock lode" in Nevada, where she allegedly used a crystal ball to locate silver deposits. She was one of the more colorful Scots enticed by American mineral rushes.

1889. Although it took time to catch on, MacArthur's cyanide process, which is still in use today, literally doubled the world's annual production of gold.[11]

In the West, cattle and sheep ranching soon forged the strongest economic link between Scotland and the United States. During the middle years of the nineteenth century, the Scottish bourgeoisie had reaped the rewards of capitalism: the narrow belt between Glasgow and Edinburgh, rivaling the English Midlands, became one of the most industrialized areas of the globe. By midcentury, Edinburgh had emerged as one of the major banking centers of the western world. Consequently, by the 1870s the Scottish middle class had amassed a significant amount of surplus capital. "In the course of the first half of the present century," W. R. Lawson noted in *Blackwood's* in 1884, "Scotland was changed from one of the poorest to one of the most prosperous countries in Europe."[12]

Moreover, Scottish farmers had accumulated centuries of familiarity with selective breeding practices that in each region had produced a distinctive type of cattle. One of the varieties, Highland cattle, or kyloes, probably carried characteristics from Neolithic days. Rugged, agile, and alert, the cattle had heavy, shaggy coats that allowed them to withstand the rain, winds, and cold of the north. (They are still preferred by some Scottish farmers, and they graze the contemporary northern Great Plains as well.) Breeder William McCrombie of the Tillyfourie region, Aberdeenshire, helped produce the Aberdeen Angus, perhaps the most widely recognized of all the Scottish breeds.[13] Thus, in contrast to Americans' "haphazard" husbandry, the Scots felt that they had developed cattle raising into a "science." All this prepared them to feel comfortable with investment in American cattle ranches.[14]

When American cattle entrepreneurs began shipping dressed, refrigerated beef to Britain in the mid-1870s, a number of Scottish stockgrowers became alarmed. In 1877 the Edinburgh *Scotsman* sent agriculture writer James Macdonald to the States to investigate the livestock situation in the West. In a series of articles later published as a book, Macdonald carefully assessed the American cattle industry. While he scorned the quality of contemporary American beef, he predicted a great future for American stock raising, depicting the trans-Mississippi West as a land where one could perhaps reap profits as high as 25 percent on an annual basis.[15]

Within a few years, Scottish capital began to flow steadily toward various ranch investments. Perhaps no area received as much Scottish capital as Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas. The first large-scale British joint-stock venture in Texas cattle ranching came with the Prairie Cattle Company, Limited, founded in Edinburgh in 1880. In 1882 it reported a dividend of 19.5 percent, and the next year it paid shareholders almost 28 percent. These high profits set off the infamous "Scottish-American cattle craze."

11. Robert M. Horne, "James Fergus in the Colorado Gold Fields," *Colorado Magazine*, 50 (Winter 1973), 41-56; *History of the Union Pacific Coal Mines, 1868–1940* (Omaha, Nebr., 1940), 164; Robert L. Spude, "Cyanide and the Flood of Gold," in *Essays and Monographs in Colorado History*, 12 vols. (Denver, 1984–1991), 12:1-35.

12. W. R. Lawson, "Scottish Capital Abroad," *Blackwood's*, 136 (October 1884), 468.

13. W. H. Marwick, *Scotland in Modern Times: An Outline of Economic and Social Development since the Union of 1707* (London, 1964), 71; Edith H. Whetham, *Beef, Cattle, and Sheep, 1910–1940*, University of Cambridge Report of Land Economy, Occasional Paper H. 5 (Cambridge, U.K., 1976), 4; Robert Trow-Smith, *A History of British Livestock Husbandry, 1700–1900* (London, 1959), 112, 250.

It was not long before promoters "with ranches in their pockets" began to flood the east of Scotland, especially the Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen regions. Corporations such as the Texas Land and Cattle Company, Limited; Wyoming's Swan Land and Cattle Company; and the most famous, the Texas-based Matador Land and Cattle Company, Limited, began seriously advertising their wares. Many a conservative Scottish businessman plunged into ranching in the American West. Investors in Aberdeenshire were confident that their knowledge of animal husbandry would serve them well on America's Great Plains.

A number of Scots crossed the Atlantic to manage these western cattle operations. For instance, Archie Marjoribanks supervised the family investments in the Texas Panhandle, whereas Thomas Simpson Carson, head of the Scottish Loan Company, managed ranches in New Mexico and Arizona.[16] Coutts Marjoribanks, Archie's brother, ran a ranch in McHenry County, North Dakota.[17] Colin Cameron managed ranches in southeastern Arizona, and John Clay oversaw the powerful Swan Land and Cattle Company in Wyoming. Clay later became one of the most respected stockmen in the entire West.

After the open-range era ended and fences became common, virtually all of these Scottish-American cattle managers placed a priority on improving bloodlines. One 1875 visitor to a prosperous Scots-run ranch near Portland, Oregon, observed that "pure blood is the rule at Reedville, and it is applied to all animals kept there—to Leicester, Cotswold, and Southdown sheep; and extends to pigs and poultry; possibly (for I did not inquire) to rats and mice."[18]

Adapted from a map by Carol Cooperrider

From a base in Trinidad, Colorado, Murdo Mackenzie oversaw operations of the famed Matador Land and Cattle Company, Limited, "the mother of British cattle companies in the United States," and later became head of the American National Livestock Association. One observer who saw Mackenzie in action at the Denver Stockyards marveled at his "Caledonian eye for an animal" and his "native shrewdness." In spite of all his years in America, Mackenzie would have looked perfectly in place in a Scottish cattle byre. Theodore Roosevelt became a

14. James Macdonald, *Food from the Far West* (New York, 1878), 279.

15. Ibid., vii, xiv, 47; Edward Everett Dale, *Frontier Ways: Sketches of Life in the Old West* (1959; reprint, Austin, Tex., 1989), 14-16.

16. Thomas Simpson Carson, *Ranching, Sport, and Travel* (London, 1917), 83, 120. See also Lowell H. Harrison, "Thomas Simpson Carson, New Mexico Rancher," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 42 (April 1967), 127-43.

17. Larry A. McFarlane, "British Remittance Men as Ranchers: The Case of Coutts Marjoribanks and Edmund Thursby, 1884-95," *Great Plains Quarterly*, 11 (Winter 1991), 56-58. The classic overall study is W. Turrentine Jackson, *The Enterprising Scot: Investors in the American West after 1873* (Edinburgh, 1968).

18. Peter Fleming, "Notes of a Tour in Oregon," *Blairgowie Advertiser and Strathmore and Stormont News*, March 13, 1875, copy available at Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, Scotland.

19. Gene M. Gressley, *Bankers and Cattlemen* (Lincoln, 1966), 134.

American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie

Scottish entrepreneurs, attracted by early high returns, rushed to invest in cattle ranches in the 1880s, only to discover that cattle raising in the American West was a risky business. One of the more successful enterprises was the Swan Land and Cattle Company. The architecture of its American headquarters in Chugwater, Wyoming (left), confirms the enterprise's Scottish connection.

good friend of Mackenzie's and held him in high esteem. Over the course of his long, successful career, Mackenzie traveled widely in Europe, built homes in Trinidad and Denver, sent his children to university, and lived a life not unlike that of a Scottish laird.[19]

Not all these Scottish enterprises succeeded, however. The Marjoribanks brothers went broke. But perhaps it is no coincidence that the cattle ranches that Carson, Clay, and Mackenzie managed were among the few to remain profitable in what turned out to be a very risky profession. The remains of the old Swan headquarters in Chugwater, Wyoming, still bear the distinct Scottish architectural motifs that marked the heyday of their operation; the Matador Land and Cattle Company operated until 1951.[20]

Second to cattle, Scots most affected western agricultural life in the realm of sheep. Sheep ranching had also long been a part of Scottish history. As historian Judith Keys Kenny once observed, by mid-Victorian times sheepherding had evolved into a genuine art form. There were no books from which one could learn sheepherding. Nor were cattle ranching skills transferable to sheepherding, for a person could not tend sheep from the back of a horse.[21] Consequently, Scots' sheepherding skills were several levels above those of American ranchers. Few American farmers possessed the necessary skills or the motivation to become shepherds. Thus, the Scots had a real advantage.

The Scots' concentration on sheep raising was fostered by social and economic pressures resulting from the onset of enclosures and forced emigration from the Highlands. From the 1760s onward, sheep raising began to fill the abandoned farms of the Highlands; within a few years, it encompassed perhaps one-third of the Scottish countryside.[22] The process proved slow but relentless. By 1803 the whole of Glengarry had been turned over to sheep raising. Within a few years, sheep had entered the valley of Glencoe. Although caring for their "four footed clansmen" proved an integral part of Scottish agrarian life, sheep raising, however, never dominated the economy as had the raising of cattle. As late as the mid-eighteenth century, English visitors described Scottish sheep as "dog-like" in appearance with finely textured but thin wool on small wiry frames.[23]

The Scottish sheep industry peaked in about 1870. From that time to the early twentieth century, stability, or even gradual decline, set in. But the decline of Scottish herding meant that a large number of Scottish sheep men were available to transfer to the American West. The sheep industry in the western United States

20. Harmon Ross Mothershead, *The Swan Land and Cattle Company, Ltd.* (Norman, 1971), viii; W. M. Pearce, *The Matador Land and Cattle Company* (Norman, 1964), 220-26.

21. Judith Keyes Kenny, "Early Sheep Ranching in Eastern Oregon," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, 64 (June 1963), 105, 109-10.

22. Malcolm Gray, *The Highland Economy, 1750–1850* (Edinburgh, 1957), 87.

23. A. R. B. Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland* (1952; reprint, Edinburgh, 1968), 189.

24. Edward Norris Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails* (Ames, Iowa, 1948), 613. Information on Burnett, later eleventh baronet and twenty-third laird of Crathes Castle, is from an exhibition at Crathes Castle, Aberdeenshire, July 2000.

25. Wentworth, *America's Sheep Trails*, 322-50.

26. Alexander Campbell McGregor, *Counting Sheep: From Open Range to Agribusiness on the Columbia Plateau* (Seattle, 1982), 1-5.

proved extraordinarily multinational, involving Navajo, Mexican, Hispanic, Norwegian, German, Canadian, and Irish herders, just to name a few. In every region of the West, however, Scottish sheep men became prominent. Brigham Young, for example, always chose Scots to manage the Mormon communal herds.

Several Scottish émigrés established genuine sheep empires, and in some regions, such as Wyoming and Idaho, Scots virtually ruled the enterprise. By the 1860s Robert Burnett, who later inherited the title to Crathes Castle in Aberdeenshire, oversaw one of the largest sheep herds in southern California on his twenty-five-thousand-acre ranch. (The land, which he later sold for a tidy profit, now comprises much of downtown Los Angeles.) In 1880 Patrick Healy, who was born in County Kerry, Ireland, joined with Scotsman Alan Patterson to run sheep in the Buffalo, Wyoming, region; by 1897 they owned one hundred thousand animals. They, too, ranked among the largest sheep men in the West. Interestingly, Healy and Patterson never kept any type of financial records, dividing the flock as evenly as possible and then playing cards to determine who received which bunch.[24]

Their contemporary, Robert Taylor, a native of Hartwick, Scotland, also owned a flock of one hundred thousand sheep in Wyoming and Nebraska. Most of the Scottish sheep men in central Wyoming began herding with Taylor, either as a partner or on a share basis, for the natural fecundity of sheep allowed owners to pay shepherds and other workers in stock rather than in cash. A savvy rancher and an educated man—he had once worked as a foreign correspondent for a Scottish newspaper—Taylor concentrated on crossbreeding his flocks to produce a fine-fleeced, hardy lamb that could withstand Wyoming range life. A frequent fair goer in both Britain and America, Taylor greatly improved Wyoming's wool and mutton production.[25]

Perhaps the most famous sheep operation of the region was begun by the three McGregor brothers, Archie, Peter, and John, whose parents had moved from the Isle of Mull to eastern Canada in the 1850s, and who, along with approximately one million other Canadians, crossed to the United States between 1881 and 1891. The brothers began raising sheep on Washington's open range in 1882 and continued for a decade. Astute businessmen, they established credit by being hardworking and fair in their dealings. They also realized that the end of Washington's open range demanded major adjustments in the industry. Their company, the McGregor Corporation, still exists.[26]

Scottish immigrants played a prominent role in the western sheep industry, and perhaps none more than Andrew Little, whose sheep ranch in Idaho is shown below in 1906 with the spring lambs.

Idaho State Historical Society, Boise

San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, California

A highly developed art in Scotland, gardening was a trade in which Scots shone. In 1887 Bannockburn immigrant John McLaren (shown left in Golden Gate Park in 1927) became superintendent of parks for San Francisco, where he transformed scrub and sand dunes into a botanical wonder.

If the McGregor Corporation proved the most successful of Scots' shepherding efforts in the Northwest, the saga of Andrew Little emerged as the most dramatic. According to legend, young Andrew Little and two sheepdogs arrived from near Moffat, Scotland, to settle in Caldwell, Idaho, in 1894. There Little began working for Robert "Scotch Bob" Aikman's sheep ranch. Aikman and fellow Scot Charlie Doane had maintained strong links with their homeland and aided several Scots in finding work in Idaho. It was not long before local legends began to develop about Andrew Little. When he arrived in 1894, the story went, Little walked twenty miles to the Aikman ranch to save carfare. On the way he sold one of his two border collies to establish a nest egg. And so forth.

Thanks to the flock started from the animals he received in lieu of wages, Little's fortunes grew with those of the fertile Boise Valley. At one time he owned 165,000 sheep, which he ran from the Boise Valley to the Salmon River area. Rumor had it that Andy Little never sold a sheep to anyone in the Boise Valley; he would sell only to those outside the region. This he did so that if he ever found an animal without a mark or brand, he knew it belonged to him. In 1918 Idaho ranked as the world's second largest sheep center, and in Little's peak production year, 1929, his flocks produced a million pounds of wool. One admirer from Scotland allegedly wrote him a letter addressed "Andy Little, USA." When he died, the press termed him the "Sheep King of Idaho, and possibly of the United States."[27] What Andrew Carnegie was to steel, Andrew Little was to western sheep ranching—the ultimate success story.

Scots shone in other endeavors as well. The craft of gardening, more highly developed in Scotland than the United States, was one example. The city of St. Louis hired a number of Scottish gardeners during the late nineteenth century. Famed poet Robert Service once kept body and soul together by gardening for a southern California bordello. The El Camino Real Park and the Golden Gate Park in San Francisco are both credits to the skill of Bannockburn immigrant John McLaren. When McLaren became superintendent of parks for San Francisco in 1887, he transformed scrub and sand dunes into a botanical wonder. Recalling his own youth, with its numerous public-garden restrictions, McLaren allowed all types of ball playing and frowned on erecting any statues. His motto: "Trees and more trees."[28] Occasionally, the gardeners took on other responsibilities as well. Yakima, Washington, apple

27. Louise Shadduck, *Andy Little: Idaho Sheep King* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1990) is the only biography of the man. Compare Louis W. Attenberry's "Celts and Other Folk in the Regional Livestock Industry," *Idaho Yesterdays*, 28 (Summer 1984), 22. See also Carole Simon-Smolinski, "Idaho's Scots Americans," in *Idaho's Ethnic Heritage: Historical Overview*, ed. Carole Simon-Smolinski and Laurie Mercier (Boise, Idaho, 1990), 50-76.

28. George Shepperson, "The Scot around the World," in *The Scottish World: History and Culture of Scotland*, ed. Harold Orel et al. (New York, 1981), 242.

29. John L. Garretson, interview by author, Yakima, Washington, spring 1992.

30. Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Macdonald Smith," *Golfiana*, 6 (February 1994), 29-33; Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Alex Smith and the Early Days of American Golf," *Golf Journal*, 47 (October 1994), 17-19; Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Golf's Aspiring Autocrat [Charles Blair Macdonald]," *Golf Journal*, 49 (May 1996), 37-41.

grower John. L. Garretson recalled that their Scottish gardener first introduced him to the poetry of Robert Burns.[29]

The game of golf also arrived with the Scottish immigrants. This uniquely Scottish import reached the East in the early 1880s but soon traveled west. As the game spread so, too, did Scottish golf instructors. By the turn of the century virtually every American golf course or country club clamored for a Scottish professional. As historian Howard N. Rabinowitz has observed, by World War I the Scottish golf pro had become as prominent a part of American life as the Irish policeman, the Chinese laundryman, or the Swedish masseur.

During the fin-de-siècle years, approximately three hundred "Men of Carnoustie" began to dominate the American professional golf world. Representatives of this "Carnoustie exodus" were the brothers Smith. Their father, John, served as greenskeeper at a number of Scottish courses, including the famed course at Carnoustie, and all five of his surviving sons became American golf professionals. The two most famous were probably Alexander and Macdonald. Alexander Smith played in the first organized professional tour in 1899 and won three California Opens prior to 1907. His classic *Lessons in Golf* (1907) reminded readers that "Golf is a science and not a bag of tricks," and he became recognized as America's most prominent golf instructor. His younger brother Macdonald achieved an equal reputation, eventually settling in California, where he worked for several clubs and in 1921 opened a popular golf school. Known for his smooth swing and dour manner, "Old Carnoustie," as he was termed, finished his career as manager of the private range of a Glendale, California, magnate, from which position he taught a number of professionals. Not until 1914 did a native-born American win the U.S. Open.[30]

Since they came from such different regions, usually settled individually, and worked in a wide variety of occupations, how did nineteenth-century American Scots create a common identity? The answer is complex. From the onset American Scots suffered an identity problem as to exactly what constituted "Scottish culture." The answer emerged partly as literature (Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns); partly as religion (some Catholics, some Episcopalians, some Freethinkers, but mostly Presbyterians); partly as costume (the kilt and other aspects of "the garb of Old Gaul"); partly as language (some Gaelic but mostly Lowland Scots); partly as special foods (haggis, oatcakes); and of course, a "wee

The Scottish game of golf—and Scottish golf professionals—captured the American imagination in the early part of the twentieth century, as seen below in an illustration from a 1910 *Century Magazine* (vol. 80, October 1910, p. 827).

L. A. Huffman, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena

Rodrick Munroe, of Dingwall, Scotland, emigrated to Terry, Montana, in 1889. He found work on the nearby LU Bar Ranch, where he was photographed making bread in 1904. Munroe was one of many Scots who found work in the cattle industry.

dram," especially significant for a culture that elevated social drinking virtually to an art form.

These themes did not, by themselves, an identity make. Consequently, one of the major aspects of nineteenth-century American Scottish culture was the creation of a new self-image. Since Scottish Americans lacked any real community through which to disseminate these ideas, they had to create one. Thus, the celebration of Saint Andrew's Day (November 30) and Robert Burns Day (January 25) took on a special set of functions in the New World.

As historian Kathleen Neils Conzen and others have noted, nineteenth-century ethnic groups in America found themselves involved in a continual process of "ethnic invention." The process went through several stages. First, the groups had to merge the various Old World regional differences—for example, the distinctions between Aberdeenshire, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Orkney, Shetland, and so forth and between Highlands and Lowlands—into a single "Scottish" identity. Regional distinctions in accent, dress, and behavior that loomed large in Scotland were completely lost on Americans.[31]

But the blending of the Scottish regions into an ethnic identity in America was only the beginning. American Scots also had to demark the chief characteristics of this new identity. The process proved ever fluid.

31. Kathleen Neils Conzen et al., "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12 (Fall 1992), 12-13. See also Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, U.K., 1983), especially Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland," 15-41.

32. Wisconsin Scot letter, Aberdeen, Scotland, *Free Press*, December 14, 1864.

33. Billings quote cited in A. G. McKnight, *America's Appreciation of Robert Burns* (Duluth, Minn., 1924), 3.

34. Herbert N. Casson, "The Sons of Old Scotland in America," *Munsey's Magazine*, 34 (February 1906), 600.

35. Peter Ross, *The Scot in America* (New York, 1896), 411.

36. Betty Hitt, interview by Jackie Day-Ames, February 24, 1977, typescript, MS 2/1193, Idaho Historical Society, Boise.

37. George De Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, eds., *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1975), 15.

38. Aberdeen, Scotland, *Free Press*, January 3, February 21, 1873.

39. Ferenc M. Szasz, "Symbolizing the Scottish-American Connection: The Statues of Robert Burns in Denver and Cheyenne," forthcoming in the *Annals of Wyoming*.

Scottish immigrants continually interacted with mainstream American culture, so the process was never complete. But, since Scots' social ideals overlapped with mainstream American norms, there was never much concern over cultural dislocation.

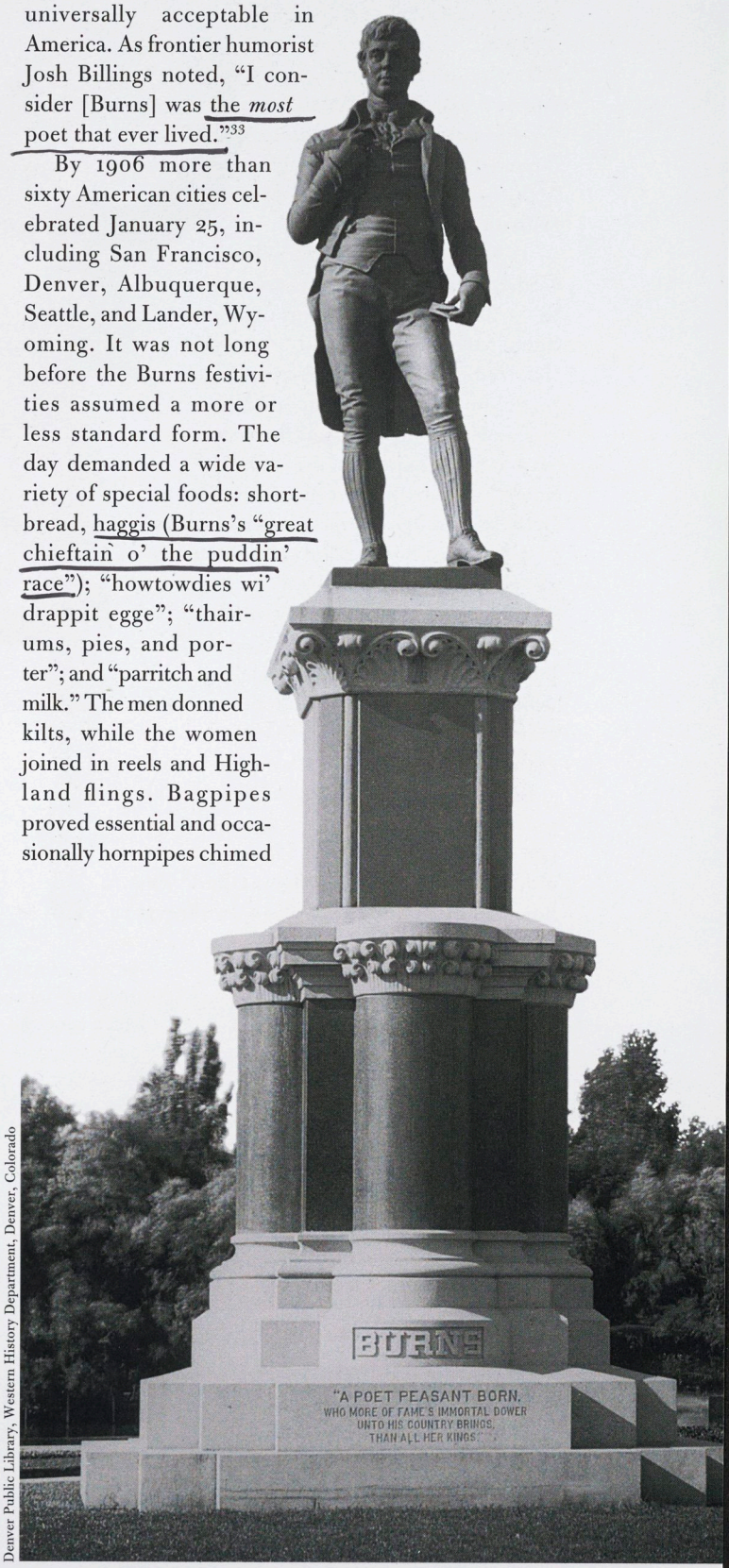
Initially, one of the chief means by which Scots forged this new Scottish-American identity came with the celebration of Saint Andrew's Day. Creating an identity through a saint's day was commonplace all through the nineteenth century. Each European group had a special day of commemoration. Hungarians celebrated Saint Stephen's Day (August 20), the Welsh, Saint David's Day (March 1), the English, Saint George's Day (April 23), and the Irish, Saint Patrick's Day (March 17).

From the days of the American Revolution to the 1860s, the celebration of Saint Andrew's Day lay at the heart of the Scottish-American calendar year. Often hosted by a local Presbyterian church, the holiday might call forth a special sermon as well as a banquet. "You do not have much to do with St. Andrew in Scotland," a Wisconsin Scot reminded his Aberdeen readers in 1864, but it was different with Scotsmen abroad. The day was necessary here, he noted, to nourish "that noble pride which every Scotchman feels in his ancestral glory and living fame."[32] The Saint Andrew's Society also did a good bit of charitable work.

After Abraham Lincoln's 1863 proclamation of the national Thanksgiving holiday in late November, Saint Andrew's Day was eventually crowded out, but it was not long before Robert Burns's birthday replaced it. Perhaps the celebration of a saint's day rang foreign to American ears; or perhaps January 25 provided a better time to stage a gala celebration. At any rate, by the last decades of the nineteenth century the celebration of Robert Burns Day had emerged as the major disseminator of Scottish culture throughout the West. Numerous reminiscences recall the childhood agony of sitting through yet another lecture on Robert Burns.

The "Burns ethos," however, harmonized especially well with the western ethos. The mock heroics of his ballads meshed nicely with western cynicism, and Burns's skepticism about organized religion (as in "Holy Willie's Prayer") made him free of sectarian bias. Almost Jacobin in outlook, his great poems celebrating democracy ("a man's a man for a' that") and denouncing hypocrisy ("O wad some Power the giftie gie us / to see ourselves as ithers see us") made Burns universally acceptable in America. As frontier humorist Josh Billings noted, "I consider [Burns] was the *most* poet that ever lived."[33]

By 1906 more than sixty American cities celebrated January 25, including San Francisco, Denver, Albuquerque, Seattle, and Lander, Wyoming. It was not long before the Burns festivities assumed a more or less standard form. The day demanded a wide variety of special foods: shortbread, haggis (Burns's "great chieftain o' the puddin' race"); "howtowdies wi' drappit egge"; "thairums, pies, and porter"; and "parritch and milk." The men donned kilts, while the women joined in reels and Highland flings. Bagpipes proved essential and occasionally hornpipes chimed



Denver Public Library, Western History Department, Denver, Colorado

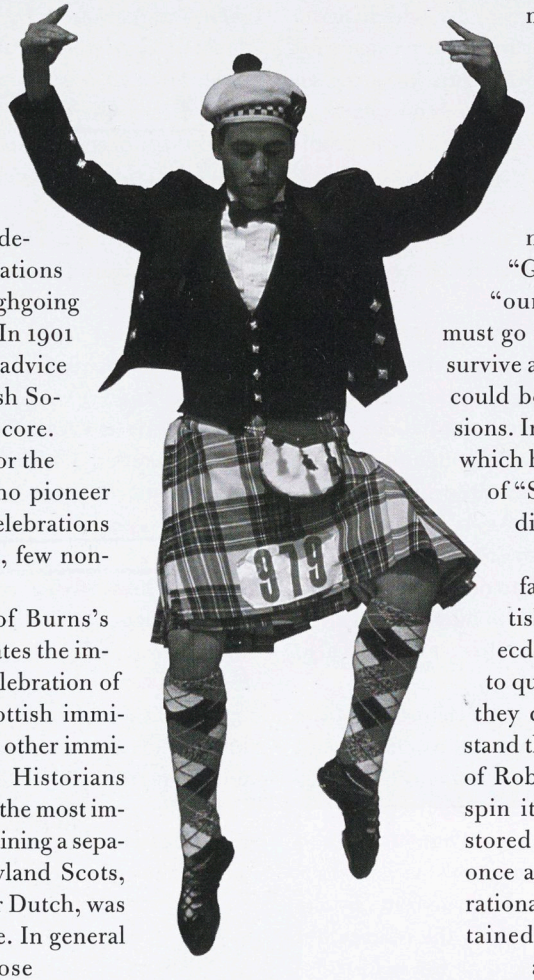
The Caledonian Club erected this statue of Robert Burns in City Park, Denver, Colorado, in 1904. Honoring their national poet Robert Burns was one way Scottish immigrants maintained their sense of national identity.

in, as singing and music dominated the affair. The songs usually included "Comin' through the Rye," "Flow Gently, Sweet Afton," "Within a Mile O' Edinburgh," and "Scots Wha Hae." The recitations of poetry almost always involved "For A' That and A' That," "Tam O'Shanter," or "The Cotter's Saturday Night." Burns's classic rendition of "Auld Lang Syne"—probably the most widely sung melody in the world—often closed the festivities.[34]

Writing in 1896, Peter Ross described the Burns Day celebrations as "generally the most thoroughgoing Scotch affairs in the world."[35] In 1901 the *Scottish American* offered advice on "How to Organize a Scottish Society" with a Burns Day at the core. "It was a real important thing for the Scots," recalled northern Idaho pioneer Betty Hitt. When Burns Day celebrations first began in her area in 1903, few non-Scots attended.[36]

The ceremonial reading of Burns's verse in Scottish dialect illustrates the importance of language in the celebration of American "Scottishness." Scottish immigrants had a problem that most other immigrant groups did not have. Historians generally agree that language is the most important single element in maintaining a separate ethnic identity.[37] Yet Lowland Scots, unlike, say, Gaelic, Spanish, or Dutch, was not exactly a separate language. In general the Lowland dialect was close enough to English so that one could follow the line of argument. A second-generation Scottish American would not formally learn to speak Scottish, for example, as a second-generation German American or French American might learn German or French. These young people might speak French or German with an American accent, but they would still master their ancestors' native tongue. But Scottish Americans could not really do so. One could learn the Lowland Scottish dialect only by growing up within the culture.

Consequently, one crucial aspect of "Scottishness" did not survive: that of dialect and pronunciation. In 1819 Scottish traveler John Duncan complained bitterly that second-generation Scots butchered the dialect; he helped silence a third-generation Scot's reading of Burns by loud applause. But a half century later, Aberdeen immigrant to Nebraska John Alexander felt otherwise. He criticized his fellow Aberdeenshire immigrants for making no effort to modify their talk so that the average Nebraskan could comprehend them. Since the English spoken in Exeter, Fillmore County, Nebraska, served perfectly well, Alexander saw no real advantage in sustaining a northern British mode of speech. "Go where we may," he observed, "our dear mother Scotch dialect must go to the wall."[38] At most it might survive as a floating burr that, like a kilt, could be donned for ceremonial occasions. In the American West the accent, which has long served as the key badge of "Scottishness" in Britain, largely disappeared.



The 1960s found a renewed interest in Scottish culture and ethnicity in America, which continues to this day. Above a young man participates in a Highland dance contest (1997), part of the Colorado Scottish Festival held annually in Highlands Ranch, near Denver.

Colorado Scottish Festival, Highlands Ranch

If dialect and pronunciation faded over time, however, Scottish aphorisms, proverbs, and anecdotes remained. Americans loved to quote the aphorisms, even though they did not always seem to understand them fully. The apocryphal story of Robert Bruce watching the spider spin its web seven times, which restored his faith to battle the English once again, became a staple of inspirational lecturers. Many a phrase retained its currency, although not always to the pleasure of grammarians: "Should have went," "et" as the past tense of "eat," and "that" as a substitute for those. The Highland phrase "a far cry" became widely accepted, as did "hey, Mac." Unfortunately, one of George Washington's favorite Scottish maxims, "Many a mickle makes a muckle" did not survive the eighteenth century.

The popularity of Burns Day celebrations with their dramatic readings in Scottish dialect varied with the flow of Scottish immigrants. Shortly after 1900, the various groups had to incorporate a second generation into the festivities. The Burns Day celebration in Miles City, Montana, for example, slowly shifted from a celebration of Scottishness to a chance for all to become "Scots for a day." The ceremonies in Buffalo, Wyoming, died

out in the 1920s because Basque immigrants had largely replaced Scots as the region's sheepherders. Lander, Wyoming, drew six hundred to its 1952 Burns Day celebration, but for unexplained reasons the next year the day was commemorated only by a "Burns Day sale" at the local supermarket.

But the Scottish presence in the West produced a more tangible dimension as well. On July 4, 1904, the Caledonian Club of Denver unveiled a large statue of Robert Burns in the downtown City Park. In 1927, Glasgow-born Mary Gilchrist, a longtime citizen of Wyoming, donated twenty thousand dollars to erect a similar Burns statue in central Cheyenne. These two statues stand today as mute testimony to the role of Scotland in forging western cultural life.[39]

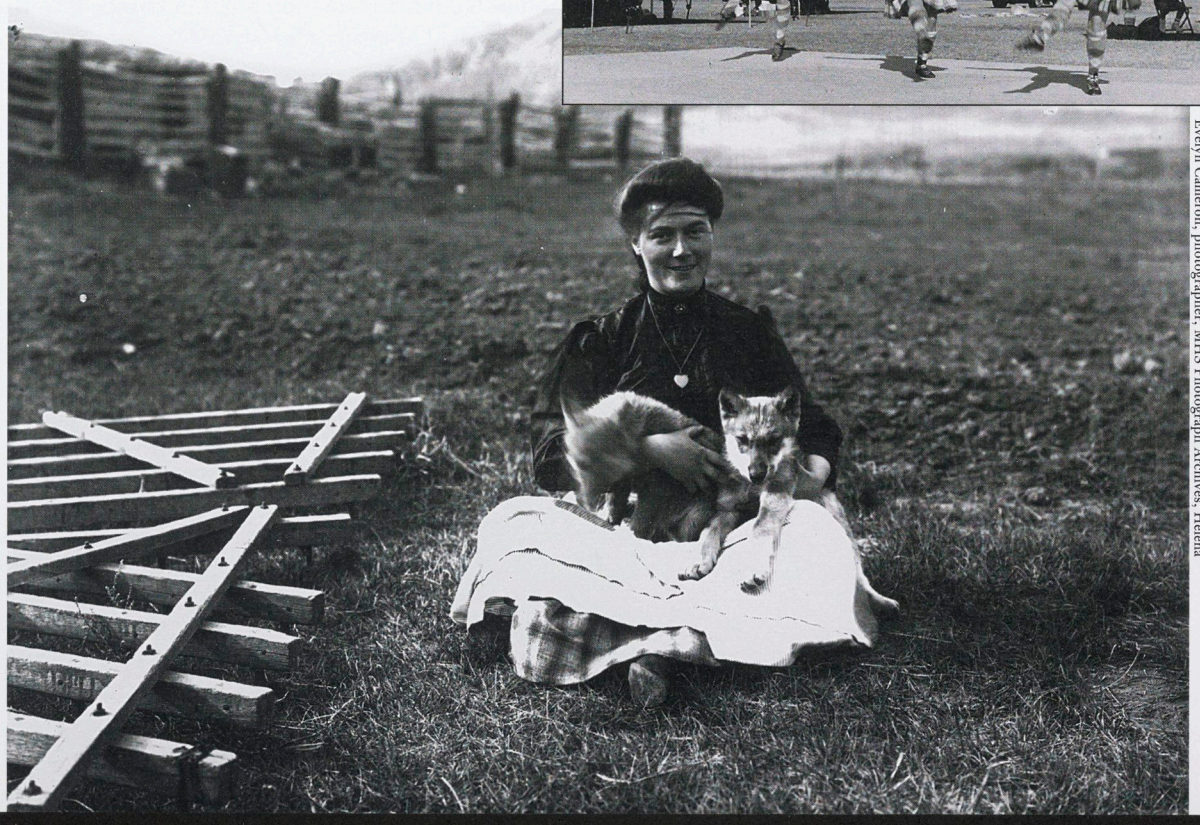
Since the 1960s, however, interest in Scottish culture has been reinvigorated through the rise and spread of an extensive circuit of traveling Highland Games. These festivals run from spring to late fall, and those held in Washington, Arizona, Kansas, California, and Colorado—just to name a few—attract thousands of visitors annually.

The various Highland Games abound with ethnic foods, Gaelic music, Highland dancing, and sheepdog trials, plus numerous track and field events, including tossing the caber, where a large log is heaved to a twelve o'clock position. With crowds often in excess of fifty thousand people, the games have become the summer complement to the Burns suppers as the primary means of disseminating Scottish culture. Numerous clan representatives invite visitors to claim a Scottish ancestor and display their family crest or tartan. Since the recently opened National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh estimates that 90 million people worldwide have some Scottish ancestry, the response has been considerable. As the clan booths at the Highland Games suggest, the contemporary Scottish-American upsurge has created, perhaps, the most "inclusive" of all western ethnic identities. Almost anyone can become Scottish if the desire is there.

FERENC MORTON SZASZ is professor of history at the University of New Mexico. His book *Scots in the North American West, 1790–1917*, from which this article was taken, was published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 2000.

First-generation immigrants from Scotland, like Jetta Hamilton Gray (pictured below with wolf cubs in eastern Montana in 1907), honored their roots by celebrating Saint Andrew's Day or Robert Burns's birthday. Their descendents, like the young Highland dancers in Gordon plaid performing at a Tucson festival (right, 1999), participate in Scottish events to keep their sense of cultural identity alive.

Tucson Celtic Festival and Scottish Highland Games, Tucson, Arizona



Evelyn Cameron, photographer, MHS Photograph Archives, Helena

CELEBRATING 50 years MONTANA The Magazine of Western History 1951–2001

Looking Back . . .

Happy Birthday *Montana*!

Five years after he founded The Montana Magazine of History *(which early became* Montana The Magazine of Western History*), Montana Historical Society director K. Ross Toole reflected on the magazine's progress. His congratulatory statement, first published as the "Director's Roundup" in winter 1955 on the occasion of Montana's fifth anniversary, rings remarkably true today. A few of the details have changed since Toole wrote this piece forty-five years ago: a small proportion of the magazine's budget now comes from the State of Montana, and we no longer have the largest circulation of any history magazine in the United States.*

Yet the spirit of Toole's piece still accurately reflects the spirit of Montana. *We remain "dedicated to the proposition that authentically written history is a saleable commodity" and committed to the belief "that the truth is better than fiction and that footnotes needn't bleed history of its substance and drama."*

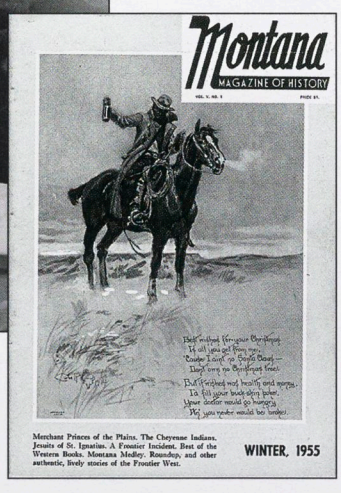
Thus, on the occasion of our fiftieth anniversary, it seems fitting to reprint Toole's message from that earlier anniversary and to celebrate the vision he described. Too, we wish to extend his invitation to all our current subscribers. We hope "that everyone who has come with us this far will stick with us for the full ride."

The Editors

MHS Photograph Archive, Helena

The magazine you hold in your hands has the largest circulation of any magazine of history in the United States. It is edited and published in Montana. Yet it has a larger circulation in New York City than in any Montana county. It is on nearly as many newsstands in Texas as in Montana. It has more subscribers in Europe than it had in all of Montana a few short years ago. Why?

Because it is the only magazine dedicated to the proposition that authentically written history is a saleable commodity. Because the West and its dramatic heritage has long since struck the national consciousness as something unique. The pulps, movies, and television have long since proved that the Old West, the West of cow-



In 2001 *Montana* celebrates fifty years of publication. Forty-five years ago, editor K. Ross Toole (left, circa 1955) marked the magazine's fifth anniversary, specifically noting the new four-color cover on the Winter 1955 issue (left). Earlier covers (opposite) show the evolution from the simple wood-grain design of the first issue (top) to the use of line art (center), including that of Charles M. Russell (bottom).

8/4/91

GUTHRIE

The Barn • Star Route, Box 30 • Choteau, MT 59422

Dear Ivon,

It was good to see you and Coral. Thanks to both of you for your advice.

I read the interview with you in "The Bloomsbury Review" and was tickled by your reference to P. Limerick. I thought you might be interested in this piece Bud wrote for "Newman Reports."

Best,

Coral Guthrie

The Old West Defended — the Real West Defined

A.B. Guthrie, Jr.

Regards to Broadway, remember us to Harvard Square. The author's stance may start another trek West.

A few days before spring made its calendar appearance in Cambridge, the Sunday Magazine section of The New York Times *published a piece about the settling of the West. The story was heaven for a headline writer — the head said: "UNSETTLING THE OLD WEST Now historians are bad-mouthing the American frontier."*

In the 70's and 80's and even before, academic revisionist-historians arose. They wrote books, told stories, and gave interviews — all with the same theme: The Old West was a fib, the Old West was unadulterated suffering. In The Times *report, one academic historian sneers at the abandoned mining and ghost towns. Another, points to the excruciating experiences the early settlers endured.*

Now, a Nieman Fellow Class of '45 — A.B. Guthrie, Jr. — rides to the rescue of the West's reputation. Mr. Guthrie is the author of The Big Sky *— that book was first thought of during his Nieman Year — and* The Way West, *a 1950 Pulitzer Prize-winner. Other books followed thick and fast.*

A.B. Guthrie gives a splendid reason for his writing a rebuttal to The Times *piece: "Writing it, I thought I was discharging a part of my great obligation to the Nieman Foundation."*

His rebuttal should forever lay low the canard that the Old West was all bad-bad-bad.

Most of the writers cited by Richard Bernstein (*New York Times* Magazine, March 19, 1990) are intent on proving that the American West was not and is not the West it is cracked up to be. Like everyone determined to drive home a conviction, they do so at the cost of balance.

It is well to reflect that these revisionists of history are products of the 1960's and the demand for truth sounds in their words. They search for and find faults and point them out like discoverers, saying to us, "See! See!" It is almost as if they had invented the wheel.

But let's not recoil from the search for truth, even if much of it is familiar. A great many common conceptions need correction, and the myth of the Old West is one of them. The new historians are presenting us with some new facets of the frontier experience. Their mistake, I think, is in believing these facets make a whole. Our frontier experience is larger than its negative aspects.

A great deal of nonsense has been said and printed about the West. The Jeffersonian ideal was the garden and the sturdy yeoman, embraced far in advance of familiarity with fact. That fantasy was short-lived, but others replaced it, promulgated by land speculators and railroads.

Here the plow turned up dollars. Drouth? It was a known fact that the rain followed the plow. These claims, too, died in the face of actuality. The situation was aggravated by insane homestead laws, passed by eastern congressmen who applied the experience of their regions to the unknown wilderness.

The new historians are presenting us with some new facets of the frontier experience. Their mistake . . . is in believing these facets make a whole. Our frontier experience is larger than its negative aspects.

The nonsense involves both fiction and non-fiction. Hollywood alone has much to answer for. In those reconstructions western life largely is happy. Endings are happy despite tribulations. Against those fairy tales stand the facts. Frontier life was

dreary, back-breaking, hopeless for the majority of migrants. Bitter cold came, and winds, and blazing suns, and crops winter-killed, or blew out of the ground or died in the heat. Markets were poor for what was harvested, and wheat elevators distant, and horses, if any, too weak for long hauling. Many homesteaders gave up. Some women went crazy as gales sang around their shacks.

We older students of the western movement and western settlement knew all that. No historian worth his salt sought to ignore or gloss over them.

Where then is the balance? What is put on the other pan of the scales?

They came in hope of a better life. They came to escape the fevers of the Mississippi and Ohio river valleys. They came for adventure. . . . It took courage to pull up stakes and venture into an unknown land. It took courage to persevere.

A few other considerations first.

For the most part, newcomers to the West left little of value behind them. They, many of them, were clerks or bookkeepers or holders of ill-paid jobs. Some of them owned small businesses or hard-scrabble farms. Economic depression was no stranger to them. Most of their necessary household possessions could be contained in one prairie schooner.

They came in hope of a better life. They came to escape the fevers of the Mississippi and Ohio river valleys. They came for adventure. If their dreams of economic betterment fizzled out, they did escape the miasmas, and they did find adventure, though it was too often unhappy.

It took courage to pull up stakes and venture into an unknown land. It took courage to persevere. Let's not overlook heroism while rummaging for negatives.

And a surprising number of them did make out. Through lucky choices of land, through keen or lucky management they prospered. And neither bulldozers nor promises of Eden would have moved them. In a good many cases their descendants are just as set in place and enterprise.

To go on.

For more than a century, even in some measure today, the existence of the so-called Wild West, has given hope and spirit to the American people. Today there ring in my head

continued to page 37

The Old West Defended

continued from page 31

the words of an early-day Spanish explorer, who wrote when lost, "We ever held it certain, that, going toward the sunset, we would find what we desired." Even today that same sentiment rings in many minds.

For Americans at large the days of the frontier were high, old times, times of hope, spirit, bustle, cheer, bouyancy. Inappropriate, you say? At odds with the fact? Well, yes. but exuberance is glandular. It is its own reason for being. It needs no justification.

> . . . the days of the frontier were high old times, times of hope . . . cheer, bouyancy. . . . At odds with the fact? Well, yes. But exuberance is glandular. . . . It needs no justification.

If that hope and that spirit were illusory, when and where do not such emotions end that way? Life is hard everywhere. Inequalities are forever. The revisionists' wide-eyed discovery of them in the West strikes me as a bit naive. It is the blind cruelties of life on this planet that have led man to invent heaven. Somewhere, they reason hopefully, bliss must abide. I believe they will not be disappointed. Oblivion has no memory.

So, for that time, we had the hope and the high spirits and the illusions, no small blessings.

But there is more, even if much of Turner's beliefs have to be abandoned.

I think of the great gift of space in the West — space to breathe in, space to exercise mind and body, space that allows Thoreau's life with wide margins. We westerners accept it without much thought until, that is, we visit places of congestion, and then we pray "Let us go back home, away from crowding elbows, hurrying feet, thick air, stinky water and men who hasten by, inwardly intent, without a smile or hello."

I have a story by way of illustration. I live on the upper Teton river in Montana, twenty-five miles from the nearest town, four miles from my nearest neighbor. There are about seven households on the miles of the upper river.

Three years ago I tripped on our outdoor stoop, fell headlong, and bounced my head on a boulder. My wife heard me fall, ran out, saw me bleeding and dazed and commanded, "Don't move! Don't move!" Then she ran to the telephone and made one call. Before I could gather my wits, three automobiles wheeled up and people piled out, all eager to help. Someone supported me as I tried to sit up. Someone applied to the gash on my forehead the cold compresses that my wife prepared. Someone, holding me, said, "Steady. Just wait. You'll be all right." Two men helped me to the car, and my wife set out on the seventy-five miles to our doctor.

And in the car, despite grogginess, I felt cosy, felt at home, happy for friends.

In the hives of the cities, where one apartment dweller lives apart from his fellow lodgers, as indifferent to them as they are to him, how would I have fared?

The incident is proof of a truth. The sense of neighborhood, the ties of community, are stronger when space between neighbors allows elbow room.

I grew up here in the West, and, after sojourns afar, I settled here. I am satisfied with my West. When I read, as in *The Fruits of Conquest*, that the West is and always has been a drain on the East, I want to yell, "Nuts!" With equal cogency I could argue that the East has drained and is draining the West almost to the point of exhaustion.

We stay in this isolated house, knowing that if we need help we have only to call. Isolated? Not really. We have frequent visitors from near and far.

> I drink sweet, pure and undoctored water. I breathe air not fouled . . . I look West to the great lifts of the Rockies . . . and the setting sun makes a glory there.

I drink sweet, pure and undoctored water. I breathe air not fouled by factory or massed lungs. I look West to the great lifts of the Rockies with Ear Mountain, my friend, in the front rank, and the setting sun makes a glory there.

I know I will curse the cold again, and the bitter wind and the shriveling sun. I know, but will soon forgive. The warm chinook follows close on the blizzard, every day has at least its hour of no wind when even the aspen leaves go still, and every night is cool.

If all that's a panegyric, let it ride. □

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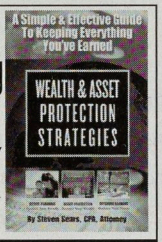

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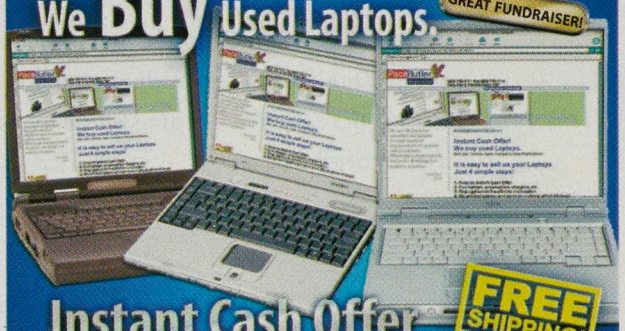

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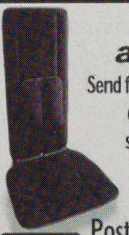

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THOUGHTS

On the Business of Life

In yon Bonny Scotland, we took the high road and, while not getting to Loch Lomond, we did motorcycle the length of Loch Ness. Allowing for our born predisposition for the beautiful misty moors of Scotland's Highlands, I'll guarantee you'll seldom enjoy a more stunning ride than that going from Dundee over the rolling, sometimes craggy mountains, passing Balmoral Castle on the road to Inverness. While some of us may have been in Scotland afore ye, if you can go anywhere, include truly Bonny Scotland.

—MALCOLM S. FORBES (1981)

The national dish of Scotland is something called haggis, the specific ingredients of which I won't go into other than to say that if you can visualize boiled, inside-out road kill, you're pretty close.

—DAVID GRIMES

It is never difficult to distinguish between a Scotsman with a grievance and a ray of sunshine.

—P.G. WODEHOUSE

They christened their game golf because they were Scottish and revelled in meaningless Celtic noises in the back of the throat.

—STEPHEN FRY

It requires a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding.

—SYDNEY SMITH

Whenever someone asks me if I want water with my Scotch, I say I'm thirsty, not dirty.

—JOE E. LEWIS

Scotland, thank God, is not for everyone.

—ROBIN DOUGLAS-HOME

DEWITT JONES / CORBIS

I've sometimes thought that the difference between us and the English is that the Scotch are hard in all other respects but soft with women, and the English are hard with women but soft in all other respects.

—J.M. BARRIE

We are Boston, Glasgow is Cleveland.

—JOHN MCKAY, LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH

I had occasion, not for the first time, to thank heaven for that state of mind which cartographers seek to define as Scotland.

—CLAUD COCKBURN

Beautiful, glorious Scotland, has spoilt me for every other country!

—MARY TODD LINCOLN

The Scot will not fight until he sees his own blood.

—WALTER SCOTT

The "second sight" possessed by the Highlanders in Scotland is actually a foreknowledge of future events. I believe they possess this gift because they don't wear trousers.

—G.C. LICHTENBERG

A Text...

In all labor there is profit: but the talk of the lips tendeth only to penury.

—PROVERBS 14:23

Sent in by Juanita Campbell, Camarillo, Calif. What's your favorite text? *Forbes Book of Quotations: Thoughts on the Business of Life* is given to senders of Bible texts that are used.

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Manchester Guardian Wkly, April 28, '85: p. 22, review of Scotland's Story, by Tom Steel

"(Steel's) line of argument, from early tribes to the present, is that Scotland's woes and defeats have a certain inherent inevitability, given the diversity of her people and their different cultures: Picts, Scots, Angles, Britons, Highland or Lowland, Gael or not, and all of them far removed from the market place of modern economics.

In Steel's interpretation, this conflict, however painful, is the root cause of the creativity and inventiveness of the Scottish people. So the great waves of emigration of the 18th and 19th centuries are seen as ultimately positive in the opening up of vast tracts of the New World to Scottish influence and fortune..."

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the merits of their playing. The reference in the *Lay* is as follows:—

"He knew each ordinance and clause
Of Black Lord Archibald's battle laws,
In the old Douglas' day.
He brook'd not, he, that scoffing tongue
Should tax his minstrelsy with wrong,
Or call his song untrue:
For this, when they the goblet plied,
And such rude taunt had chafed his pride,
The bard of Reull he slew.
On Teviot's side, in fight they stood,
And tuneful hands were stained with blood;
Where still the thorn's white branches wave,
Memorial o'er his rival's grave.

Why should I tell the rigid doom,
That dragg'd my master to his tomb;
How Ousenam's maidens tore their hair,
Wept till their eyes were dead and dim,
And wrung their hands for love of him,
Who died at Jedwood Air?"

Scott quoted, in the third edition of the *Lay* in 1806, certain stanzas of an old ballad referring to "Rattlin' Willie." He was evidently a minstrel of the sprightly order, and a great favourite in the district. From other fragmentary stanzas Willie was obviously also the hero of some love exploit, common enough in the times. He had the misfortune to fall out with a contemporary bard about the merits of their songs or playing. The quarrel grew hot, and the two, Willie and Robin, retired and fought it out in a duel. Robin, his adversary, was killed. In ordinary circumstances in those times this was the usual way of settling a quarrel, and counted for little or nothing.

But unfortunately for Willie, Robin, the man he slew, had powerful partisans in certain Elliots, especially those of Stobs and Falnash; and they were determined on vengeance for this Robin of Rule Water. Willie, a poor man, without friends or a clan, went in hiding, but unluckily gave a clue to his whereabouts by appearing at Jedburgh on the day of the Rude or Cross Fair. Stobs and Falnash pursued him, and caught him on the Ousenam Water, got him taken to Jedburgh and executed. All this does not appear in Scott, or in the Maidment version of the ballad. But it seems to be the truth. Allan Cunningham, knowing Scott's stanzas, and the tradition as well, made the incident the subject of a ballad.

The merit of identifying "Rattlin' Roarin' Willie" with a historical personage is due to the late Sir Walter Elliot of Wolflee. In a paper contributed by him to the *Transactions* of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club in 1886, he showed that the Willie of tradition and the ballad was William Henderson of Priesthaugh, near Skelfhill in Teviotdale, and that the combat in which Willie slew his compeer piper took place in 1627.

Allan Cunningham's ballad, an exceedingly fine one, is as follows:—

"Our Willie's away to Jeddart,
To dance on the rood-day,
A sharp sword by his side,
A fiddle to cheer the way.
The joyous tharms o' his fiddle
Rob Rool had handled rude,
And Willie left New Mill banks
Red-wat wi' Robin's blude.

Our bonnie rigs theirsel',
  Reca' my waes to mind,
Our puir dumb beasties tell
  O' a' that I have tined ;
For wha our wheat will saw,
  And wha our sheep will shear,
Sin' my a' gaed awa'
  In the fa' o' the year?

My hearth is growing cauld,
  And will be caulder still;
And sair, sair in the fauld
  Will be the winter's chill ;
For peats were yet to ca',
  Our sheep they were to smear,
When my a' passed awa'
  In the fa' o' the year.

I ettle whiles to spin,
  But wee, wee patterin' feet
Come rinnin' out and in,
  And then I just maun greet :
I ken it's fancy a',
  And faster rows the tear,
That my a' dwined awa'
  In the fa' o' the year.

Be kind, O Heaven abune!
  To ane sae wae and lane,
An' tak' her hamewards sune,
  In pity o' her maen ;
Lang ere the March winds blaw,
  May she, far far frae here,
Meet them a' that's awa'
  Sin' the fa' o' the year."

Andrew Scott was born at Bowden, close to the Eildons, as far back as 1757. He died in 1839, at the age of eighty-two, and is buried in Bowden churchyard. He was of peasant extraction, and served as a

soldier in the American war, after which he returned to spend the remainder of his days in his native district. His poetic inspiration was due mainly to the reading of Allan Ramsay. His verses have a genuine flavour of the moorland, and they are simple as the rural life he portrays. Any time during the last fifty years we might have found on the Border uplands the prototype of the small farmer depicted in *Rural Content*. The class is not so numerous nowadays, but fortunately we have still a few who exemplify the integrity and the homely virtues of the race:—

"I'm now a gude farmer, I've acres o' land,
  An' my heart aye loups licht when I'm viewin' o't,
An' I hae servants at my command,
  An' twa daintie cowts for the plowin' o't.

My farm is a snug ane, lies high on a muir,
  The muir-cocks and plivers aft skirl at my door,
An' when the sky lowers, I'm sure o' a show'r,
  To moisten my land for the plowin' o't.

Leeze me on the mailin that's fa'n to my share,
  It takes sax muckle bowes for the sawin' o't :
I've sax braid acres for pasture, an' mair,
  An' a dainty bit bog for the mawin' o't.

A spence and a kitchen my mansion-house gies,
  I've a cantie wee wifie to daut whan I please ;
Twa bairnies, twa callans, that skelp ower the leas,
  An' they'll soon can assist at the plowin' o't.

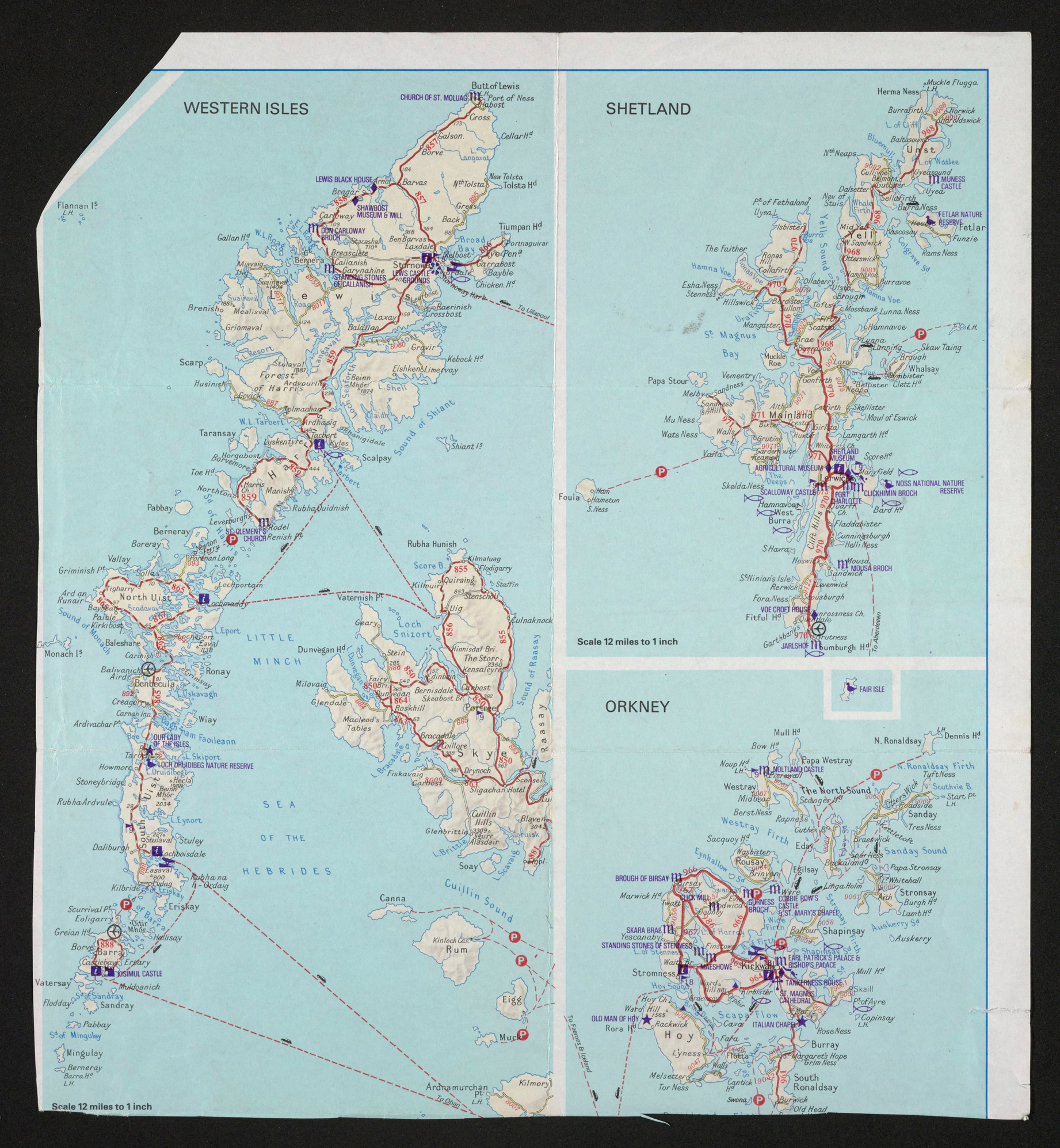
My biggin' stands sweet on this south-slopin' hill,
  An' the sun shines sae bonnily beamin' on't ;
An' past my door trots a clear prattlin' rill
  Frae the loch, where the wild ducks are swimmin' on't.

An' on its green banks, on the gay simmer days,
  My wifie trips barefit, a bleachin' her claes,
An' on the dear creature wi' rapture I gaze,
  While I whistle and sing at the plowin' o't.

"Scotch line justifying oatmeal":

The English feed oats to their horses, we feed oats to our men.

The English are famous for their horses, we're famous for our men.


WESTERN ISLES
SHETLAND
ORKNEY
Scale 12 miles to 1 inch
Scale 12 miles to 1 inch
Butt of Lewis
CHURCH OF ST. MOLUAG
Port of Ness
Cross
Galson
Cellar Hd
Borve
Langavat
LEWIS BLACK HOUSE
Arnol
Barvas
New Tolsta
N.th Tolsta
Tolsta Hd
Bragar
SHAWBOST MUSEUM & MILL
Carloway
DUN CARLOWAY BROCH
Gallan Hd
Flannan Is
Tiumpan Hd
Portnaguirar
Eye Pen.a
Broad Bay
Stacashal
Ben Barvas
Laxdale
Melbost
Garrabost
Bayble
Chicken Hd
Breasclete
Callanish
Garynahine
STANDING STONES OF CALLANISH
Stornoway
LEWIS CASTLE GROUNDS
Norgate
Stornoway Harb.
To Ullapool
Miavaig
Swainbost
Mealisval
Griomaval
Brenisho
Raerinish
Crossbost
Laxay
Baldoon
Gravir
Kebock Hd
Eishken
Limervay
Scarp
Stulaval Forest of Harris
Beinn Mhor
L. Shell
Husinish
Govick
Kolmachan
Ardhasaig
Rhanigidale
Loch Seaforth
Sound of Shiant
Shiant Is
W.L. Tarbert
Tarbert
Kyles
Taransay
Luskentyre
Scalpay
Horgabost
Borvemore
Toe Hd
Northton
Harris Ch.
Manish
Pabbay
Leverburgh
Rodel
ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH
Renish Pt
Berneray
Boreray
Newton Ferry
Vallay
Griminish Pt
Ard an Runair
Sound of Harris
Sound of Monach
Monach Is
North Uist
Lochmaddy
Lochportain
Baleshare
Carinish
Kirkibost
Paible
Scadavay
Bayhead
L. Eport
Loch Eport
Eaval
Balivanich
Benbecula
Ronay
Grimsay
Uskavagh
Creagorry
Carnan Inn
Wiay
Ardivachar Pt
Bay Sh'am Faoileann
OUR LADY OF THE ISLES
L. Skiport
L. Druidibeg
LOCH DRUIDIBEG NATURE RESERVE
Howmore
Stoneybridge
Beinn Mhor
Hecla
Rubha Ardvule
South Uist
L. Eynort
Stuley
Daliburgh
Stulaval
Lochboisdale
Lasaval
Rubha na h-Ordaig
Kilbride
Eriskay
Scurrival Pt
Eoligarry
Ottir Mhor
Greian Hd
Hellisay
Borve
Barra
Castlebay
Kisimul Castle
Vatersay
Muldoanich
Sandray
Flodday
Pabbay
Sd of Mingulay
Mingulay
Berneray
Barra Hd
L.H.
Vaternish Pt
Rubha Hunish
Score B.
Kilmaluag
Flodigarry
Quiraing
Kilmuir
Staffin
Stenscholl
Uig
Culnaknock
Loch Snizort
Geary
LITTLE MINCH
Dunvegan Hd
Dunvegan
Stein
Hinnisdal Bri.
The Storr
Kensaleyre
Fairy Bri.
Dunvegan
Bernisdale
Skeabost Br.
Carbost
Portree
Milovaig
Glendale
Roskhill
Macleod's Tables
Bracadale
Loch Bracadale
Fiskavaig
Drynoch
Sligachan Hotel
Sconser
Raasay
Sound of Raasay
Skye
Cuillin Hills
Glenbrittle
Sgurr Alasdair
Loch Brittle
Soay
Scavaig
Blaven
Torrisk
Canna
Cuillin Sound
Kinloch Cas.
Rum
Eigg
Muck
SEA OF THE HEBRIDES
Ardnamurchan Pt
L.H.
To Oban
Kilmory
Herma Ness
Muckle Flugga
L.H.
Burra Firth
Norwick
Haroldswick
L. of Cliff
Baltasound
Unst
Nth Neaps
L. of Wattlee
Uyeasound
MUNESS CASTLE
Uyea
Belmont
Loudmer
Dalsetter
Nev of Stuis
Sella Firth
Burra Ness
FETLAR NATURE RESERVE
Fetlar
Funzie
Pt of Fethaland
Uyea I.
Isbister
Mid Yell
W. Sandwick
Hascosay
Colgrave Sd
Rams Ness
The Faither
Ronas Hill
Otterswick
Yell Sound
Hamna Voe
Ronas Voe
Collafirth
Hamnavoe
Burravoe
Esha Ness
Stenness
Hillswick
Ollaberry
Ulsta
Brough
Hamna Voe
Bordister
Sullom
Toft
Mossbank
Lunna Ness
Uradale
Mangaster
Firth
Scatsta
Hamnavoe
St. Magnus Bay
Muckle Roe
Brae
Lunna
Lanning
Skaw Taing
Brough
Whalsay
Papa Stour
Vementry
Sandness
Melby
Aith
Clett Hd
Mainland
Catfirth
Skellister
Moul of Eswick
Mu Ness
Wats Ness
Walls
Gruting
Lamgarth Hd
Voe
Gonfirth
Neapa
Balister
Varta
SHETLAND MUSEUM
AGRICULTURAL MUSEUM
Scoreh.d
Staryfield
Lerwick
NOSS NATIONAL NATURE RESERVE
Foula
Ham
Hametun
S. Ness
SCALLOWAY CASTLE
FORT CHARLOTTE
CLICKHIMIN BROCH
Skelda Ness
Hamnavoe
West Burra
Bard Hd
Fladdabister
Cunningsburgh
Helli Ness
S Havra
Cliff Hills
Hoswick
Mousa
MOUSA BROCH
Sandwick
St Ninian's Isle
Levenwick
Fora Ness
Sumburgh
VOE CROFT HOUSE
Fitful Hd
Sumburgh Hd
JARLSHOF
To Aberdeen
FAIR ISLE
Mull Hd
Bow Hd
N. Ronaldsay
Dennis Hd
Papa Westray
Noup Hd
NOLTLAND CASTLE
Pierowall
N. Ronaldsay Firth
Tuft Ness
Westray
The North Sound
Stanger Hd
Scuthvie B.
Start Pt
Midbea
Berst Ness
Rapness
Cuthes
Sanday
Tres Ness
Westray Firth
Sacquoy Hd
Eday
Braeswick
Sanday Sound
Eynhallow Sd
Washister
Rousay
Egilsay
Backaland
Papa Stronsay
Brinyan
Linga Holm
Whitehall
BROUGH OF BIRSAY
Birsay
Marwick Hd
CLICK MILL
Twatt
Wyre
CORRIE BOW'S CASTLE
ST. MARY'S CHAPEL
GURNESS BROCH
Stronsay
Burgh Hd
Lamb Hd
Auskerry Sd
Auskerry
SKARA BRAE
Yescanaby
STANDING STONES OF STENNESS
Harray
Wide Firth
Balfour
Shapinsay
Finstown
Shapinsay Sd
Stromness
MAESHOWE
Kirkwall
EARL PATRICK'S PALACE & BISHOP'S PALACE
Mill Hd
Hoy Sound
Ward Hill
Kirbister
TANKERNESS HOUSE
ST. MAGNUS CATHEDRAL
Skaill
Pt of Ayre
Copinsay
OLD MAN OF HOY
Rora Hd
Rackwick
Hoy
Cava
Fara
ITALIAN CHAPEL
Rose Ness
Scapa Flow
To Faeroes & Iceland
Lyness
Flotta
Burray
St. Margaret's Hope
Grim Ness
Melsetter
Tor Ness
Walls
Cantick Hd
South Ronaldsay
Swona
Burwick
Old Head

INTERNAL AIR ROUTES
Unst
Fetlar
Whalsay
Lerwick
Sumburgh
Papa Westray
Westray
North Ronaldsay
Sanday
Eday
Hoy
Stronsay
Flotta
Kirkwall
Wick
Stornoway
Benbecula
Inverness
Broadford
Aberdeen
Barra
Tiree
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Islay
Campbeltown
Prestwick
RAIL ROUTES
Thurso
Wick
Dingwall
Inverness
Kyle of Lochalsh
Aberdeen
Mallaig
Ft. William
Perth
Dundee
Oban
Crianlarich
Stirling
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Hobkirk
Longtown
Brampton
Canonbie
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Burgh by Sands
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Kirkstile
Westerkirk
Bentpath
Stanwix
Warwick
Scotby
Wetheral
Cumrew
Croglin
Ainstable
Renwick
Kirkoswald
Lazonby
Melmerby
Skelton
Greystoke
Newbiggin
Langwathby
Culgaith
Skirwith
Edenhall
Lamonby
Johnby
Caldbeck Fells
Cross Fell
Hartsgarth Fell
Pike Fell
Wisp Hill
Mosspaul Inn
Tudhope Hill
Teviothead Ch.
Linhope
Castleweary
Cauldcleuch Head
Greatmoor Hill
Limekilnedge
Saughtree Fell
Riccarton
Saughtree
Arnton Fell
Din Fell
Burnfoot
Unthank
Roan Fell
Arkleton Hill
Watch Hill
Tarras
Tinnis Hill
Craigcleuch
Hallcroft
Tarrona
Hapsrig
Gillside
Blinkbonny Height
Castleton
Liddel Cas.
Castleton Ch.
Wilson's Pike
Dinlabyre
Redheugh
Larriston
Larriston Fells
Loch Knowe
Kielder Cas.
Kielder Forest Village
Plashetts
Mounces
Emmethaugh
Capelstone Fell
Glendhu Hill
Gill Pike
Jock's Pike
Bolts Law
Black Knowe
Christianbury Crag
Bewcastle Fells
Paddaburn Moor
Churnsike
White Preston
Spy Rigg
Blackshaws Hill
Barron's Pike
Spadeadam Waste
Deer Hill
Lampert
Green Rigg
Lineholme Ford
Oakshaw Ford
Roadhead
Baileyhead
Cauldside
Liddesbank
Bigholm
Auchenrivock
Collin Hags
Gilnockie Tower
Byreburnmill
Rowanburn
Penton Ho.
Pentonbridge
Wakey Hill
Riddings
Heatherhead
Haggbeck
Waughslee
Half Morton Ch.
Evertown
Glenzier Hall
Solwaybank
Mothenby
Chapeltown
Shank Cas.
Croftheadd
Kirkpatrick-Fleming
Gretna
Gretna Sta.
Springfield
Briscoe Hill
Kirklinton
Smithfield
Westlinton
Metalbridge
Scaleby
Scaleby Cas.
Blackford
Rockcliffe Marsh
Burgh Marsh
Beaumont
Longburgh
Grinsdale
Kirkandrews
Moorhouse
Thurstonfield
Kirkbampton
Belle Vue
Carleton
Cummersdale
Newby
Park Ho.
Wiggonby
Baldwinholme
Dalston Hall
Crofton Hall
Micklethwaite
Thursby
Buckabank
Cotehill
Wreay
Woodside
Edenbrowns
Holmwrangle
Low Ho.
Armathwaite
Lowhesket
Barrock Park
Broadfield Ho.
Inglewood Ho.
Thomas Close
Baronwood
Whintonhill
Lazonby Fell
Calthwaite
Hesket Newmarket
Millhouse
Parkend
Ivegill
Sebergham
Caldbeck
Faulds Brow
Brocklebank
Warblebank
Rosley
Weltons
Plumpton Wall
Plumpton Head
Gt. Salkeld
Lit. Salkeld
Glassonby
Kamblesby
Melmerby Fell
Ousby
Ousby Fell
Green Fell
Cross Fell
Kirkland
Blencarn
Culgaith
Milburn
Howgill Cas.
Newbiggin
Knock
Dufton Pike
Dufton
Whinfell Forest
Temple Sowerby
Clifton
Brougham
Penrith Beacon
Countess Pillar
Winderwath
Udford
Eamont Bridge
Yanwath
Stainton
Dalemain
Hutton John
Sockbridge
Tirril
Pooley Bridge
Askham
Lowther
Hutton Roof
Johnby
Blencow
Mosedale
Berrier Hill
Berrier
Mungrisdale
Greystoke Cas.
Newbiggin
Motherby
Shank Cas.
Brackenhill Tower
Solway Moss
Longtown

Everybody Must Not Get Stoned

By Tim Collins

BOSTON

After the heroin death last week of yet another musician — Jonathan Melvoin, a keyboard player for the Smashing Pumpkins — I found myself asking the same old question about the music industry. Why can't we solve our drug problem?

These days, heroin seems once again to be the drug of choice in our business. In the past few years, its use has killed musicians in other rock bands and led to at least a half-dozen arrests.

As a band manager and a recovering drug addict myself, I know well the pressures that help drive musicians into drug abuse: the insecurities, the inflated expectations, the problems of instant (perhaps temporary) fame, the constant traveling that brings a sense of dislocation.

Organizations that package, market and distribute a band's music are seldom artist-friendly. Indeed, many are the antithesis of creativity. All this is a lethal concoction that many musicians try to counteract with drugs and alcohol. In my earlier days as a manager, I turned a blind eye to this; worse, I sometimes helped get the drugs.

So what should the music industry do to help fight this disease?

The first step for managers and music executives to take is to admit there's a problem. In individual cases, this means intervention — a caring, professionally guided, collective confrontation. If the drug abuser won't go for treatment voluntarily, the group must take drastic measures — supporting a judge's decision to mandate rehabilitation, for example. All other business must be postponed: the tour, the video shoot, the recording session, the promotional campaign. This is the only way to treat both addicts and the system of denial in which they operate. In the long run, it is not only compassionate action, it's commercially wise.

The second step is to provide support once recovery has begun. This can take a number of forms — simple friendship (a necessity, given the isolation felt by many musicians, especially drug abusers), the provision of healthy role models, psychotherapy or a 12-step recovery program.

The next, essential, element is education, for recovering musicians and for fellow band members and those working with them. Here, record companies, managers, agents and lawyers all have a responsibility to contribute, especially the big six labels — Sony, EMI, Warner Brothers BMG, Polygram and MCA.

The music industry should fight drugs.

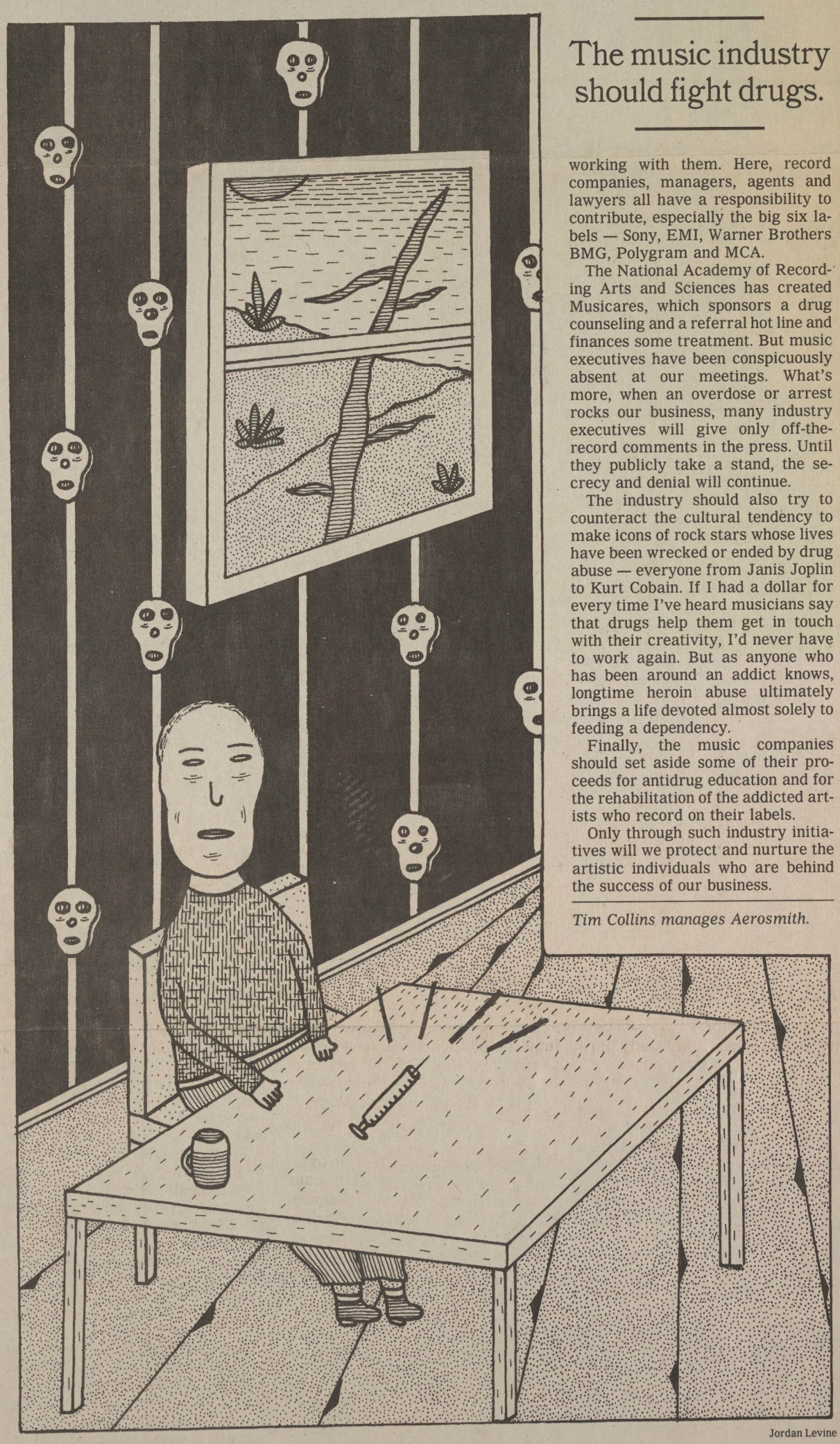
The National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences has created Musicares, which sponsors a drug counseling and a referral hot line and finances some treatment. But music executives have been conspicuously absent at our meetings. What's more, when an overdose or arrest rocks our business, many industry executives will give only off-the-record comments in the press. Until they publicly take a stand, the secrecy and denial will continue.

The industry should also try to counteract the cultural tendency to make icons of rock stars whose lives have been wrecked or ended by drug abuse — everyone from Janis Joplin to Kurt Cobain. If I had a dollar for every time I've heard musicians say that drugs help them get in touch with their creativity, I'd never have to work again. But as anyone who has been around an addict knows, longtime heroin abuse ultimately brings a life devoted almost solely to feeding a dependency.

Finally, the music companies should set aside some of their proceeds for antidrug education and for the rehabilitation of the addicted artists who record on their labels.

Only through such industry initiatives will we protect and nurture the artistic individuals who are behind the success of our business.

Tim Collins manages Aerosmith.



Jordan Levine

Scots To the Death

By A. L. Kennedy

GLASGOW

The movie "Trainspotting" has hit the United States, offering a celluloid romp of Scotland's heroin-using youth underclass and a chance to examine the current allure of contemporary Scottish literature and culture.

Adapted from the controversial best-seller by Irvine Welsh, "Trainspotting" refers to the utterly pointless British hobby of gathering data on locomotives — a pastime that Mr. Welsh equates with the sad hobby of heroin addiction. The movie has already been hugely successful in Britain, where it has divided critics with its energetically amoral presentation of young lives.

This may seem unappetizing to many. Yet it reveals something of the acid joys and lurid pleasures of the Scottish imagination. These days, a loud fraction of our youth culture is turning to heroin abuse as an anti-establishment gesture — which makes sense in a country where alcoholism has been part of the establishment or where drug addiction can be softened with the glamour of dissent.

The blend of savage self-denial and suicidal irresponsibility that seems so current to my generation everywhere is not only familiar to many Scots, it is part of the psyche of Scotland. This is, after all, the birthplace of Jekyll and Hyde.

We Scots have spent hundreds of years perfecting a deliriously hopeless philosophy. We glory in our good *and* evil. We find humor in the lurid, the surreal and the bleak. We inhabit a land deep in love with the dark, yet we welcomed Calvinism with exemplary fervor. Beneath the stuffed shirt, there still beats a heart of remarkable wildness.

We have served England's crown, we have died for England's empire, we have seen our Gaels subjected to genocide in the 18th century, and our urban poor to needless and fatal poverty. For generations, we have been told that we are awkwardly different and expendable. We had to find this funny and fascinating, or go insane.

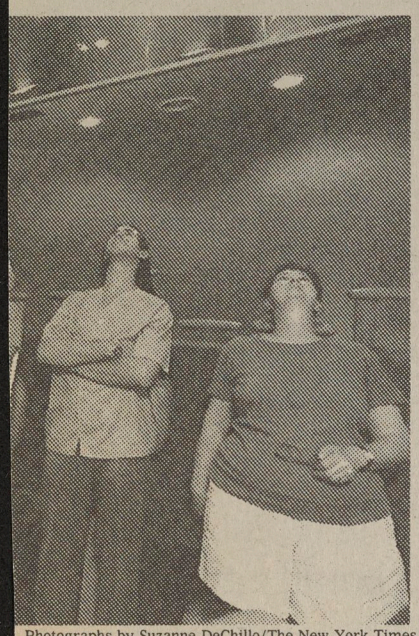
Scots have a voice to make success human and failure triumphant. They were made for my generation, the one raised by the childlike adults of the Woodstock era. Short on identity, and short on opportunities for success, we found something attractive in our Scottish heritage as losers and survivors on an international scale.

Having been drowned out by other cultures for so long, we now intend to be heard. Having been told that our languages, dialects and accents are wrong and intrinsically subversive, we take delight in subverting. Death, brief joys, dark longings, hilarious despair: Scottish art is playing our song.

Heroin chic, in art and life.

Perhaps Americans find us appealing because we seem exotic. America is the land of positive thinking and monstrous success. In Scotland, we embrace the negative. We hate anything fat- or nicotine-free. Our perfect meal would be deep-fried starch with a sugar and alcohol dressing. Americans undergo analysis and love their inner children. Scots are in constant flight from their minds, and casually beat their "outer" children for no reason they can understand. We are trying to teach ourselves the bitterness of life. □

A. L. Kennedy is the author, most recently, of "So I Am Glad," a novel.



Photographs by Suzanne DeChillo/The New York Times

...e projected by the Catskill Corners ...n history are the basis of the display.

...any Visions ...n's Dream

...ees Tourist Draw ...st Kaleidoscope

considered by neighbors as something of a local P. T. Barnum, owns almost a mile of frontage on both Route 28 and the adjacent Esopus Creek.

Mr. Gitter said he believes that the only hope for reviving the local economy, which is reeling from 13 percent unemployment, lies in tourism. About 70 percent of Shandaken is taken up by state parkland, and development on the remaining acres will soon be constrained as New York City institutes stricter regulations in the region, which lies within the watershed of the city's Ashokan Reservoir.

Mr. Gitter, sporting a silver ponytail, a cigar and a polka-dot bow tie, was every bit the impresario as he mingled early in July with several dozen tourists who had been lured by the silo's staring eyes, painted by a Tibetan artist as a symbol of wisdom and harmony.

Harmonious was not a term many visitors used to describe the décor at the complex, which includes a restored 19th-century barn and farmhouse, a restaurant with a vintage firetruck emerging from a wall and a 20-foot-tall model of a trout leaping out of a muddy pond. The barn contains exhibitions of nature photography and the work of several painters.

Some neighbors have complained that Mr. Gitter sold the community on the plan by focusing on the restoration of the old farm buildings. "We were pretty hopeful that something wonderful would be there," said Kathy Nolan, a spokeswoman for the Zen Mountain Monastery, which has a 40-acre nature preserve across the creek from Mr. Gitter's land. But the final product leans too far toward the "carnivalesque," she said.

Particularly disturbing for visitors to the monastery, she said, are the eyes on the silo, which are meant to be the eyes of Buddha. "In India, this is an extremely important religious symbol," she said. "There, it's never used to sell kaleidoscopes."

But people stopping at Catskill Corners were at the very least amused, and in some cases awestruck, by the kaleidoscope.

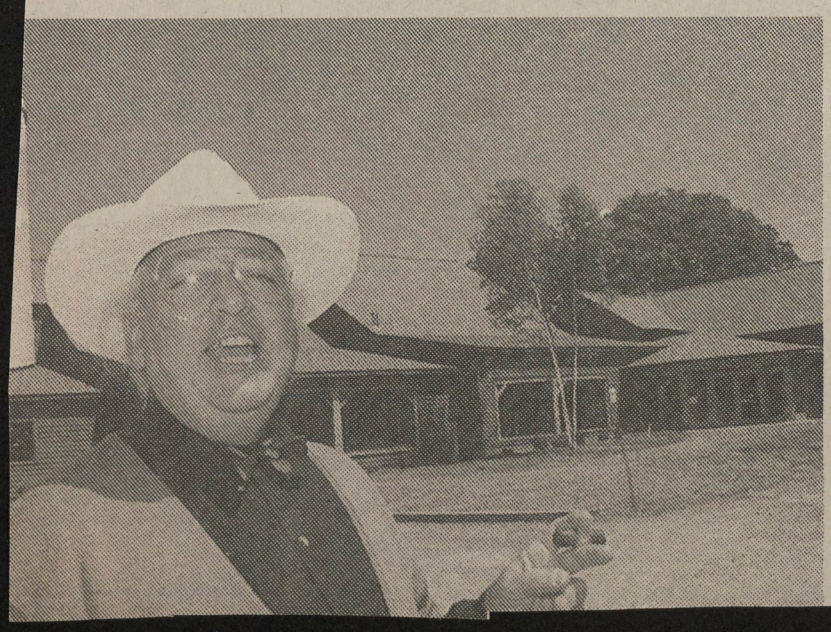
In groups of up to 20, people entered the base of the silo and leaned against cushioned neck supports that allowed them to gaze straight up into a pool of darkness. Overhead was a 2.5-ton, 37-foot-tall pyramid of mirrors with a small triangular gap at its peak where video art played on a rear-projection screen. The mirrors multiplied the single video image into a circular cluster of 254 facets that appeared to be a total of 50 feet across.

As one group of visitors settled in, they were bathed in light from a video display designed by Isaac Abrams, a pioneer in the psychedelic art movement of the 1960's, and his son, Raphael, a computer artist. The room pulsed with a musical score by Gary Burke, a local composer and drummer who has worked with Francis Ford Coppola and Bob Dylan.

Mr. Abrams, who calls the kaleidoscope the "first cathedral of the third millennium," said the cascade of fragmented images was a voyage through American history, from wilderness to world power. Mr. Abrams and his son are planning a new show for Christmas, and another that is purely meditative, with viewers lying supine on the floor.

Overhead, the shifting displays took on the look of an animated stained-glass window as they accelerated toward a crescendo. As the viewers gaped at the pulsing blob, they formed a pose remarkably like that struck by actors in films about encounters with alien spacecraft.

Leaving the silo, the visitors were ushered directly into the Kaleidostore, where they were confronted with dozens of kaleidoscopes, ren-

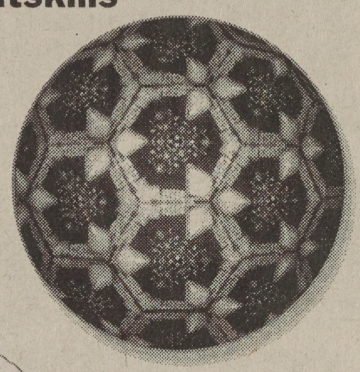


HOW IT WORKS

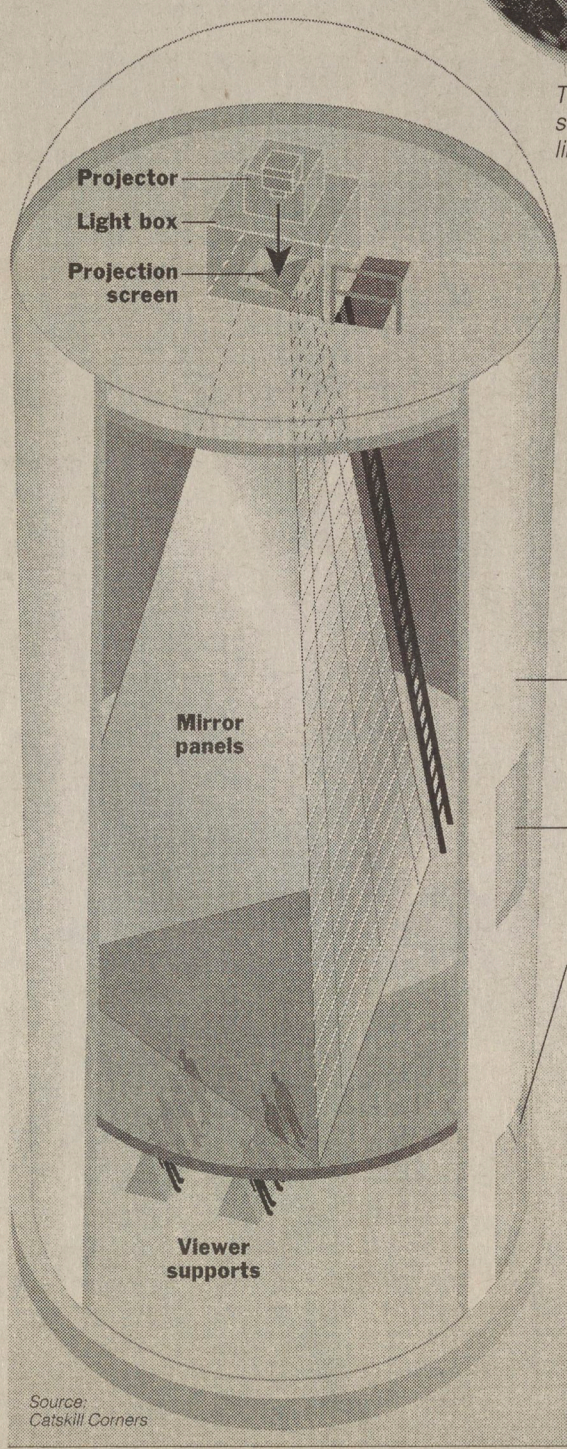
Kaleidoscope in the Catskills

Acknowledged to be the world's largest, the kaleidoscope at Catskill Corners is similar in principle to a hand-held one, only it is much larger.

The 37- foot-tall, 2.5-ton assembly was lowered into a silo by a 100-foot crane with only three-eighths of an inch clearance. The patent of the kaleidoscope's design is still pending.



The image that viewers see looks something like the above.



1 An image is projected downward onto a screen.

2 The image on the screen is multiplied by a pyramid-like structure of three mirrored panels.

3 As many as 20 people lean on supports and look up into the panels to see an illusion of a 50-foot-wide sphere of hexagonal images.

Source: Catskill Corners

Cristina Rivero/The New York Times; Photograph by Suzanne DeChillo/The New York Times

A Battle Over ... Finds Backers

By VIVIAN S. TOY

NEW YORK, July 19 — City Council leaders raising money for a referendum measure to extend term limits for the city's elected officials to 12 years from 8 have received nearly all their contributions this year, in $10,000 and $5,000 increments, from real estate magnates and a city union, city records show.

The Council has said its effort to change the two-term limit, which voters overwhelmingly approved in 1993, has broad support in the city. But critics say that reliance on large individual contributions from such sources symbolizes the kind of influence that special interests can hold over city government.

Coalition for Voters' Choice, a political action committee made up of associates and lobbyists with close ties to the City Council Speaker, Peter F. Vallone, raised $65,500 from January until mid-July, for a total of almost $200,000 since 1994, according to records filed with the city's Campaign Finance Board.

Mr. Vallone has led the Council's efforts to repeal or postpone term limits, which took effect in 1993, arguing that the law will turn out nearly all current elected officials in 2001 and leave city government with no experience or institutional memory.

Last week, the Council approved a new referendum asking voters to allow the Mayor, the Comptroller, the Public Advocate, borough presidents and Council members to stay in office for up to 12 years, instead of the current limit of two four-year terms. Council members said that the longer limit would allow for enough natural attrition in the 51-member Council to make sure everyone was not forced out at once.

Even though the total amount raised by the coalition is relatively small, good-government groups and leaders of an effort to retain the term limits were sharply critical of the money's sources.

"This is precisely what term limits attempts to correct," said Allen Roth, a spokesman for New Yorkers for Term Limits, the group that successfully campaigned for such limits three years ago. "Special interests like real estate, who have curried favor with the current City Council leadership, are naturally going to step up, because they don't want to lose the investment they've made in the leadership."

A spokesman for Mr. Vallone, Michael S. Clendenin, said the Speaker had argued for extending term limits throughout the city and had sought broad-based support. "The Speaker has always reached out to special interests, general interests, broad interests and even to people with no interest at all," Mr. Clendenin said.

New Yorkers for Term Limits, which was largely financed in 1993 by Ronald S. Lauder, the cosmetics heir and a 1989 mayoral aspirant, accomplished its mission then and has not yet officially been revived. But Mr. Roth said members of the group had met informally and were planning to fight the referendum.

The Council's effort to extend term limits has created unusual coalitions on both sides of the issue. Critics include Mr. Lauder, a political conservative, as well as generally liberal good-government groups.

At the same time, largely Republican real estate interests have united with heavily Democratic city unions to try to change the term limits.

A number of civic organizations have urged Council leaders to apply the city's campaign finance laws to the coalition, which is not legally bound by the $3,000 individual-contri-

Man Is Charged ... That Provoked

By GARRY PIERRE-PIERRE

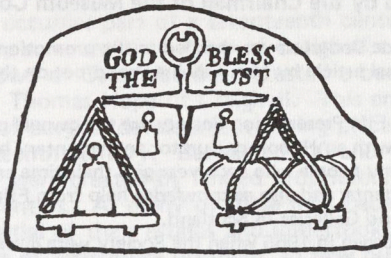
NEW YORK, July 19 — At first, the killing of Sylvia Lugo seemed to be one of a series of cases in which

40p

FIFE FOLK MUSEUM
THE WEIGH HOUSE, CERES

Fife Folk Museum. Ceres. Gordon Halford

A GUIDE
TO THE COLLECTION



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THE FIFE FOLK MUSEUM

Foreword by the Chairman of the Museum Committee.

The success of our Guide Book last year has led to the promotion of this second edition, which contains an additional article by Mrs. Edwina Proudfoot on the Prehistoric Artefacts in the Museum.

The Central and North Fife Preservation Society are the owners of the Museum, and it is managed by a Committee with an Honorary Curator and voluntary helpers. The Society are greatly indebted to the many people who each year give their time and skill to the maintenance of the building and its contents; and also acknowledge help from Fife Regional Council and from the Council for Museums and Galleries in Scotland.

The idea of a Museum began in 1965 when the Society were given the Weigh House by the Mitchell Family of Ceres, and were able afterwards to buy the two adjoining pantiled cottages. Mr. William Murray Jack drew up plans for the restoration of the buildings in three phases. We were greatly encouraged by the National Trust for Scotland who immediately financed the restoration of the stone-slated roof of the Weigh House. Members of the Society organised several successful Thrift Shops, a roup and a prize draw. We were given generous grants from the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, the Dalrymple Archaeological Trust, the Historic Buildings Council, the Lindsay and Russell Trusts. All this made it possible to carry out the work in two instead of three phases.

In April 1968 Major Michael Crichton-Stuart performed the opening ceremony in the original Museum consisting of the Weigh House and one cottage. Two years later the second cottage and the lean-to in the garden were ready for use. An additional open gallery was constructed in 1972 at the corner opposite the Museum. This site was conveyed to the Society by Fife County Council and financial help given under the Environmental Improvement Scheme. Over the last two years the paved area in the garden has been extended for outside exhibits. Now we are planning a new workshop and store.

The collection has been built up from gifts or loans of material with Fife connections. The number and variety of exhibits of historical and everyday interest illustrate the wide range of the economic and social life of Fife.

The Guide Book introduces some of the main aspects covered by the Fife Folk Museum. It is not intended to be exhaustive, nor is it exact in the location of every exhibit as this may vary from season to season. Any visitor wishing to examine an item not on display may be enabled to do so by writing for an appointment with the Honorary Curator or leaving a message with the duty officer. The Guide Book has been prepared by our Honorary Curator, Mrs. Mercer. Its publication would not have been possible without the ready co-operation of contributors of specialist knowledge Our grateful thanks are due to Mrs. Helen Bennett, National Museum of Antiquities, Mr. John Baldwin, Lothian Region Education Department Advisory Service, Mr. John di-Folco and Mr. Bryan Duncan from our own Committee, and to Mrs. Cynthia Stoane, Miss Laura Todd and Mr. Gordon Halford for artistic contributions.

The Central and North Fife Preservation Society wish to thank all those who have given so generously or lent their treasures to the Museum, and to encourage those who may give or lend in the future, thus ensuring that they will be seen and appreciated by our visitors who come from this country and from all over the world.

Rachel Peterkin.

OPEN AFTERNOONS
APRIL to OCTOBER
EXCEPT TUESDAYS

Enquiries to Hon. Curator:—
Mrs. J.C.G. Mercer,
Wellwood, Ladybank, Cupar.
Tel: Ladybank 30410

CERES is on the bus routes to — St. Andrews, Dundee, Perth
Leven and Kirkcaldy.

"The Weigh House – Historical Background"

Fife Folk Museum occupies part of a seventeenth century tolbooth or courthouse which served the surrounding barony of Craighall. It was erected some fifty years after the town of Ceres had been created a burgh of barony in 1620 by Lord Advocate Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall. This creation was part of a more general pattern of burghal development taking place in Lowland Scotland throughout the seventeenth century. Between 1600 and 1650 some sixty four new burghs of barony were created by landed proprietors to provide much needed local market centres. As many of these men became increasingly aware of the economic potential of their estates and undertook changes and developments in many aspects of agriculture on them, so new outlets for produce became necessary.

Lying centrally in the amalgamated baronies of Craighall and Kyninmonth with important harbour rights in West Granton, Ceres was ideally situated to serve as a trading centre for a hinterland of numerous farm settlements at places like Wester and Easter Pitscotties, Ladeddie, Over and Nether Magask. The tenants of these settlements paid their rents in two ways: mostly in money which suggests that they themselves were making use of Ceres as a market centre to commute their rents, and also in quantities of grain which they transported as part of their feudal carriage services due to the Hopes as landowners to Ceres from where it was subsequently taken to Leith and sold through Edinburgh merchants. The grain consisted of bere, oats and wheat. In 1678–79, for example, the money rent gathered in by the Hopes for the joint baronies amounted to £5,022 plus 292 bolls of bere and 177 bolls of oats. Both of these were then sold in Edinburgh for £1,314 and £740 respectively.

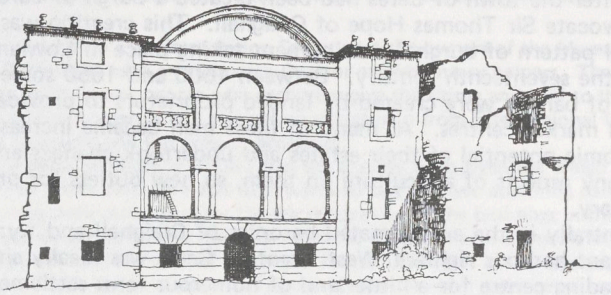
While the economy of the barony was firmly based on arable farming, the Hopes were obviously keen to try to exploit any mineral wealth there might be in the area. Sir Thomas Hope had petitioned the King in 1635 for this purpose and ten years later he records in his diary that in a mine at Callange (probably Coaltown of Callange) the "coill wes fund sex foot at the levell but wold be tund 8 futt thick thair efter . . . " and that the colliers had already begun work there.

The interest in the development of mining enterprises was clearly to become of greater significance to the economy of the barony. In 1659, on the death of Sir Thomas Hope, 3rd baronet and grandson of the Lord Advocate, the curator of the estate was instructed to give careful attention "towards the preservation of the coall work . . . ". Money was also spent on the coal heughs at Ladeddie where there was an interesting example of productivity incentive when 12/- was "given to all the Coalliers after a general admonition for diligence and honesty". Coal was exported from the barony but a certain amount was of course intended for use both in Craighall house itself and in the limekilns on the estate.

The family interest in mining was most notably developed outwith Fife by Sir James Hope, sixth son of the Lord Advocate who invested in the leadmines at Leadhills and who travelled widely in the Low Countries noting the mining and industrial techniques used there as well as establishing valuable personal links with experts in these fields.

During the 18th and 19th centuries the moderate pace of agricultrual change which began in the 17th under the progressive and ambitious Hopes accelerated. A new class of tenant farmer appeared equipped with a growing range of new and better implements and working a greater variety of arable produce. The

farms and their ancillary buildings were subsequently improved as were the communications essential for wider markets. These changes can be seen to this day in the surrounding countryside. The Museum contains many exhibits that trace and reflect this rural transformation.



Craighall House

Craighall house which stood on a plateau some three-quarters of a mile south-east of Ceres was formerly of central importance to the social and economic life of the barony. Originally it was a fortified building consisting of a long oblong block constructed mostly of rubble with a number of small projecting wings. In 1686 an Inventory of the furnishings of the house gives an interesting account of the bright colourful decor of many of the rooms and indicates that successive members of the Hope family had followed current trends in moving away from the bleak austerity of a house of defence to one in which the emphasis was on comfort. Apart from normal maintenance, however, no major structural changes took place until 1697. At a meeting at Craighall on 21st May, 1697, it was agreed amongst the curators of Sir William Hope to "the designed reparation of the house of Craighall as drawn and ordered by Sir William Bruce . . . ". What resulted from Bruce's pen was a screen frontage grafted onto the older building. Built of channeled ashlar, this had a central doorway flanked by two square windows and above, two arcades each with three arches.

A segmental pediment set with a panel bearing the date 1697, and the motto SPERO. SUSPIRO. DONEC surmounted the structure.

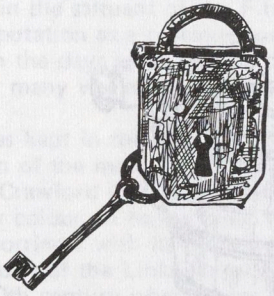
This type of conversion aimed at a more stately and comfortable style of living was, however, only part of a more ambitious utilitarian programme that had long been underway within the policies of Craighall itself. These had been enclosed with stone dykes in 1666–67. Extensive planting had been undertaken; trees costing £107 had been bought from Newburgh. Two years later six hundred trees costing £40 had been 'sett in the Breas'. Although modest in comparison to the planting done by the Earl of Leven on Eden moor "wherein his Lordship in different inclosures, has some millions of firrs all thriving wonderfully", the Craighall examples are nonetheless an important indication of sound long-term economic investment, as well as a working out of contemporary legislation regarding afforestation.

At the end of the century Sir Robert Sibbald described Craighall as "a good house with gardens, great inclosures and much planting." It was totally demolished in 1957, but the Museum at least still retains the lock and key for it, handed over by the family of the last Baron Bailie.

The Tollbooth

The tollbooth was built in 1673 at a cost of £1,036. Next to Craighall house it was the most important building in the administration of the barony. Here the baron court would meet probably three or four times a year to deal with minor civil actions, petty breaches of the peace, matters of debt, theft etc. As the authority of central government had spread, notably that of the court of Session, the extent of the baron's jurisdiction and the power of the barony court, had diminished. Although it no longer dealt with serious crime of violence, it had – and still has – the facilities for incarcerating minor offenders. Attended by tenants and vassals who were required by the terms of their leases to be present as suitors, it provided a valuable source of justice and an impartial meeting place where quarrels between tenants could be settled. For the landowner it was both a useful agent for wielding his authority and a source of revenue as the fines exacted in the court went directly into his hands. It could be used by the landowner, for example, as happened in the Baron Court at Stitchill, to enforce tree planting on the estate or to prevent abuses such as moor burning taking place. Its business also included matters of tresspassing on crops, excessive peat and turf cutting and enforcing the payment of arrears of rent. In effect its role was applicable to all the tenants in the social structure of the estate and it thus provided a cohesive and uniting force within the barony. A free and easily available source of justice, it helped to maintain the stability of the community and encourage the all important good neighbourhood. The other more common day-to-day purpose of the Tollbooth was its function as weigh house. Originally incorporating part of the present hotel, the weigh house was considerably more spacious and would have contained the equipment necessary to measure and weigh the grain rents brought in to Ceres from the surrounding farms. It would serve too as a convenient weighing centre for the grain mill next door, but it is questionable if it could ever have coped with the produce of the other nine grain and five lint mills which existed in the parish by the end of the 18th century, or the estimated 30,000 bolls of grain produced by the mid 19th.

It is particularly appropriate that the Museum should now house a comprehensive selection of weighing machines and grain measures in the room above the former gaol. To this day its original dual function is aptly summed up in the motif of a weigh beam carved on the pediment stone above the entrance with the motto GOD BLESS THE JUST, with the grim reminder that a prison or a period in the jougs on the outside wall awaited those who were either not so fortunate or less circumspect.



CRAIGHALL LOCK & KEY

JOUGS

Exhibits connected with the Weigh House and its functions

Crime and Punishment

67/1 Lock of Jougs
Prison Bars from the Toft, Elie.

73/120 Police Batons and Truncheons

73/122 Bull's Eye Lantern (Police)

73/121 Handcuffs

Weights and Measures

67/3 18th century Weigh Beam found in Weigh House.

69/56 Old Steelyard for heavy weights.

71/74 Coal-merchants Weighing machine to weigh 1 cwt.

John White & Sons, Maker of Weighing Machines since 1715. Auchtermuchty.

73/25 Counter scales.

69/51 Counter scales 2.

69/22 Counter scales with small brass pan for sweets.

70/77 Counter scales with porcelain pan for butter.

Pattern Blocks of parts used in foundry for making of weighing machines.

67/100 & 76/79 Wooden Grain Measures.

All with Fife Revenue Number

76/121 Wooden Grain Measure 8 galls. with rolling pin for levelling top.

71/82 Wooden Grain Measure, lippie, old Scots measure = quarter peck.

Craighall & the Hopes

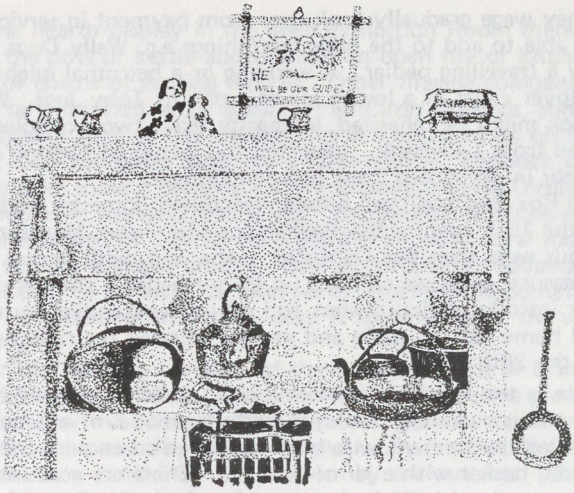
68/20 Lock and key of Craighall Castle.

72/30 Old photograph in green velvet frame.

Watercolour of Bruce's frontage.

72/42 Mug commemorating Coming-of-Age of George Edward Hope, given to children at Ceres School, 1907.

GRAIN MEASURE



Hearth and Home

In the setting up of a cottar's living-room in one of the cottages adjoining the Weigh House, no specific date was intended, the object being to record the general picture of the pre-machine age rural worker's home, and to rescue for this display furnishings from local cottages about to be demolished or reconstructed.

The fireplace, built-in exactly as it was in a Falkland cottage, differs little from the type depicted by Sir David Wilkie in his paintings such as "The Cut Finger" or "The Saturday Night". In his early life as a son of the Manse at Cults and on later visits to his native village, he sketched interiors and living figures which he later employed in his paintings. The iron kettle hung on the rantree (hook up the chimney), the kail-pot bubbling on the warm stone hob, the bannocks toasting by the bars of the fire would be a sight as familiar to the young Wilkie in the early years of the 19th century as it was to a Ceres visitor to the Museum recalling his boyhood experiences at the end of the same century. His Saturday treat was "twa treacle scones" hot from the girdle as reward for rocking the bairn in a cradle such as is shown in the Period Room.

The grey panel with swivel door, taken from a Balmullo cottage, conceals an already existing salt-hole by the hearth: on the other side a saut-backet of wood serves the same purpose of keeping the salt dry near the fire. Once reclaimed the hard way in the saltpans of the Fife shore at Methil, Dysart and Culross, salt retained its reputation as a precious commodity. Its usefulness extended beyond mere savour in the days when herring or a piece of home-killed ham had to be preserved over many weeks as a variant to the normal diet of porridge, kail and potatoes.

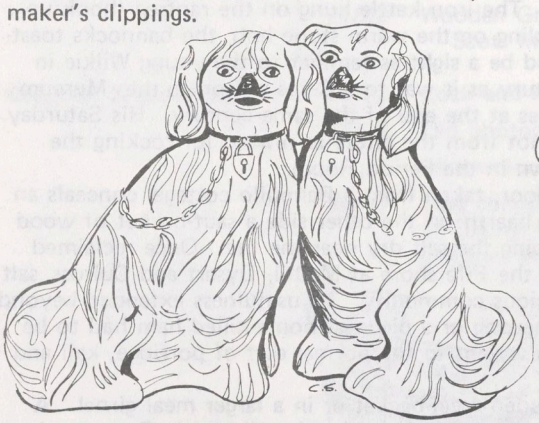
Oatmeal was kept in the wooden meal-backet or in a larger meal girnel. A pottery version of the meal barrel was produced by the Kirkcaldy Factory of Morrison and Crawford who specialised in a type of slipware introducing streaks of a secondary colour on to the basic with the aid of a branch of broom. The old wooden porringer with its thick horn spoon might be replaced later by the sponge-ware bowl of the Links Pottery, Kirkcaldy, known as "Young's Pottery" in the early 20th century when bairns of the era decorated their sandcastles with the pottery waste.

As the money wage gradually took over from payment in service, the cottar's wife might be able to add to the basic furnishings e.g. Wally Dugs, perhaps sold at the door by a travelling pedlar. A wedding or a betrothal might produce from the employer a gift of a loving jug or a pair of Toby Jugs. When the Will was read a clock might be inherited, a Waggity Wa' : two examples are on show from Cupar and from Ladybank. Inherited too would be Granny's best teacups to be kept safely in the closed Press or open Dresser.

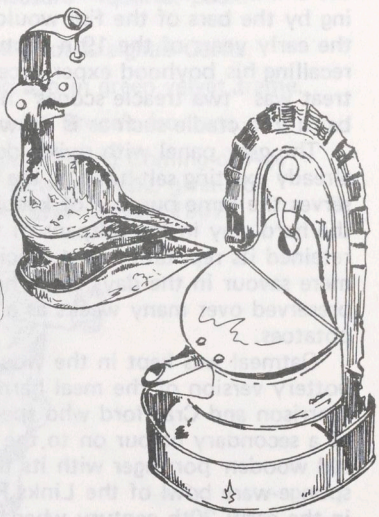
The built-in Box Bed had been a long established domestic tradition in Scotland. In the 16th century the English traveller Fynes Moryson recorded "Their bedsteads were then like Cubbards in the wall, with doores to be opened and shut at pleasure, so as we climbed up to our beds". The better-off household thereafter introduced fourposters and other free-standing furniture, but in the small rural home lack of space and money dictated the retention of the box-bed even into the 20th century.

The example in the Museum, from Collessie, is without doors, of the open recessed type, and is currently displayed with the model of a Granny in mutch and shawl greeting the farmer's wife who has called to enquire for her health, bearing a covered basket with a jar of beef tea. There are accounts of as many as six bairns at one time sleeping crossways in a bed of this kind. With the bed are the original red and white cotton valences and the mattress of straw covered in sacking — a use of local material that would make replacement easy for any farm hand changing master and tied home at the term.

The tin cruisie light — the one on view was found on the rafters of a Ceres cottage — would be supplemented first by a candle or a candle reading lamp, and then by the paraffin lamp. In no case can it have been an adequate light either to read the Family Bible (bought in chapter instalments in Markinch in the 1870's) to spin and prepare thread for the loom, or to produce the handmade extras like the clootie or rag rug and the patchwork quilt made of gleanings from the dress-maker's clippings.



WALLY DUGS

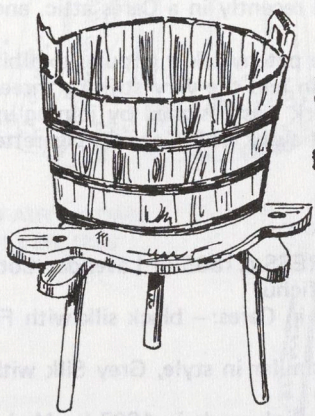


CRUISIE LAMPS

In the general hearth display in the Main Exhibition Room there is a swey on which to hang the pots or kettle above either an open fire or kitchen range, aided by links or chains of varying lengths. Other fireside companions were the steel fender to be burnished every Saturday, and iron fire-dogs, some commemorating national figures such as General Gordon at Khartoum on his camel, or others made at local foundries depicting a farm animal. Bannock spades to turn the scone or oatcake show a pleasing variety in design, as do Girdles forged in a number of Smiddies in the neighbourhood. The girdle has a long association with Fife, as the Hammermen of Culross were granted an early royal monopoly in the making of the straight handled griddle. One of the smaller hoop-handled ones on display has a history of its own; its Fife owner, then on the domestic staff of King George VI at Buckingham Palace, used it to supplement the wartime rations of her colleagues.

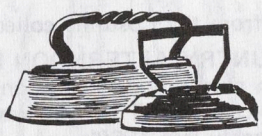
Elsewhere in the Museum are signs of the rising standard of living of the Victorian and Edwardian Middle Class – moulds for decorative plasterwork on ceilings, joiner's heavy moulding planes for more elaborate doors and skirting boards; porcelain, glass and silver plate for the table, the Hot Water Jugs and Hip Bath to be laboriously carried to the bedroom by the servants. There are signs too of the late Victorian love of gadgetry in the knife cleaners, marmalade cutters pressure cooker, and in the sewing and knitting machines.

However nostalgic for the past, there is no modern housewife who would care to tackle her weekly wash without running water, in a wooden tub with hand scrubbing board, or to iron with heavy flat irons requiring heating and re-heating at the fires. A comprehensive display of washing and ironing equipment on the lower level includes the Dalli, Bolt, Methylated spirit and Gas irons with a heavy "goose" designed with gas burner and protective shield for the use of a tailoress in Cupar. Precursor of the modern domestic scene is the early Hotpoint Washing Machine of 1925 used in Dunfermline, and with it the later Rotary Ironing attachment of ten years after, probably the first of its kind.



WASHTUB & STAND

DALLI IRON



TAILOR'S GOOSE & FLAT IRON

Costume

The Museum has an interesting collection of clothing worn in Fife. The garments are mainly for women and children, the earliest being a mid-18th century gown of grey silk woven with a design of roses. When discovered in Ceres it had been used for theatricals but it has recently been restored to its original beauty. The Playfair family have lent two remarkably fine gowns discovered wrapped in a blanket-chest in one of the family homes: the first, a late 18th century Sack Back of beige silk with vivid rose design is complete except for the stomacher: the second, a brown and silver taffeta dress of about 1855, had with it a photograph of the original wearer. The Sack Back is believed to have been worn by the lady who became the wife of Principal Playfair of St. Andrews University.

Most of the clothes are from the Victorian and Edwardian eras, and to complete the outfits there are elegant accessories such as fans, parasols and Paisley and other shawls. Inevitably, perhaps, it is the 'Sunday Best' of the wealthier members of society that has been preserved, but some everyday garments including late 19th century serge skirts, flannel underwear and servant's bonnets have also survived.

The passing of the old habit of going into deep mourning brings to the Museum many of the outmoded heavy black clothes, and such mourning tokens as hair bracelets, mourning rings and jet jewelry. A well-padded overcoat would have kept the gentlemen warm in the icy blasts at the winter funerals. The finest of the black gowns is a heavily beaded black satin trimmed with purple for the bride's mother to wear at her daughter's marriage in 1899.

Some of the costume, particularly baby robes, collars, cuffs and petticoats are decorated with fine whitework embroidery. In addition there are examples of the crochet, macrame, knitting and beadwork, which were produced in such large quantities in 19th century households, and the tools with which they were made. Representing the efforts of young needlewomen are samplers, including one worked with needlemade lace, dated 1797, made by Janet Syme aged 12. An unusual item is a book from the 1850s containing both instructions for teaching needlework and worked examples. More unusual still is a wire dummy, complete with adjustable bustle, found recently in a Ceres attic, and, once, no doubt, the pride of a local dressmaker.

A recent revival of the art has made patchwork a popular exhibit, patterns include diamond, hexagon and log cabin and the very striking three-dimensional black box. A 1920's form of patchwork was designed by joining up the silk ribbon floral – patterned squares given away with Kensitas cigarettes.

Other items from the Costume collection:–

73/95 COUNTRY AFTERNOON DRESS c.1865 in Lavender Cotton worn with muslin undersleeves and fichu.

78/34 SUNDAY BEST DRESS worn in Ceres:– black silk with Fern Pattern, probably late 1860's.

77/91 Slightly later than above but similar in style, Grey Silk with coloured stripe.

73/20 DINNER GOWN in Black and Pink made in 1897 by Madame Moffatt, St..Andrews, for Mrs. Brown wife of County Assessor on the occasion of his Farewell Dinner in Fife.

73/21 HEAVY BLACK MOURNING GOWN 1912 made by McKerchar, Dressmaker & Milliner, Cupar.

75/18 EDWARDIAN RIDING HABIT for Lady Riding side-saddle.

72/10 DECORATIVE CROWN of a KIRKING BONNET:– worn by a New Bride on her first Sunday in Church, Kirkcaldy.

74/69 & 70 Victorian Bonnets.

68/134 – 69/70 – 70/144 Long Christening Robes in Ayrshire-type work
72/111 – 76/104 – 78/1 worn by Fife Families.

MRS. PLAYFAIR'S GOWN
BROWN/SILVER 1855

COUNTRY AFTERNOON DRESS
1865

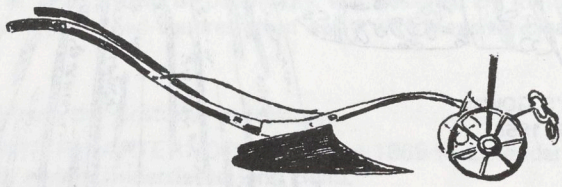
Agriculture

The 18th century was a time of far-reaching change in Scottish agriculture when landowners along with their tenants were active in carrying out measures which would improve the economic yield of their lands.

The effects of these wide-spread ideas about Improvement were felt rapidly in Fife and Fife men were amongst its leaders. The first President of the "Society for Improving in the Knowledge of Agriculture" founded in 1723 was Thomas Hope of Rankeillour who had studied progressive agriculture in France, Holland and England. In the course of the century the farming economy of Fife changed fundamentally; the old run-rig lands were re-divided and enclosed and the commons were divided and ploughed up or planted with trees to provide very much the pattern of fields and landscape still evident today; extensive liming and manuring and greatly improved drainage helped to reclaim waste land; improved rotations and the development of new and better seeds and breeds helped to increase yields. With the introduction of the turnip, greater numbers of livestock could be kept, and the spread of the potato helped eliminate famine. For farmers, farm workers and livestock alike, new buildings aided and reflected improved living standards.

The technology used to produce the first improved equipment was essentially local, based on the traditional skills of the blacksmith, joiner and farmer and on an inventive mind. Since the mid 19th century however, development has been based increasingly on industrial and technological expertise linked to new sources of power and developments in engineering, so that the specialist local craftsmen, who emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries to replace the 'jacks-of-all-trades', have themselves almost disappeared – rural blacksmith, saddler, harness-maker, cartwright, ploughwright, cooper, turner, bookmaker, mason and mill-wright.

The collection of agricultural exhibits in the Fife Folk Museum reflects the smaller tools and equipment of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Extremely functional, the tools were specifically designed for particular jobs. Such objects are a primary historical source, and ought to be considered as essential evidence alongside that knowledge we can gain by looking at old farm buildings, account books, and by listening to the tales told by old farmers and farm-workers recounting their youth.



Cultivation

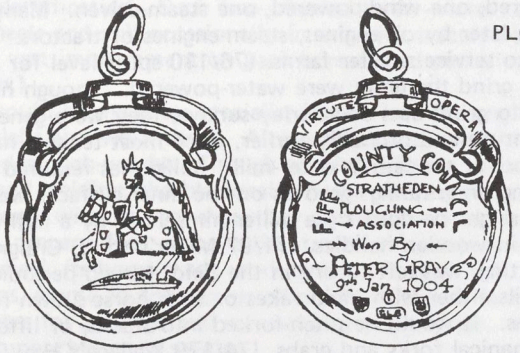
The 19th Century was the century of the horse. Most cultivating equipment was designed to be horse-powered – first wooden, then later iron harrows; rollers, muck-spreaders, seed-drills for corn, grass or root crops; horse-hoes, spring tines and grubbers.

It was the plough, however, that symbolised most the revolutionary nature of the agricultural improvements. In 1793 in Ceres parish "Both the old Scotch plough and the English with a curved mould board are used" though the latter had become more usual. There were 90 ploughs in the parish then; by 1837 there were at least 130, all of which would likely be the new swing ploughs, based on patterns pioneered in Scotland by James Small of Berwickshire. The first all-iron swing plough in Scotland seems to have been manufactured by Wilkie of Uddingston around 1803–4.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, local ploughwrights flourished all over Scotland, often using mass-produced mould-boards. They were all skilled craftsmen serving not only their own areas but further afield, e.g. Patterson of Alloa, Gray of Uddingston, Barrowman of Saline, Fife. A Barrowman plough has been found in the uplands of Welsh Carmarthenshire.

Ploughwrights would also make special ploughs to order – one by George Gray of Uddingston winning many ploughing match prizes in Fife and Kinross in the early 20th century, (70,199). These matches and agricultural Shows were organised by Agricultural Societies local and national, to encourage high standards. They proved highly popular with the ploughmen who prized the cups and medals they won. Long-service certificates were awarded by the Royal Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland, which was founded in 1784.

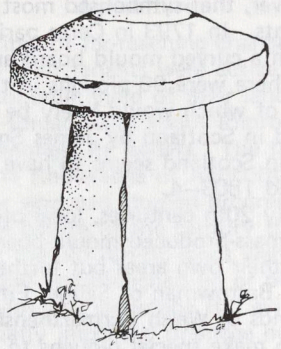
The swing plough remained dominant in Scotland until the introduction of the tractor plough (steam ploughs never caught on as they did in parts of England). From the mid 19th century the market was infiltrated by English firms such as Ransome's with their wheeled ploughs (71/8), and from the 1870's by American firms such as Oliver, whose ancestors were Scottish Border shepherds. These Oliver ploughs, nick-named 'Yankees' were light, easily repaired and relatively cheap and therefore proved very popular. The Yankee 12A in the Fife Folk Museum was used on a small -holding at Balmullo (68/30)



PLOUGHING MEDALS

Harvest

The shearing of corn was done by sickle, the scythe was used for grass. Only well into the 19th century, due primarily to a shortage of reapers, was the scythe adopted for corn, when cutting became a man's rather than a woman's job. After stooking in sheaves in the fields to dry the corn was stacked in the stackyard, either set on the ground with straw or brushwood and rubble below to keep it dry, or raised on stone pillars or stathel stones about 18 inches high overlaid with planks of wood. Their capstones helped keep vermin away from the grain.



STATHEL STONE

Stacks, whether of corn or hay, were thatched to keep out the weather, and secured with straw ropes made on the farm with a rope-twister or thrawcrook. Most rope-twisters were tied around a farm-worker's waist; he turned the twister while a second man fed in straw or grass. A thrawcrook might have just one or up to three or four hooks giving simple mass-production (67/57 Triple Thrawcrook).

Fanners — machines to blow away the chaff and bits of broken straw from the threshed grain — were introduced to Scotland around 1710, but it was not until 1786 that Andrew Meikle of East Lothian, son of the man who brought the fanners from Holland, devised what appears to have been the world's first successful threshing machine. Prior to that every farm had its flails, hand-operated in the barn to beat the grain from the ear. By 1837 in Ceres Parish, threshing mills based on the new machines had made remarkable inroads — three were water-powered, one wind-powered, one steam-driven. Many were powered by horses; others later by oil-engines, steam-engines or tractors. Travelling mills were developed to service smaller farms. (76/110 spirit level for a travelling mill).

Meal mills, to grind the grain were water-powered. Though hand-querns and knocking stones to grind oats and barley survive, they were generally obsolete by the mid 18th century and probably earlier, since most tenants had been obliged or thirled to grind at the laird's water-mill. Millstones required regular dressing, so that the cutting or grinding grooves on the inner surfaces were kept clear and sharp. This might be done by a miller himself or by a mill-wright with iron picks or bills set in wooden handles. (71/97 Miller's tools, Craigmill, Newburgh).

Hay, after cutting, was left to dry in the field, turned periodically, and collected into coils either with hand rakes or with horse-drawn rakes, tedders and tummlin tams. It would be pitch-forked into stacks, or lifted by any of a variety of mechanical forks and grabs. (74/179 Wallace's Hay Clip-fork).

Potatoes could be lifted with a graip (fork) or with any of the specialist diggers that were developed during the later 19th century, alongside mechanical reapers and mowers, by such firms as Jack of Maybole, Wallace of Glasgow, Allan of Murthly. After harvesting they were stored in pits or clamps, Grain, hay and turnips were fed to livestock and led to the development of e.g. hay knives, turnip slicers, chaff-cutters and grain-bruisers. Gorse was sometimes fed to horses after crushing the year-old shoots in a whin-mill, itself often horse-powered. (69/54 Plan for a horse-driven Whin Mill found at Melville House).

Horses, Carts and Harnesses

Horses were pre-eminent in the 19th century both for farm work and transport. Around 1760 each old Scotch plough in the parish of Ceres was drawn by 4 oxen and 2 horses: by the 1790's, 2 oxen and 2 horses sufficed. The new swing-plough required just one pair of Clydesdales, and one rather than two men. This new breed of horse was developed in Scotland to complement the new machinery, and though little bred in Fife until the present century, it was in widespread use.

Horses need harness, whether for pulling ploughs or reapers, for threshing mills, for pulling carts and carriages, or for riding. Harness of all kinds could be made by a harness-maker, but where specialisation had occurred, saddlers specialising in saddles, and collar-makers in collars were required. The range of a saddler's tools, each for a specific task, suggest the skill required: the quality of the collars tells of the standards achieved. (67/118 Saddler's Tools for making Horse collars, used at Letham, Fife). For special occasions, such as ploughing matches, horsemen took great pride in polishing and decorating specially made show harness made by craftsmen like Honeyman of Cupar (69/124), or Thomson of Kirkcaldy (74/155). Examples of the art can still be seen each year at the Royal Highland and other agricultural shows. As well as using proprietory products, each had his own remedies for healing animals to set alongside those of the vet. All this equipment for harnessing, grooming and doctoring horses was generally kept on racks and in cupboards in the stable or harness-room at the farm steading. (74/149 Tin medicine bottle : 74/136 Harness Racks).

Though roads appear to have remained poor into the 19th century farm transport was improving and one-horse wheeled carts on iron axles appeared by 1800. They were used for work around the farm, also to carry produce to market, and lime, marl and coals to the farm. There were fixed box carts, coup (tipping) carts and harvest carts. Most larger farms attached name plates to their carts for identification. Such two-wheeled carts – later to be given smaller, rubber-tyred wheels and still occasionally in use with tractor boards instead of shafts – were a vast improvement on pack-horses, sled and slipe. (71/9 Box Cart – Pitcruivie, Leven.)

Cart bodies could be made by specialist joiners in small engineering works, Wheelwrights might also work there. Alternatively a blacksmith might himself be wheel-wright and plough-wright. Though restricted today to a little shoeing, general repairs and welding, the blacksmith had a vital role in earlier agricultural Scotland. His forge with its pear-shaped or circular bellows, its anvil, water tank, tongs, hammers, pincers, files, rasps, buffs, traveller for measuring the circumference of a cart-wheel, its home-made work-bench and tool rack, its stock of partly made horse shoes, (some to counter specific deformities or faults in horses' feet) was a social centre for a village and surrounding countryside. In 1793 the parish of Ceres alone supported eight smiths.

In those days Ceres had 2 annual fairs to dispose of grain, cattle and horses – 24th June and 20th October. The only reminder today is the Ceres Derby,a horse race around the green during the Ceres Games held on the Saturday nearest to 24th June.

Today a combination of high mechanisation and relatively low agricultural wages has resulted in drastic reductions in agricultural manpower in Fife as elsewhere. A minimum of labour, highly-skilled, is required to operate multi-horsepower tractors, multi-furrow reversible ploughs, giant combines, towering silos

and harvest stores, and carousel milking parlours. The men – and there are still some of them left – who followed the single furrow horse-ploughs, who used a scythe or at best a reaper or mower, who built stacks and potato pits, who worked early and late to milk cattle tethered in dark, low-roofed byres, would find much of modern agriculture as bewildering as work in a steelworks, coal-mine or electronics factory. And they would say, that stripping down and servicing a tractor can in no way compare with rubbing down and caring for a horse. At the same time, a comfortable safety cab, proof against wind and rain off the North Sea compares very favourably with mud-encrusted boots, sodden clothing and aching bones trudging back the two or three miles or so to the steading.

Agriculture

Worthy of note in a large selection of Dairy equipment are:–

68/154 Large Horn Milk Ladle found in the Dairy next to the Museum, probably 18th century.

70/195 Very old staved Plunger Churn.

68/75 Plunger Churn made in 1906 in Joiner's shop at Woodhaven, N. Fife and sold for 4/6d.

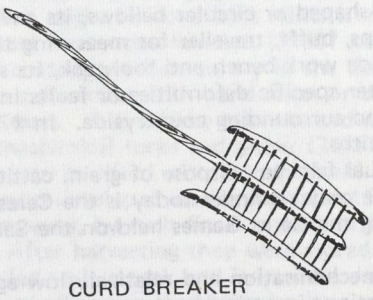
71/96 An attempt to lighten the burden of churning by hand, an oscillating valve steam engine designed for propelling a paddle in a small glass churn.

72/65 Miniature Cream Can to fit onto handle of larger milk can.

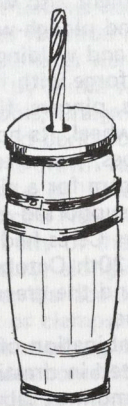
69/32 Wooden Milk Pail or luggie.

69/106 Curd Breaker – a long curved handle with wire ribbed rake to stir and break up the curd in cheese-making.

67/162 Cheese vat with narrower lid and holes in the side, so that the excess liquid could be forced out gradually under a Cheese Press of Iron or Stone (71/12 & 77/60) until the cheese was of a good shape and consistency.



CURD BREAKER



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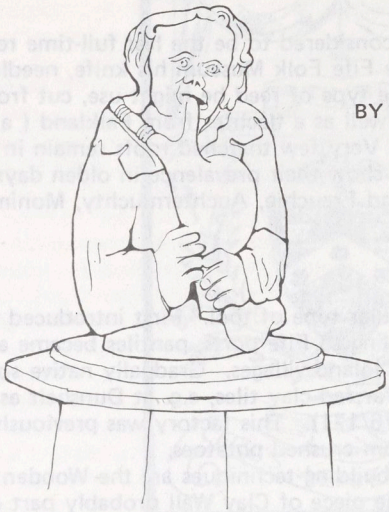


FREESTONE CARVING OF A PIPER
BY JOHN HOWIE OF SAUGHTREE, CERES,
WHO ALSO CARVED
"THE PROVOST"

CRAFTS AND CRAFTSMEN

Stone-mason.

The tools of a Ceres stone-mason are amongst the earliest exhibits donated by a local family, and must have changed little since the days of John Howie whose stone carving "The Provost" has become widely known as the mascot of Ceres. A caricature of the Rev. Thomas Buchanan, who was the last ecclesiastical provost to be appointed to Ceres from the Cathedral at St. Andrews in 1578, this effigy, for a time lost to the district, was restored and set up by public subscription in a central position on a gable end similar to its original one in the garden of Kirklands House. From the same Mason's hand came the freestone carvings of a piper, one on the roof of Saughtree Cottage where Howie once lived, and one which is now in the Museum (69/11).

Some of the mason's tools have been found in the stone-work of buildings where they must have been embedded for a long time; a Crooky Bar (68/180) came from a railway bridge constructed in 1875; chisels in the walls of 18th century Ceres houses have the Mason's own mark upon them – identification marks which are well illustrated in a volume in the Museum's library, 'Pre-reformation Churches in Fifeshire' by J. Russell Walker R.I.B.A., published in 1895. Mason's tools such as calipers, mells and chisels appear on some head-stones in Fife graveyards as do other trade insignia like weaver's shuttles.

In the days before the professional architect the stone-mason was an important figure in local life and could be both designer and executor of the building work, quarrier and carving artist in local stone.

The house at the end of the old Bishop's Bridge spanning the Ceres Burn is St. John's Masonic Lodge, built for the Ceres Branch (established 1765) of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Scotland. The repair and restoration of this building as a private residence was the first major project of the Central and North Fife Preservation Society in the 1960's. Mason's Tools: 67/114; 68/43; calipers 72/18; Mells 72/51; 73/53.

Thatcher

John Brough of Auchtermuchty considered to be the last full-time reed thatcher in Scotland, donated to the Fife Folk Museum his knife, needle and beater. There is also a sample of the type of reed he might use, cut from an island in the Tay near Newburgh as well as a flachter from Falkland (a peat spade for cutting the ridging turfs). Very few thatched roofs remain in the district but there are illustrations to show their prevalence in olden days in Newburgh and Lindores, Falkland and Freuchie, Auchtermuchty, Monimail and Collessie.

Tiler

The Tiler required his own particular type of tool. First introduced from the low Countries as ballast in ships trading to Fife ports, pantiles became an architectural feature in many coastal and inland villages. Gradually native sources of supply arose to satisfy the demand for red clay tiles, e.g. at Dunshelt as illustrated in photograph and sample tile (76/171). This factory was previously used to produce starch for linen made from crushed potatoes.

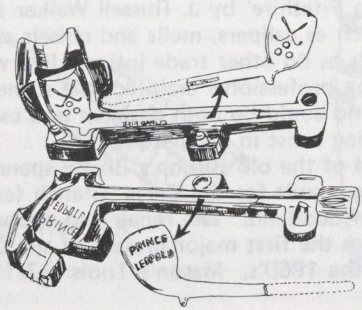
Other interesting relics of earlier building techniques are the Wooden Rone pipe (70/50) from Arncroach and the piece of Clay Wall probably part of an internal partition from the Lord Chancellor's House in Cupar. There are also photographs of Cruck Roof construction at Falkland.

Claypipe Maker

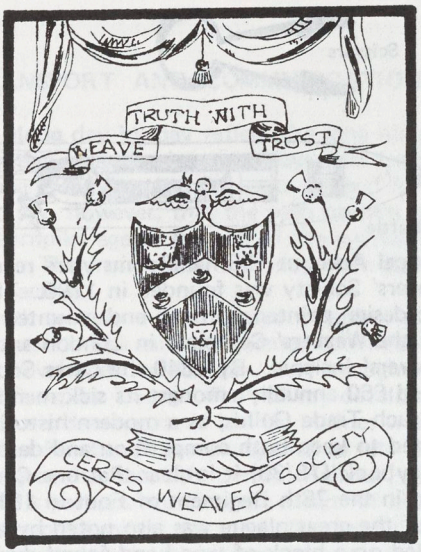
Three generations of Burtons made clay pipes in the Back Lebanon in Cupar for over 120 years. The last James Burton donated to the Museum a complete set of the various pipes produced in his workshop (68/54). Several more appear each Spring with the annual digging of the local gardens. The pipe with the crossed golf clubs (75/25, 78/54) and its mould (78/30) inscribed 'Prince Leopold' was designed for Prince Leopold of the Belgians when he visited Cupar and ordered a pipe while on his way to St. Andrews for a game of golf in 1878. There are other moulds, presses, trimmers and knives used in the various processes of pipe-making, and the Seggar or clay baking bowl in which the pipes were stacked for firing (75/51)

A by-product from the Factory was the block of pipe-clay used by the housewife to clean and decorate doorsteps, windowsills and dairies. It was often the medium for free design which nowadays would be described as 'doodling.'

71/68 Claypipe Press; 71/69 Claypipe Mould; 68/54 Burton pipe simulating briar; 73/64 Burton pipe, large shop sign.



CLAYPIPES AND MOULD



Linen Weaver

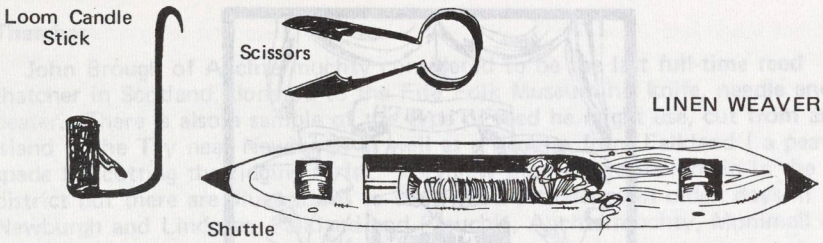
In the burghs and countryside of central and north Fife there can still be traced the remants of a once flourishing linen trade. At Ceres the shape of the end room of the Museum building suggests that it once housed the handloom. Despite modernisation it is still possible to identify weavers' cottages and their sheds close to running water in places such as Falkland, Collessie, Kingskettle, Newburgh. In Dairsie a group of modern houses has been named 'Osnaburgh Court' after the type of coarse linen formerly produced there and copied from Osnaburgh in Germany.

The reasons for the establishment of this trade in Fife were its suitable soil for flax-growing, availability of water for retting, room for bleaching, and convenient harbours for the import of additional supplies of flax and the export of the finished product. Water-driven mills gradually superseded the handloom, but for long the two processes were interdependable and co-existent.

The production of cheaper cotton in the 19th century caused a general decline in the linen industry, but factories continued in Kirkcaldy and Dunfermline, the latter town gaining a reputation for a luxury trade in fine damask. Coarser weaves were produced in several burghs of central Fife well into this century. Some of today's senior citizens recall starting work at the Kingskettle Factory at the age of 12, with a working day from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. with breaks for breakfast and dinner, all for a wage of 4/6d per week. The advance of man-made fibres in this century dealt the final death-blow to the industry.

The 18th century however, was the heyday of the Handloom Weaver, hence the confident ring of the quaint rhyme on the Cupar Weavers' Banner dated 1727 and hand-painted on linen:

"the Weaver Trade it is most fine and is renowned so
that there is neither poor nor rich that doth without it go".



LINEN WEAVER TOOLS

In the first Statistical Account 138 handlooms were recorded in the parish of Ceres, and their Weavers' Society was founded in 1795. Their two-sided banner (76/1) has a heraldic design painted on linen and mounted on blue silk, and is derived from that of the Weavers' Company in London and from the Glasgow Incorporation of Weavers' Insignia. By 1840 the Ceres Society had a membership of 200 and distributed £60 annually amongst its sick members – thus illustrating the dual purpose of such Trade Guilds, as a modern historian has pointed out, as "a fraternity dedicated to keep both competition and destitution from the door".

From his Army Paybook (75/30) it is clear that one Ceres Weaver was not so fortunate; he enlisted in the 78th Regiment of Foot in 1818 and died of cholera in 1832. This year of the great plague was also noted by an apprentice lad on an inscription pencilled on a block of wood and found during recent renovations to Auchtermuchty Village Hall (73/48).

Exhibits illustrating the survival into the 20th century of home spinning and weaving:

67/36 Muckle Wheel and Yarn Stretcher from Freuchie, with accompanying illustration from colour postcard showing their use by Mary Dick and Belle Marshall, reputed to have been the last two handloom weavers in Fife.

73/112 their Shuttle and Weaver's Scissors.

76/70 Linen Sheets dating from their factory days, given to donor for her bottom drawer.

Linen Samples on display:

73/114 18th century hand-woven, imprinted 'Cupar '83 A.M.'; perhaps an example of the stamping of linen after inspection for quality.

Handwoven Diaper and Sheeting from:

72/80 & 75/16 Auchtermuchty; 68/150 Gauldry; 69/109 Crail; 70/23 Balmullo; 73/49 Kingsbarns; 76/61 St. Andrews.

70/159 Early factory-made Towel with red border design of Lochleven Castle from Cunningham's Factory, Kinross.

72/1 Fine personalised linen with name and date in-woven 'Agnes Lindsay 1744" Agnes Lindsay was married in 1706 to John Makgill of Kemback.

73/65 & 76/85 Death Sets from Dunfermline and Kingskettle, and hand-sewn and embroidered gowns for shrouds illustrate the old Scottish custom that, however poorly a man might live, he must never be seen to die like a pauper.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The roads we travel along day by day reflect the long history of man's occupation of this land: we may be following trackways first trodden by our earliest ancestors or driving along a completely new route devised for the all-conquering motor-car. It is true to say, however, that the road pattern in north-eastern Fife was established in the turnpike age at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The main roads of today were also the principal routes followed by the stage-coaches.

Later in the nineteenth century a new transport pattern appeared on the map of Fife: the railway network. The railways seemed to threaten the roads as a means of long-distance travel and, incidentally, they brought the decline and eventual demise of the Turnpike Trusts. The railway developers were over-optimistic and their enthusiasm is demonstrated in Fife in lines which are now abandoned, such as the St. Fort-Newburgh branch opened as late as 1909, and that curious and abortive project the East Fife Central Railway, opened in 1898.

A small folk museum is perhaps not the best means of illustrating transport history. In general, transport exhibits are too bulky for display at the Weigh House site in Ceres. Nevertheless, within the museum there are many exhibits which, directly or indirectly, are related to the history of transport in Fife. As is to be expected, the major items on display date from the time when the horse was king of the road and lord of the farm. They range from the governess cart used by the Sharp family at Hilltarvit (71/1) to the minor adjuncts of travel such as bags, ships and carriage lamps and the relatively simple tools which were needed for road maintenance according to the theories of John Loudon Macadam.

The Hammerhead toll-board merits some special comment. The toll-house itself has now disappeared; a bus-shelter at the Springfield road end on the main road between Cupar and Kinross marks its site. There are, however, many such houses to be seen all over Fife. Among the most distinctive of these are the two double toll-houses in Cupar: one at the corner of the Ceres Road and the other at the East Road. The steelyards (weighing-machines) and the gates which were associated with the toll-houses have now all gone.

In the early nineteenth century there were two types of road: first, the Statute Labour Road which was maintained by payments made by local landowners based on the amount of land they occupied and, secondly, the turnpike road. This type of road was maintained by the Turnpike Trusts out of funds raised from the tolls paid by road-users. The Turnpike Trusts also received a proportion of the income of the Statute Labour Roads. The tolls were collected at toll-houses set at intervals on the main roads, but the money taken at the toll did not go directly to the Trust. The tenant or tacksman of the toll-house bought his tenancy at a public roup or auction and his profit lay in the amount he could collect over and above the rent paid to the Trust. Naturally, the tacksmen tried to get as much as they could out of the users of the turnpike, though they were expected to abide by charges laid down for the use of the road and were obliged by law to display the prices on a board on the wall of the toll-house. Both under-charging and over-charging were forbidden, but this did not prevent disputes arising, some of which even ended in court cases. The system was defective in that the Trusts did not benefit from the increased traffic on the roads because the profits went into the pockets of the tacksmen.

William Pagan, a Cupar solicitor, in **Road Reform** published in 1845 condemned the toll method of paying for the upkeep of the roads and advocated a system of imposing a tax on horses to replace both Statute Labour payments and tolls. The Museum possesses a copy of Pagan's book which was published on the eve of the arrival of the railway to this part of Fife. Long-distance traffic soon became the monopoly of the railways and the roads were comparatively deserted except for local traffic. There followed a period of gradual decline for the Turnpike Trusts. Eventually responsibility for main roads passed to the newly created County Councils (1889)

In 1840 there were over fifteen miles of turnpike road in Ceres parish and nine miles in Cupar parish. The coach carrying mails from Edinburgh to Dundee passed through Cupar daily. There were also two daily stage-coaches plying between Edinburgh and Dundee, as well as a coach on market days between Cupar and Dundee and another twice a week between Cupar and St. Andrews. In the summer months a coach passed through Ceres from Cupar to Largo to connect with the steam-boat service between Largo and Newhaven.

In the late eighteen-forties the coming of the railways changed all this. Fife became part of the rail-link between Edinburgh and the North East, though this was not fully completed until both the Forth and Tay rail bridges were in use in 1890. A network of railway lines was established in North Fife. The centre of this was the new railway town which grew up round Ladybank Junction. It is said that Asquith when he was M.P. for East Fife (1886–1918) used to try out new policies in his speeches at Ladybank. If they were acceptable to the railway workers of the burgh they would be acceptable to the country at large. Among the documents on display in the museum will be found a letter signed by Asquith (76/157).

The railway closures of the nineteen-sixties deprived Ladybank of its junction status, but the recent re-opening of the line from Ladybank to Perth to passenger traffic between Edinburgh and Inverness has restored some of its former glory.

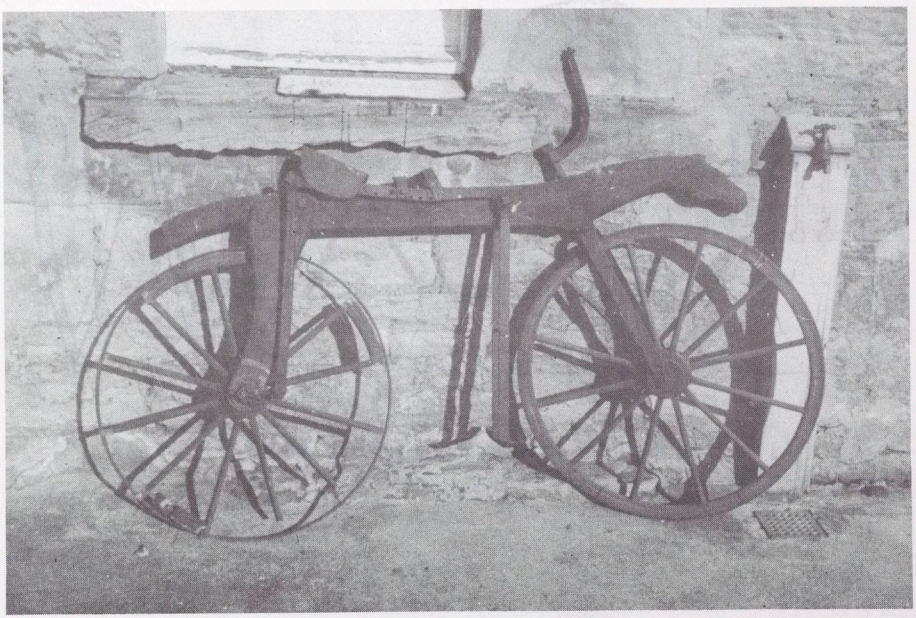
At the height of the railway boom the Penny Post was introduced (1840). Travel and correspondence were no longer the privilege of the better-off. One postal development which came towards the end of the century was the picture-postcard, though the picture-postcard as we know it was not possible in Great Britain until postal regulations were altered in 1902 to allow both address and message on the one side of the card. Previously the message and picture had to be on the same side, the other side being left free for the address. Not only were picture-postcards useful means of correspondence, they were also cheap souvenirs of places visited and as such were enthusiastically collected, often in specially designed albums. In an age of telephones we perhaps do not appreciate the extent to which the postcard was used as a quick and cheap means of communication. Often the postcards themselves had a transport theme. The museum possesses cards showing tramcars in Kirkcaldy, a train arriving at Strathmiglo Railway Station, a grocer's cart, a stage-coach and an early motor-car with attendant chauffeur. Frequently the messages on the reverse of the cards reflect the extent to which life in the rural community depended on train services to local stations long since closed and on frequent collections and deliveries of mail. In earlier days the people of Upper Largo could even get their letters on a Sunday by applying to a special window in the Post Office. (See exhibit 68/98)

Even while the roads were being deserted by long-distance travellers, there was already a sign of revival with the appearance of the bicycle. This is an aspect of

transport history which the Museum can illustrate particularly well. Here are four major landmarks in the development of the bicycle: a hobby-horse/Macmillan hybrid of the early nineteenth century, a bone-shaker (1865), an Ordinary or 'Penny-farthing' of 1879 and the ancestor of the modern machine, the first safety bicycle (c.1890). The badges of the Cupar Cyclists' Club and the Scottish Cyclists' Union (73/23) and the photograph of the Club (75/24) in the Museum bear witness to the popularity of this new pastime. Indeed, the comparatively empty roads of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made this a golden age of cycling. How many people today would consider taking a bicycle run from Dundee to Cupar and back on a Saturday afternoon? It would, on busy modern roads, be a rather hazardous journey and perhaps not very enjoyable except for a keen and determined cyclist. We have evidence from a postcard in the Museum collection that three young ladies from Dundee planned such a run in September 1904. The writer of the card mentions catching the Tay Ferry, a reminder of the extent to which access to Fife by road was limited until the construction of the road bridges in the nineteen-sixties. The valiant souls who rode the penny-farthing and the first safety bicycle (with solid tyres) to Inverness from Cupar in two days in 1890 also deserve mention in speaking of this heroic age of cycling.

With the arrival of the motor-car and, more particularly the motor-bus, the pattern of transport changed once more. It was the turn of the railway to feel the cold blast of competition from the roads. It seemed at the height of the railway closures of the nineteen-sixties that even the main line through Fife was in danger. But circumstances change; the limited supplies of oil in the world make the future of the car less certain; alternative and older forms of transport are considered; the railway train, the tramcar and even the humble bicycle.

HOBBY HORSE BICYCLE BEFORE RESTORATION



Prehistoric Artefacts in the Museum at Ceres.

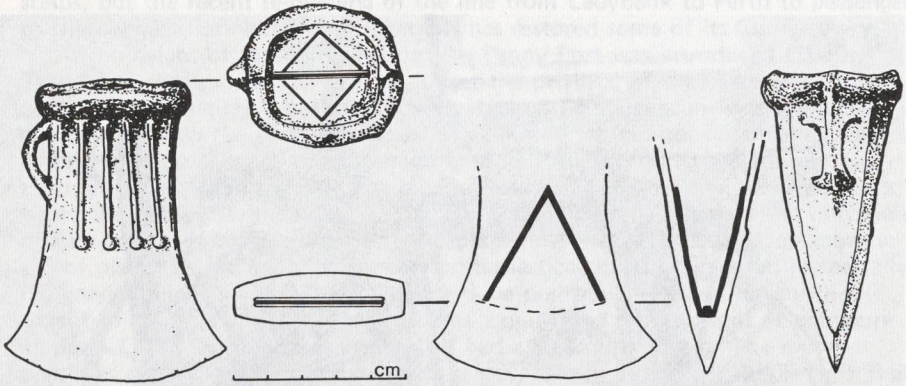
There are three finds of the prehistoric period in the collection.

The oldest of these is probably the group of flint flakes picked up at Tentsmuir, an area where many traces of occupation have been found. Two of these flakes have been used probably for cutting, and have a slight polish on the edge. This can be caused by harvesting grain, or cutting leather or meat; but it is not obvious exactly how this wear was produced. (Catalogue No. 77-78)

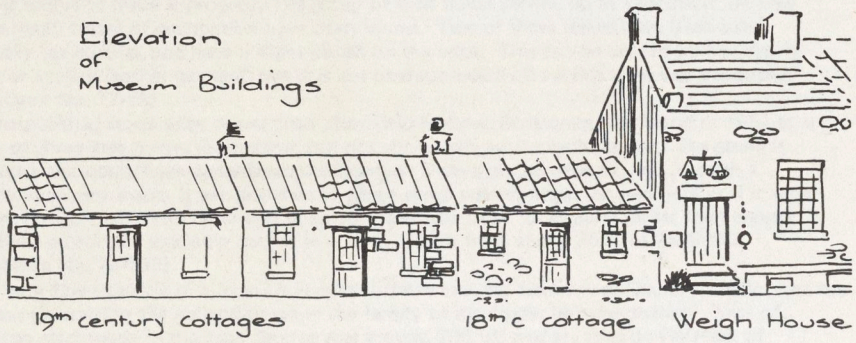
The polished stone adze or axe from Burnfield Hollow, Scotscraig was found in 1951 at a depth of three feet below the ground, but not apparently with anything else. The stone is epidiorite and could have come from the beach or from a glacial deposit, and, though a slightly awkward shape, it was polished to give a sharp cutting edge. Shown here as if it were an axe, it might be better described as an adze blade suitable for digging rather than chopping.. Such a tool was probably neolithic in date, that is from about 3500 to 2500 BC. (Catalogue No. 76-163)

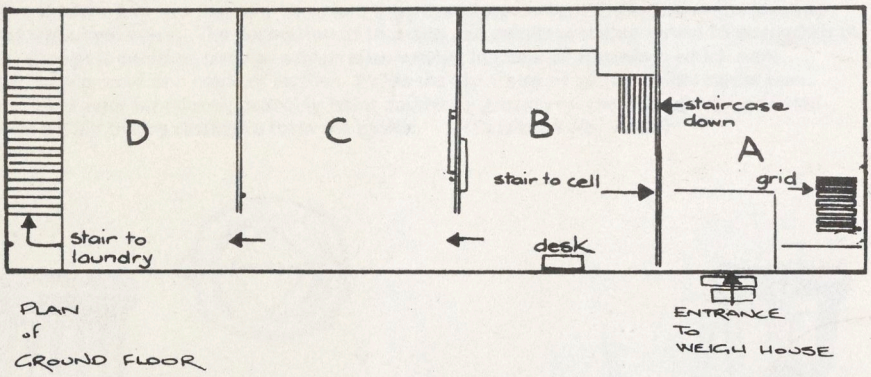
A very fine example of a loop-and-socket bronze axe was found near Gauldry many years ago, and was donated to the collection when the family of the finder left the district. Axes of this type were made in the Late Bronze Age around 800 BC and are found over most of Britain. Several others have been found in Fife.

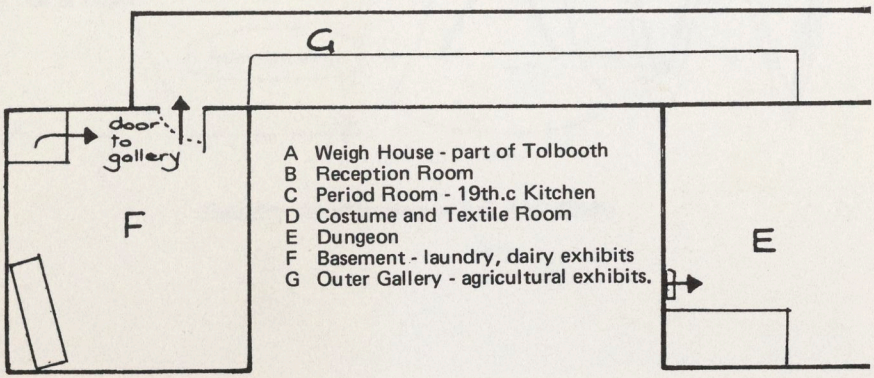
The Gauldry axe was cast in a two-piece mould, and was so well finished that the join was almost smoothed away. The decoration of four ribs and pellets probably served to strengthen the metal, though it could be perhaps a decorative version in metal of fastenings which were formerly functional and made of leather. Inside the axe traces of casting ridges can be seen. These ridges were functional, probably being caused by grooves on the plug which was fitted into the mould during casting to form the socket. (Catalogue No. 70-89)



Gauldry Axe Catalogue Ref. No. 70-89







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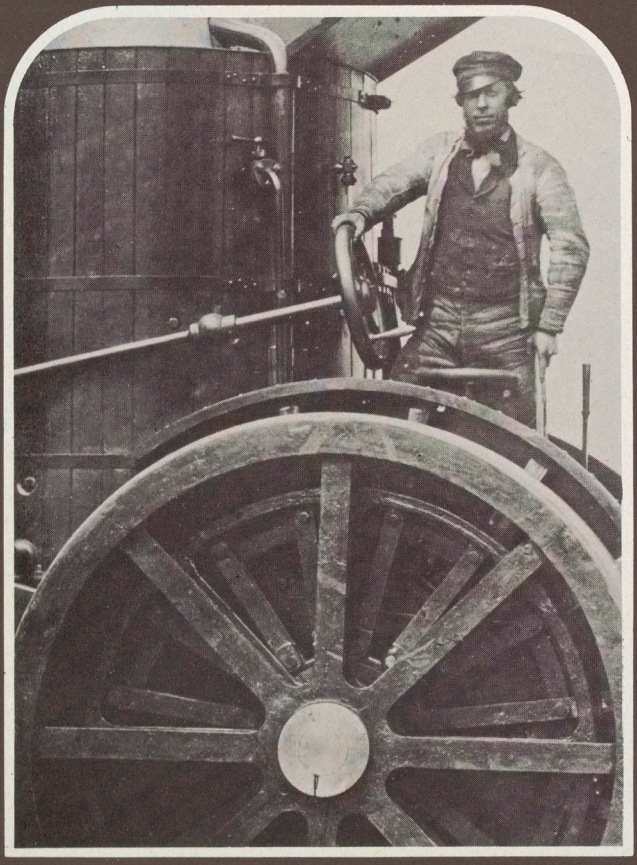


VICTORIAN ENGINEERING

The Royal Scottish Museum

Chambers Street

Edinburgh

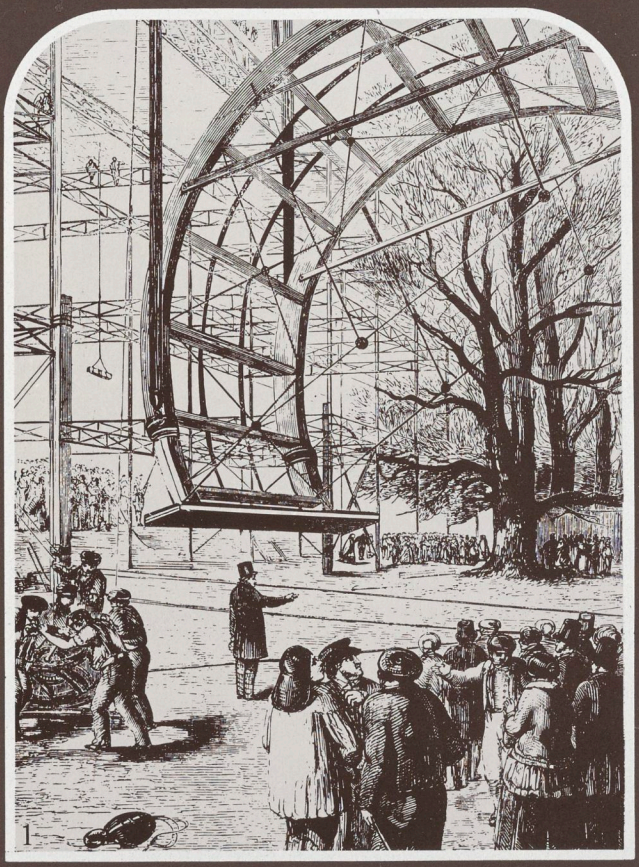
INTRODUCTION

During the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) Britain became the leading industrialized nation of the world. British manufactures and British skill were exported all over the world and London became the centre of trade and commerce. To the Victorians, technological innovations were a source of wonder. They held exhibitions in many British cities to display their engineering and industrial achievements. The most famous of these exhibitions was the Great Exhibition of 1851, held in London at a time when Britain was termed the 'workshop of the world'. This was the high point of her industrial progress and renown. From all over the country people came to the Great Exhibition to marvel at the demonstration of products and techniques that were transforming their world.

As a result of funds remaining from the 1851 exhibition, it was possible to assist the establishment of permanent museums in, for example, London and Edinburgh. The Industrial Museum of Scotland (renamed The Royal Scottish Museum in 1904) was established in 1854 and the foundation stone was laid by the Prince Consort in 1861. The design of the building by Captain Francis Fowke, was clearly influenced by Joseph Paxton's Crystal Palace. With its predominantly cast-iron structure and overhead lighting, the Museum is a classic example of Victorian architecture.

The Hall of Victorian Engineering, opened in 1976, presents a comprehensive survey of the achievements of 19th century engineers. Most branches of engineering, including railways and road transport, bridge building and other civil engineering constructions, ships and marine engines, steam engines, gas and electrical industries, mining and metallurgy, are represented by objects selected from the Museum's collections.

Cover illustration: Traction engine built by Alex. Chaplin & Co. Glasgow, 1863.



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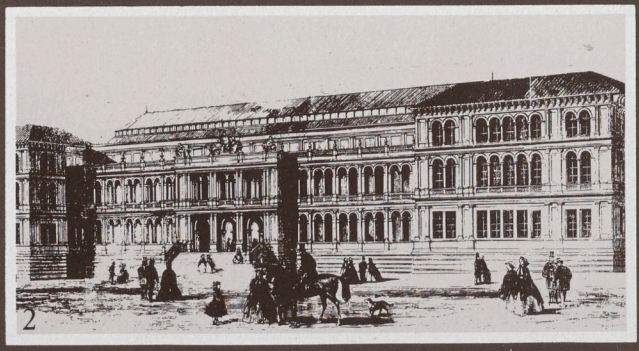


2

GENERAL ENGINEERING

Steam power and improved materials enabled civil engineers to build on a larger scale than ever before. Stretches of water were spanned by bridges on a scale previously unthinkable; the Britannia tubular bridge built of wrought iron in 1850, the ill-fated Tay bridge and that masterpiece of open-hearth steel construction, the Forth Railway bridge, completed in 1890. The Manchester Ship canal was another feat of civil engineering unprecedented in scale, employing an enormous concentration of steam power.

A feature of this gallery is the huge Tay leading light, designed by Thomas Stevenson. The remarkable Stevenson family, Robert and his sons, Alan, David and Thomas, are a prime example of the Scottish contribution to Victorian engineering. All were engineers for the Northern Lighthouse Board and were responsible for the design of famous lighthouses including Bell Rock, Skerryvore and Chickens Rock. Their interests, however, were not confined to lighthouse construction; all were acknowledged experts in other areas of engineering.

One of the most interesting exhibits in the gallery is the original pneumatic tyre produced by John Dunlop in 1888. Main roads and bridges had been transformed by the efforts of Thomas Telford and John McAdam in the early 19th century. Soon cheaper, faster transport and communication was available to most communities. In an attempt to make this speedy travel more comfortable, R.W. Thomson fitted a brougham with rubber tyres in 1845 but the venture was premature. Forty years later improvements in rubber manufacture enabled Dunlop to produce the first marketable pneumatic tyre.

5. Pen Grinding Room of Messrs Hinks and Wells. 1851
6. Gas Making at South Metropolitan Gas Works. 1890

RAILWAY ENGINEERING

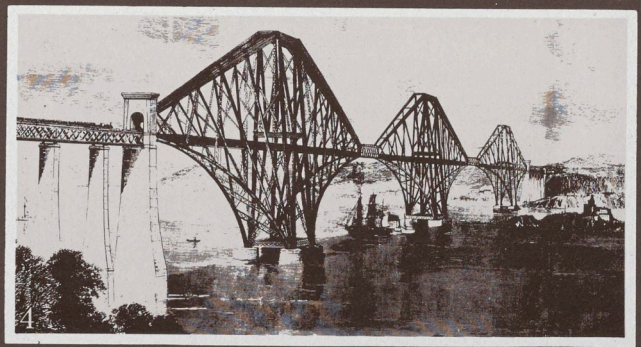
By 1850, only 20 years after the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, some 6,500 miles of track had been laid in Britain. In this short time, railways had become an acceptable feature of life. Their effect was revolutionary. The landscape was altered by railway cuttings, tunnels, bridges and stations. The speed of steam-powered locomotives meant that distance was less of an obstacle and more people travelled. Standard time was made law in Britain and time-tables regulated lives, even of those in remote communities.

Early locomotives were small and low-powered, designed primarily for coal haulage. Transport of raw materials and manufactured goods was, to begin with, considered more vital than the transport of passengers. However, public interest and the growth of urban centres encouraged companies to provide a public service, resulting in increased comfort, higher speeds and more powerful locomotives.

Enthusiasm for railways led to a 'railway boom' in the 1840s and the establishment of hundreds of small companies. Gradually these were absorbed into larger concerns and thus famous companies, such as the North British and the Caledonian in Scotland and the Great Western and Great Northern in England, came into operation. These employed their own engineers, had their own locomotive works and their own distinctive livery and design. The work of many of these engineers is illustrated in this gallery. These include, George and Robert Stephenson, Edward Bury and Daniel Gooch, Benjamin Connor, Patrick Stirling and Dugald Drummond.

1. Raising the Transept Roof of the Crystal Palace. 1850
2. The Industrial Museum of Scotland. 1861
3. Arrival of the Christmas train. 1850
4. Forth Bridge at Queensferry. 1889

3



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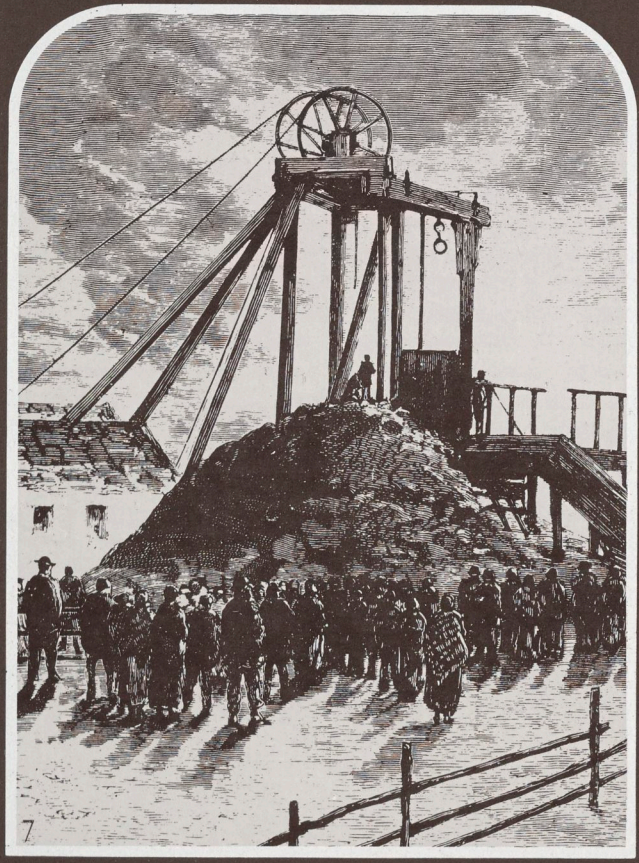

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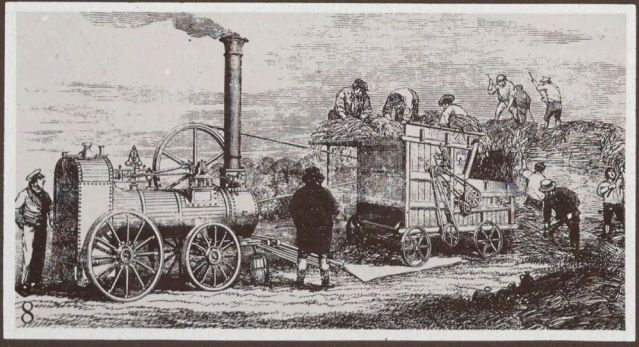


8

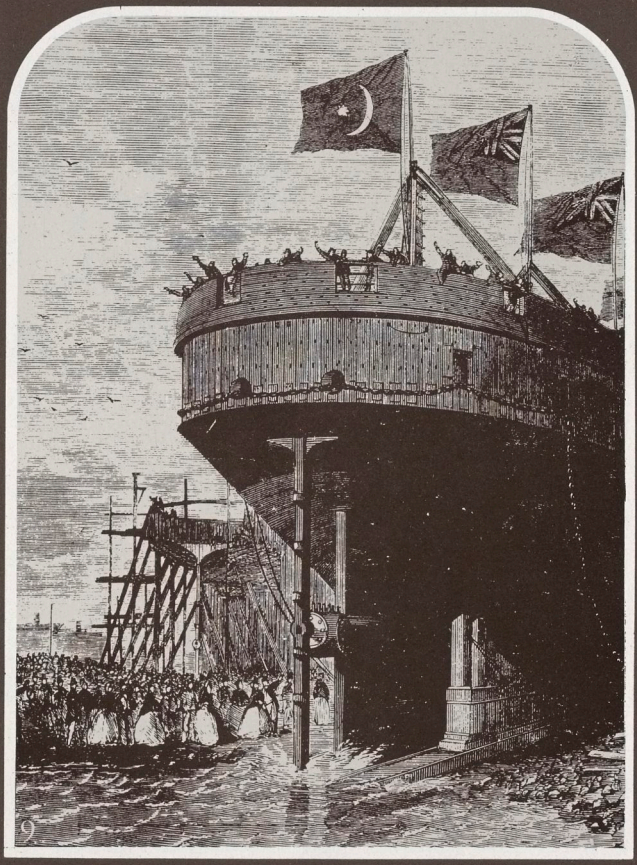
POWER

The great expansion of industry in the 19th century was due, in the main, to the development of a new source of power—the steam engine. There are several engines on display in the gallery, illustrating the development of the steam engine in this period. Improvements in design resulted in greater efficiency and versatility; engines became more powerful and more economic. Portable engines enabled agriculture to employ steam, though its use for that purpose proved to be limited. Steam was also applied to road vehicles.

The hot air engine, the gas engine and the petrol engine were introduced to provide power for small industries but, until the widespread use of the internal combustion engine in the 20th century, steam remained the unrivalled source of power.

Successful mass production of steam engines was due in large part to the work of the precision engineers. Men such as Henry Maudslay were aware that imperfect machinery resulted in poor products and that large-scale manufacture of reliable steam engines would depend on radical improvement in precision tools. His machine shops became the training ground for famous engineers, Joseph Whitworth, James Nasmyth, Samuel Seaward and many others. The measuring machine, the standardisation of screw threads, so that nuts and bolts were interchangeable, and the truly plane surface were vital developments for industry. With improved accuracy, reliability and measurement standardisation steam power could be harnessed more effectively to all means of production.

7. Disaster at Mauricewood Colliery, Penicuik. 1889
8. Hornsby's Portable steam-engine and threshing machine., 1851
9. Launch of the Osman Ghazi. 1864
10. The Colonel Lamb blockade-runner. 1864



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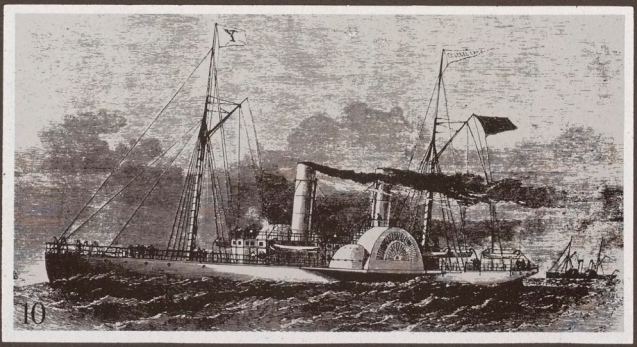


10

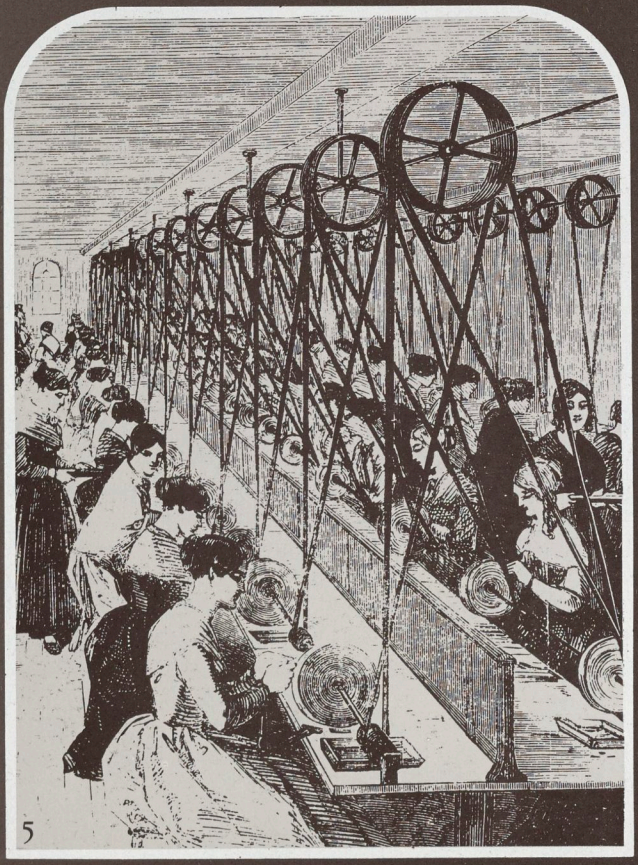
MARINE ENGINEERING

The steamship was established as a commercial proposition in the early 19th century. In the Victorian period, therefore, marine engineers concentrated on improvements and refinements. Composite ships were built with 'bones of iron and skins of wood'. Between 1840 and 1870 ships built entirely of iron predominated. Among the most notable of these iron ships were the 'Great Britain' and the 'Great Eastern', both designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel. After 1870, fundamental changes in the method of steel manufacture made it both possible and more economic to use steel in place of iron in shipbuilding.

Most early steam ships were paddle-driven, although a screw-propelled vessel had been built as early as 1804. In 1845 HMS 'Rattler's' success in a tug-o-war with HMS 'Alecto' persuaded the Admiralty to introduce screw propulsion. Thereafter, it became more widely used, although paddle-steamers continued to be built. Despite the apparent concentration on steam-powered vessels, the sailing ship reached the peak of its performance and popularity in this period. Famous tea clippers, such as the 'Cutty Sark' offered a fast, economic alternative to steam, at least until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

More powerful and more economical marine engines were also developed. The side-lever engine and the oscillating cylinder engine helped to resolve the problems of engine space in paddle-driven steamers. Simple expansion single-cylinder engines were gradually replaced, first by compound engines then by triple expansion engines, thereby reducing fuel consumption and costs.

Some famous shipbuilding firms, whose several generations contributed to the shipbuilding achievements of Britain in the Victorian era, are represented in the gallery.



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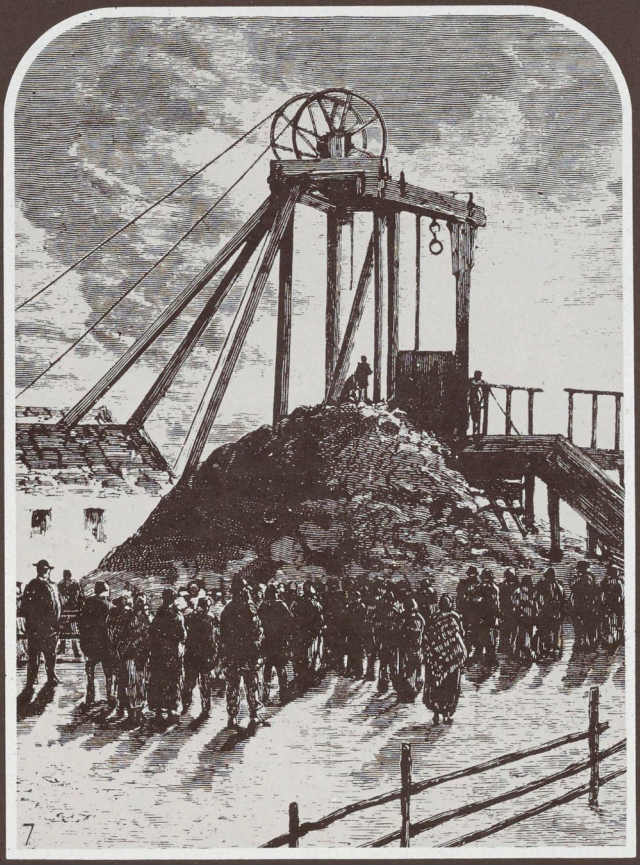
6

INDUSTRIES

The history of Victorian engineering is one of inter-dependence in all branches of industry. Without the steam engine deeper coal mines could not be worked, but widespread use of steam also depended on increased coal production. In 1780 Britain produced about eight million tons of coal, by 1850 that figure had risen to 49 millions, by 1880 to 147 million tons. Most of this increase was achieved by traditional methods. Handpicks and shovels were the chief tools of the coal miner, though coalcutting machines and rock drills using compressed air were introduced in the late 1850s. More important was the improved nature of explosives used to dislodge hard rock giving access to further coal seams. A selection of mining lamps in the gallery illustrates the attempts made to minimise the danger to miners from explosive gases. Despite these precautions, one thousand miners were killed annually between 1850 and 1886.

There were abundant supplies of iron ore near Britain's coal mines. By the 1860s, 90% of Britain's iron output was produced by the hot-blast furnace method introduced in the 1830s by James Neilson. James Nasmyth's steam hammer made it possible to forge very large pieces of iron. The production of steel in quantity instituted a fundamental change in manufacturing industries. Steel was stronger than iron and it was more versatile in its applications. Steel could withstand higher pressures, which permitted the building of large ships driven by steam turbines.

By 1837, gas lighting, first introduced by William Murdock in 1798, was firmly established in London and other major British cities. By mid-century, gas companies supplied lighting to most country areas. In 1870, however, Theophile Gramme produced the first commercially successful dynamo. A lamp with an incandescent filament, suitable for the home, was developed simultaneously by Joseph Swan and Thomas Edison in 1880.



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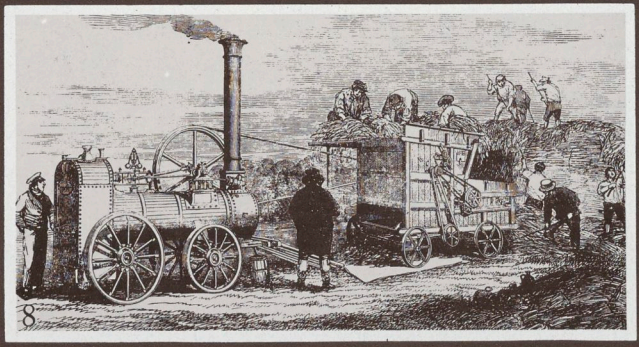

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GOLF COURSES IN SCOTLAND

Scale 1:760,320

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 Statute Miles
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 Kilometres

EXPLANATORY NOTE

- M8 — Motorways
- 736 — Route Classification "A" Roads
- 789 — Route Classification "B" Roads
- Single Track "A" Road with passing places
- Other Roads
- (F) — Car Ferries
- Civil Airfields
- Level Crossing; Road over; Road under — Railways
- Canals
- Region Boundaries
- Tidal Areas
- 1264 — Height in Feet above Sea Level

CONTOUR COLOURING

Sea Level 500 1000 1500 2000 3000 Feet
Sea Level 152 304 457 609 914 Metres

Continuation on same scale

SHETLAND

ORKNEY

NORTH SEA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

NORTH MINCH

WESTERN ISLES

LITTLE MINCH

SEA OF THE HEBRIDES

HIGHLANDS

NORTH CHANNEL

IRISH SEA

MAIN ROAD MILEAGES

19 Mileages

0 10 20 30 40 Miles

Longitude West of Greenwich

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GOLF MAP OF SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND has for centuries been the Home of Golf, a true golfer's paradise. Within a fairly small area there are well over 400 courses where visitors may enjoy a holiday round of golf, and they are all listed here.

Whether you wish to test your skills on a championship layout or enjoy the scenic splendour at a less demanding club, the choice is almost unlimited. Being in Scotland, there is the added attraction of having so much to do while you're not on the course — and that means the family can enjoy themselves too.

In Scotland, unlike many other countries, golf is reasonably priced and, thanks to the traditional framework of the game, visitors are welcome at almost every club. Not only can you enjoy a game on a course virtually unchanged for 200 years, but you can also benefit from a wide variety of modern facilities.

On many courses, no introduction or formality is required apart from paying the fee; some others are private courses where the visitor has no absolute right of entry although most of these are helpful, particularly if the visitor has a letter of introduction from his own club. Some private clubs may not take unaccompanied visitors on Saturdays or Sundays or after specified hours; such restrictions are indicated at the end of each entry (see the key to symbols).

Many clubs all over Scotland have competitions which are open to visitors, which could give your visit that extra interest. There is no room for details here, but if you ask at any Tourist Information Office, they will be able to tell you what is available locally — or ask the clubs themselves.

The Scottish Tourist Board would like to thank **The Benson and Hedges Golfer's Handbook** and David Hamilton, author of the **Good Golf Guide to Scotland** for their invaluable help in compiling this list.

Details on this map have been completely revised for 1984, and are as supplied to the Scottish Tourist Board. To the best of our knowledge these are correct at the time of going to press; there may, however, have been amendments subsequently and the Scottish Tourist Board can accept no responsibility for any errors.

1. ABERDEEN
Auchmill (1975)
Provost Rust Drive, Aberdeen
Holes: 9; 2,538 m
Visitors: U
Loc: 3 miles NW city centre

Balnagask
St Fittticks Road, Aberdeen
Holes: 18; 5,468 m; SSS 69
Visitors: U

Deeside (1903)
Bieldside, Aberdeen
Club: Aberdeen (0224) 867697
Sec: Aberdeen (0224) 29015
Holes: 18; 6,028 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: I
Loc: 4 miles W of Aberdeen

Hazlehead (1927)
Hazlehead, Aberdeen
Club: Aberdeen (0224) 35747
Sec: Aberdeen (0224) 37985
Holes: 18; 5,673 m; SSS 70
18; 5,303 m; SSS 68
Visitors: U

King's Links
Aberdeen
Holes: 18; 5,939 m; SSS 71
Visitors: WD—U (ex after 5.30 Mon & Thurs); Sun-M
Loc: Golf Road

Murcar (1909)
Bridge of Don, Aberdeen
AB2 8BD
Club: Aberdeen (0224) 704345
Sec: Aberdeen (0224) 704354
Holes: 18; 6,226 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: 5 miles NE of Aberdeen

Royal Aberdeen (1780)
Balgownie, Bridge of Don
Club: Aberdeen (0224) 702571
Sec: Aberdeen (0224) 641151
Holes: 18; 6,404 yds; SSS 71
9; 2,512 yds; SSS 34
Visitors: I
Loc: 2 miles from Aberdeen station

Westhill (1977)
Westhill, Aberdeen
Club: Aberdeen (0224) 740159
Holes: 18; 5,866 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U (ex Saturday)
Loc: 6 miles from Aberdeen on A944

2. ABERDOUR
Aberdour (1904)
Club: Aberdour (0383) 860698
Sec: Kinghorn (0592) 891156
Holes: 18; 4,926 yds; SSS 64
Visitors: U (ex Sundays)

3. ABERFELDY
Aberfeldy (1895)
Club: Aberfeldy (0887) 20535
Holes: 9; 2,733 yds; SSS 67
Visitors: U
Loc: Central Perthshire

4. ABERFOYLE
Aberfoyle (1890)
Club: Aberfoyle (08772) 493
Sec: Aberfoyle (08772) 531
Holes: 9; 5,452 yds; SSS 67
Visitors: U
Loc: Braeval, Aberfoyle

5. ABERLADY
Kilspindie (1867)
Club: Aberlady (08757) 216
Sec: Aberlady (08757) 358
Holes: 18; 4,957 m; SSS 66
Visitors: U

Luffness New (1894)
Aberlady EH32 0QA
Club: Gullane (0620) 843114
Sec: Gullane (0620) 843336
Holes: 18; 6,100 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M or by arrangement
Loc: 1 mile from Gullane

6. ABOYNE
Aboyne (1883)
Formaston Park, Aboyne
Club: Aboyne (0339) 2328
Sec: Aboyne (0339) 2215
Holes: 18; 5,304 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: East end of village

7. AIRDRIE
Airdrie (1877)
Rochsoles, Airdrie
Club: Airdrie (02364) 62195
Sec: Airdrie (02364) 63525
Holes: 18; 6,004 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: WD—I; W/E—M
Loc: 1 mile from Airdrie

Easter Moffat (1922)
Plains, by Airdrie
Club: Caldercruix (0236) 842289
Sec: Coatbridge (0236) 21864
Holes: 18; 6,221 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: Member introduction; non-introduced W/D only
Loc: 3 miles E of Airdrie

8. ALEXANDRIA
Vale of Leven (1907)
Northfield Course, Bonhill, Alexandria
Club: Alexandria (0389) 52351
Holes: 18; 5,155 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U (ex Sat, April-Sept)
Loc: off A82 at Bonhill

9. ALLOA
Alloa (1891)
Schawpark, Sauchie, Alloa
Club: Alloa (0259) 722745
Holes: 18; 6,240 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U

Braehead (1891)
Cambus, Alloa
Club: Alloa (0259) 722078
Sec: Alloa (0259) 215135
Holes: 18; 6,162 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 2 miles W of Alloa

10. ALNESS
Alness (1904)
Club: Alness (0349) 883877
Holes: 9; 2,436 yds; SSS 63
Visitors: U
Loc: ¼ mile N of Alness

11. ALVA
Alva
Club: Alva (0259) 60431
Sec: Alva (0259) 51351
Holes: 9; 2,291 yds; SSS 64
Visitors: U
Loc: Back Road, Alva

12. ALYTH
Alyth (1894)
Pitrocknie, Alyth
Club: Alyth (08283) 2268
Holes: 18; 6,226 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: 16 miles from Dundee

13. ANSTRUTHER
Anstruther (1860)
Sec: Anstruther (0333) 310872
Holes: 9; 4,504 yds; SSS 63
Visitors: U
Loc: Outskirts of town

14. ARBROATH
Arbroath (1877)
Elliot, by Arbroath
Club: Arbroath (0241) 72272
Sec: Arbroath (0241) 73853
Holes: 18; 6,078 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile S of Arbroath

15. ASKERNISH
Askernish (1891)
Lochboisdale, South Uist
Holes: 18; 5,141 yds; SSS 67
Visitors: U
Loc: 5 miles N of Lochboisdale

16. AUCHINBLAE
Auchinblae (1894)
Club: Auchinblae (05612) 308
Sec: Auchinblae (05612) 407
Holes: 9; 2,149 yds; SSS 32
Visitors: U
Loc: 11 Miles S of Stonehaven

17. AUCHTERARDER
Auchterarder (1893)
Orchil Road, Auchterarder
Club: Auchterarder (07646) 2804
Sec: Auchterarder (07646) 2837
Holes: 18; 5,712 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile SW of town centre

18. AUCHTERDERRAN
Auchterderran (1904)
Cardenden
Club: Cardenden (0592) 721547
Holes: 9; 5,400 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: 5 miles N of Kirkcaldy

19. AYR
Belleisle (1927)
Ayr
Club: Alloway (0292) 41258
Holes: 18; 6,540 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: Anytime U
Loc: S boundary Ayr

Dalmilling (1960)
Westwood Avenue, Whitletts, Ayr
Club: Ayr (0292) 263893
Holes: 18; 5,401 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: NE boundary Ayr

Seafield (1930)
Ayr
Club: Alloway (0292) 41258
Sec: Alloway (0292) 41314
Holes: 18; 5,224 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: Anytime U
Loc: S boundary Ayr

20. BALLATER
Ballater (1892)
Club: Ballater (03338) 55567
Sec: Ballater (03338) 55561
Holes: 18; 6,106 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 42 miles W of Aberdeen on A93

21. BALLINGRY
Ballingry (1908)
Lochore Meadows, Ballingry, Fife
Club: Ballingry (0592) 860086
Sec: Ballingry (0592) 860927
Holes: 9; 3,122 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: U

22. BALMORE
Balmore (1907)
Balmore, by Torrance
Club: Balmore (03602) 240
Sec: 041-332 0392
Holes: 18; 5,615 yds; SSS 67
Visitors: M
Loc: 2 miles N of Glasgow

23. BANCHORY
Banchory (1905)
Kinneskie, Banchory
Club: Banchory (03302) 2365
Holes: 18; 5,284 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: 18 miles W of Aberdeen

24. BANFF
Duff House Royal (1909)
The Barnyards, Banff AB4 3SX
Club: Banff (02612) 2062
Sec: Banff (02612) 2062
Holes: 18; 6,161 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: WD—U; W/E NA
8.30-10.00, 1.00-2.30;
Jul-Aug NA 5.00-6.30
Loc: Moray Firth coast

25. BARASSIE
Kilmarnock (Barassie) (1887)
Barassie, Troon
Club: Troon (0292) 311077
Sec: Troon (0292) 313920
Holes: 18; 6,457 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: WD ex Weds—I
W/E & Weds—NA

26. BARRHEAD
Ferenze (1904)
Barrhead
Club: 041-881 1519
Sec: 041-221 6394
Holes: 18; 5,821 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: M
Loc: 9 miles SW of Glasgow

27. BARRY
Panmure (1845)
Club: Carnoustie (0241) 53120
Sec: Carnoustie (0241) 53705
Holes: 18; 6,301 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: WD & Sun—U
Sat—NA
Loc: 2 miles W of Carnoustie

28. BATHGATE
Bathgate (1892)
Edinburgh Road, Bathgate EH48 1BA
Club: Bathgate (0506) 52232
Sec: Bathgate (0506) 630505
Holes: 18; 6,326 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: 400 yds E of town centre

29. BEARSDEN
Bearsden (1891)
Thorn Road, Bearsden G61 4BE
Club: 041-942 2261
Holes: 9; 5,977 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: M
Loc: 7 miles NW of Glasgow

Douglas Park (1897)
Hillfoot, Bearsden
Club: 041-942 2220
Sec: 041-331 1837
Holes: 18; 5,957 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M

Windyhill (1908)
Club: 041-942 2349
Sec: 041-956 4970
Holes: 18; 6,230 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: WD—I; Sundays—M
Loc: 8 miles NW of Glasgow

30. BEITH
Beith (1896)
Bigholm Road, Beith
Club: Beith (05055) 3166
Sec: Beith (05055) 2011
Holes: 9; 5,488 yds; SSS 67
Visitors: U (ex Sats & Sun afternoon)
Loc: 1 mile E of Beith

31. BELLSHILL
Bellshill (1905)
Club: Bellshill (06938) 745124
Holes: 18; 6,607 yds; SSS 72
Visitors: U (ex 5-6.30, Mon-Fri)
Loc: 10 miles from Glasgow

31a. BIGGAR
Biggar (1895)
Club: Biggar (0899) 20618
Sec: Biggar (0899) 20566
Holes: 18; 5,256 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U

32. BISHOPTON
Erskine (1904)
Bishopton PA7 5PH
Club: Bishopton (050586) 2302
Sec: Bishopton (050586) 2302
Holes: 18; 6,287 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: WD—I; W/E—M
Loc: 5 miles NW of Paisley

33. BLACKWATERFOOT
Shiskine (1896)
Blackwaterfoot, Isle of Arran
Club: Shiskine (077086) 226
Holes: 12; 3,000 yds; SSS 41
Visitors: U

34. BLAIR ATHOLL
Blair Atholl (1895)
Club: Blair Atholl (079681) 407
Sec: Blair Atholl (07968) 327
Holes: 9; 2,807 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 35 miles N of Perth on A9

35. BLAIRGOWRIE
Blairgowrie (1889)
Club: Blairgowrie (0250) 2383
Sec: Blairgowrie (0250) 2622
Holes—
Rosemount: 18; 6,581 yds; SSS 72
Lansdowne: 18; 6,865 yds; SSS 73
Visitors: U (W/E and Wed restricted)
Loc: 15 miles north of Perth

36. BOAT-OF-GARTEN
Boat-of-Garten (1898)
Club: Boat of Garten (0479)83 282
Sec: Boat-of-Garten (0479)83 684
Holes: 18; 6,637 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U
Loc: 30 miles S of Inverness

37. BONAR BRIDGE
Bonar Bridge and Ardgay (1907)
Sec: Ardgay (08632) 577
Holes: 9; SSS 62
Visitors: U

38. BO'NESS
West Lothian (1892)
Airngath Hill, Bo'ness, West Lothian
Club: Bo'ness (0506) 826030
Sec: Bo'ness (0506) 826923
Holes: 18; 6,512 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile S of Bo'ness

39. BONNYBRIDGE
Bonnybridge (1924)
Larbert Road, Bonnybridge
Club: Bonnybridge (0324) 2645
Sec: 041-776 2221
Holes: 9; 6,058 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: I
Loc: 3 miles W of Falkirk

40. BOTHWELL
Bothwell Castle (1922)
Blantyre Road, Bothwell
Club: Bothwell (0698) 853177
Sec: Bothwell (0698) 852285
Holes: 18; 6,456 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: WD—U (8.30-3.30)
Loc: 3 miles N of Hamilton

41. BRAEMAR
Braemar (1901)
Club: Braemar (03383) 618
Holes: 18; 5,011 yds; SSS 64
Visitors: U
Loc: ½ mile from town centre

42. BRECHIN
Brechin (1893)
Trinity, Brechin
Club: Brechin (03562) 2383
Sec: Brechin (03562) 4106
Holes: 18; 5,267 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile N of town

43. BRIDGE OF ALLAN
Bridge of Allan (1895)
Sunnylaw, Bridge of Allan
Club: Bridge of Allan (0786) 832332
Holes: 9; 4,900 yds; SSS 65
Visitors: U (ex Sats)

44. BRIDGE OF WEIR
Old Ranfurly (1905)
Bridge of Weir
Club: Bridge of Weir (0505) 613612
Holes: 18; 6,266 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: WD—I; W/E—M

Ranfurly Castle (1889)
Golf Road, Bridge of Weir
Club: Bridge of Weir (0505) 612609
Holes: 18; 6,284 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: WD—I; W/E—M
Loc: 7 miles W of Paisley

45. BRODICK
Brodick (1897)
Brodick, Isle of Arran
Club: Brodick (0770) 2349
Sec: Brodick (0770) 2225
Holes: 18; 4,404 yds; SSS 62
Visitors: U
Loc: ½ mile from pier

46. BRORA
Brora (1889)
Golf Road, Brora
Club: Brora (04082) 417
Sec: Brora (04082) 475
Holes: 18; 6,110 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 75 miles N of Inverness

47. BUCKIE
Buckpool (1933)
Club: Buckie (0542) 32236
Sec: Buckie (0542) 32236
Holes: 18; 6,275 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: W end of town

Strathlene (1877)
Club: Buckie (0542) 31798
Sec: Buckie (0542) 32034
Holes: 18; 5,957 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: ½ mile E of town

48. BURNTISLAND
Burntisland Golf House Club (1797)
Dodhead, Burntisland
Club: Burntisland (0592) 873247
Sec: Burntisland (0592) 874093
Holes: 18; 5,762 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile E on B923

49. CALDWELL
Caldwell (1903)
Caldwell, Uplawmoor
Club: Uplawmoor (050585) 8751 329
Sec: 041-221 8395
Holes: 18; 6,007 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M

50. CALLANDER
Callander (1890)
Aveland Road, Callander
Club: Callander (0877) 30090
Sec: Callander (0877) 30931
Holes: 18; 5,282 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U

51. CAMBUSLANG
Cambuslang (1891)
Westburn Drive, Cambuslang G72 7AN
Club: 041-641 3130
Holes: 9; 6,072 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M
Loc: ¼ mile from Cambuslang Station

Kirkhill (1910)
Greenlees Road, Cambuslang
Club: 041-641 3063
Sec: 041-322 4291
Holes: 18; 5,889 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: WD by prior arrangement; W/E & BH not available

52. CAMPSIE
Campsie (1895)
Crow Road, Lennoxtown
Club: Lennoxtown (0360) 310244
Sec: Lennoxtown (0360) 312249
Holes: 18; 5,288 yds; SSS 67
Visitors: WD—U before 4.30
Loc: B822 Lennoxtown to Fintry Road

53. CARLUKE
Carluke (1894)
Hallcraig, Carluke
Club: Carluke (0555) 71070
Sec: Carluke (0555) 70366
Holes: 18; 5,805 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: WD—before 4.00
W/E—not available
Loc: 20 miles from Glasgow

54. CARNOUSTIE
Carnoustie
Club: Carnoustie (0241) 53249 (Starter's Box)
Sec: Carnoustie (0241) 53789
Holes—
Buddon Links: 18; 6,446 yds; SSS 71
Burnside: 18; 5,935 yds; SSS 69
Championship: 18; 6,809 yds; SSS 74
Visitors: U
Loc: Carnoustie Links

55. CARNWATH
Carnwath (1907)
Main Street, Carnwath
Club: Carnwath (055584) 251
Sec: Lanark (0555) 4359
Holes: 18; 5,860 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U (Sat not available)
Loc: 7 miles from Lanark

56. CARRADALE
Carradale (1900)
Club: Carradale (05833) 624
Holes: 9; 2,387 yds; SSS 63
Visitors: U

57. CARRBRIDGE
Carrbridge (1890)
Club: Carrbridge (047984) 674
Sec: Carrbridge (047984) 674
Holes: 9; 2,618 yds; SSS 35
Visitors: U

58. CASTLE DOUGLAS
Castle Douglas (1905)
Club: Castle Douglas (0556) 2691
Sec: Castle Douglas (0556) 2698
Holes: 9; 5,400 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: near town centre

59. CLYDEBANK
Clydebank and District (1905)
Hardgatte, Clydebank
Club: Duntocher (0389) 73289
Sec: Duntocher (0389) 73488
Holes: 18; 5,815 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—M
Loc: 2 miles N of Clydebank

Clydebank, Overtoun (1970)
Dalmuir Park, Dalmuir, Clydebank
Club: 041-952 6372
Sec: 041-952 6281
Holes: 18; 5,286 yds; SSS 65
Visitors: U
Loc: 8 miles W of Glasgow

60. COATBRIDGE
Coatbridge (1870)
Townhead Road, Coatbridge
Club: Coatbridge (0236) 28875
Sec: Coatbridge (0236) 70 5387 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: Townhead

Drumpellier (1896)
Langloan, Coatbridge
Club: Coatbridge (0236) 24139
Sec: Coatbridge (0236) 24139
Holes: 18; 6,205 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: I

61. COLDSTREAM
The Hirsel (1948)
Coldstream
Club: Coldstream (0890) 2678
Sec: Coldstream (0890) 2390
Holes: 9; 5,680 yds; SSS 67
Visitors: U
Loc: ½ mile W of Coldstream

62. COLONSAY
Colonsay
Club: Colonsay (09512) 316
Sec: Colonsay (09512) 316
Holes: 18; 4,775 yds; SSS 63
Visitors: U
Loc: Machrins, Isle of Colonsay

63. COLVEND
Colvend (1962)
Sandyhills, near Dalbeattie
Holes: 9; 4,208 yds; SSS 61
Visitors: U
Loc: 6 miles from Dalbeattie

64. CORMIE
Cormie (1891)
Sec: Cormie (0764) 70544
Holes: 9; 2,983 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 7 miles W of Crieff

65. CORRIE
Corrie (1892)
Club: Corrie (077081) 223
Sec: Lochranza (077083) 678
Holes: 9; 1,948 yds; SSS 61
Visitors: U
Loc: 6 miles N of Brodick, Isle of Arran

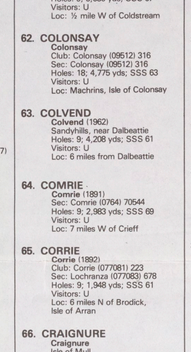
66. CRAIGNURE
Craignure
Isle of Mull
Club: Craignure (06802) 351
Sec: Craignure (06802) 370
Holes: 9; 2,454 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U

67. CRAIL
Crail Golfing Society (1786)
Balcomie Clubhouse, Crail
KY10 3XN
Club: Crail (03335) 278
Sec: Crail (03335) 686
Holes: 18; 5,739 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U
Loc: Fifeness, Crail

68. CRIEFF
Crieff (1891)
Perth Road, Crieff PH7 3LR
Club: Crieff (0764) 2546
Sec: Crieff (0764) 2546
Holes—
Ferntower: 18; 5,818 m; SSS 70
Dornock: 9; 4,364 m; SSS 63
Visitors: U (ex 12.30-2.00 and after 5.00)
Loc: 17 miles W of Perth

69. CRUDEN BAY
Cruden Bay (1791)
Club: Cruden Bay (0779)81 2285
Sec: Cruden Bay (077981) 2285
Holes: 18; 6,306 yds; SSS 71
9; 4,710 yds; SSS 62
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—not before 10.30 and 12.00-2.30
Loc: 22 miles NE of Aberdeen

70. CULLEN
Cullen (1879)
The Links, Cullen
Club: Cullen (0542) 40685
Sec: Cullen (0542) 40507
Holes: 18; 4,610 yds; SSS 62
Visitors: U
Loc: 200 yds W of Cullen



71. CUMBERNAULD
Cumbernauld Municipal (1977)
Club: Cumbernauld (0236) 28138
Holes: 18; 6,412 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: U

Dullatur (1896)
Club: Cumbernauld (02367) 23230
Sec: Cumbernauld (02367) 27847
Holes: 18; 6,253 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—M
Loc: 3 miles N of Cumbernauld

72. CUPAR
Cupar (1855)
Hill Tarvitt, Cupar
Club: Cupar (0334) 53549
Sec: Cupar (0334) 53254
Holes: 9; 5,182 yds; SSS 65
Visitors: U
Loc: 10 miles W of St Andrews

73. DALBEATTIE
Dalbeattie (1897)
Holes: 9; 4,200 yds; SSS 61
Visitors: U

74. DALKEITH
Newbattle (1934)
Abbey Road, Eskbank, Dalkeith
Club: 031-663 2189
Sec: 031-663 4197
Holes: 18; 6,012 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—M
Loc: 6 miles S of Edinburgh on A7

75. DALMAHOY
Dalmahoy
Kirknewton, Midlothian
EH27 8EB
Club: 031-333 2055
Sec: 031-333 2055
Holes—
East: 18; 6,639 yds; SSS 72
West: 18; 5,212 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: 7 miles W of Edinburgh on A71

76. DOLLAR
Dollar (1896)
Brewlands House, Dollar
Club: Dollar (02594) 2400
Sec: Dollar (02594) 2348
Holes: 18; 5,144 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—M
Loc: 6 miles N of Stirling

77. DORNOCH
Royal Dornoch (1877)
Club: Dornoch (0862) 810219
Holes: 18; 6,533 yds; SSS 72
Visitors: U
Loc: 62 miles N of Inverness, by airstrip

78. DOUGLAS WATER
Douglas Water (1922)
Club: Douglas Wtar (055588) 460
Holes: 9; 2,916 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 7 miles SW o/ Lanark

79. DRYMEN
Buchanan Castle (1936)
Club: Drymen (0360) 60369
Sec: Drymen (0360) 60307
Holes: 18; 6,015 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M or by arrangement
Loc: 18 miles NW of Glasgow

Strathendrick (1901)
Sec: Drymen (0360) 60712
Holes: 9; 4,962 yds; SSS 65
Visitors: M
Loc: Drymen

80. DUFFTOWN
Dufftown (1896)
Club: Dufftown (0340) 20325
Holes: 9; 2,265 yds; SSS 63
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile from Dufftown on Tomintoul Road

81. DUMBARTON
Cardross (1895)
Club: Cardross (033984) 1213
Sec: Cardross (033984) 1754
Holes: 18; 6,466 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—M
Loc: 4 miles W of Dumbarton

Dumbarton (1887)
Broadmeadow, Dumbarton
Club: Dumbarton (0389) 32830
Sec: Dumbarton (0389) 63051
Holes: 18; 6,157 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: WD—U; W/E & BH—M
Loc: ¼ mile town centre

82. DUMFRIES
Crichton Royal (1894)
Holes: 9; 3,084 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M
Loc: 1 mile from Dumfries on Bankhead road

Dumfries and County (1912)
Club: Dumfries (0387) 53585
Sec: Dumfries (0387) 62046
Holes: 18; 5,908 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U (except competition days)
Loc: 1 mile NE of town centre

Dumfries and Galloway (1880)
Laurieston Avenue,
Maxwelltown, Dumfries
Club: Dumfries (0387) 63848
Sec: Dumfries (0387) 63848
Holes: 18; 5,782 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U

83. DUNBAR
Dunbar (1794)
Club: Dunbar (0368) 62317
Sec: Dunbar (0368) 62317
Holes: 18; 6,441 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: U
Loc: ½ mile S of Dunbar

Winterfield
Back Road, Dunbar
Club: Dunbar (0368) 62280
Holes: 18; 5,035 yds; SSS 65
Visitors: U
Loc: W side of Dunbar

84. DUNBLANE
Dunblane New (1923)
Club: Dunblane (0786) 822343
Sec: Dunblane (0786) 823217
Holes: 18; 5,876 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—M
Loc: 6 miles N of Stirling

85. DUNDEE
Caird Park (1926)
Club: Dundee (0382) 453606
Sec: Dundee (0382) 40138
Holes: 18; 6,273 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: off Kingsway Bypass at Mains Loan

Camperdown (1960)
Club: Dundee (0382) 645450
Sec: Dundee (0382) 68340
Holes: 18; 6,561 yds; SSS 72
Visitors: U
Loc: 2 miles N of Dundee

Downfield (1932)
Club: Dundee (0382) 825595
Holes: 18; 6,816 yds; SSS 73
Visitors: WD—U before 4.00; W/E—M
Loc: North End of Dundee

86. DUNFERMLINE
Canmore (1898)
Venturefair, Dunfermline
Club: Dunfermline (0383) 724969
Sec: Dunfermline (0383) 726098
Holes: 18; 5,437 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile N of Dunfermline

Dunfermline (1887)
Pittencrieff House, Crossford, by Dunfermline
Club: Dunfermline (0383) 723634
Holes: 18; 6,244 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: I
Loc: 2 miles W of Dunfermline

Pitreavie (1923)
Club: Dunfermline (0383) 722591
Sec: Dunfermline (0383) 726159
Holes: 18; 6,074 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: Queensferry Road, Dunfermline

87. DUNKELD
Dunkeld and Birnam (1910)
Club: Dunkeld (03502) 524
Sec: Perth (0738) 25084
Holes: 9; 4,945 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile from Dunkeld off A923

88. DUNOON
Blairmore and Strone
Club: Kilmun (036984) 217
Holes: 9; 2,112 yds; SSS 62
Visitors: U
Loc: High Road at Strone, N of Dunoon

Cowal (1890)
Ardenslate Road, Dunoon
Club: Dunoon (036984) 2216
Sec: Dunoon (036984) 5673
Holes: 18; 6,251 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: NE boundary of Dunoon

89. DUNNING
Dunning (1953)
Rollo Park, Dunning
Holes: 9; 4,838 yds; SSS 64
Visitors: WD—U; W/E—M
Visitors: Sat after 4.00 only

90. DUNS
Duns (1898)
Sec: Duns (03612) 2794
Holes: 9; 5,754 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U
Loc: 1 mile W of Duns

91. EAGLESHAM
Bonnyton (1957)
Club: Eaglesham (03553) 2781
Sec: Eaglesham (03553) 2781
Holes: 18; 6,248 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: I
Loc: SW Eaglesham

92. EAST KILBRIDE
East Kilbride (1900)
Chapelside Road, Nerston, East Kilbride
Club: East Kilbride (03552) 20913
Sec: East Kilbride (03552) 47728
Holes: 18; 6,419 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: M (parties by arrangement)
Loc: 8 miles S of Glasgow

Langlands (1983)
Auldhouse, East Kilbride
Club: East Kilbride (03552) 24685
Holes: 18; 6,153 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: 3 miles S of East Kilbride

Torrance House (1967)
Strathaven Road, East Kilbride
Club: East Kilbride (03552) 49638
Sec: East Kilbride (03552) 32460
Holes: 18; 6,403 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: U
Loc: East Kilbride boundary

93. EDINBURGH
Baberton (1893)
Club: 031-441 1061
Sec: 031-441 2511
Holes: 18; 6,140 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M
Loc: Juniper Green, 5 miles W of Edinburgh

Braids (1893-4)
Club: 031-447 6666
Holes—
No 1: 18; 5,731 yds; SSS 68
No 2: 18; 4,832 yds; SSS 63
Visitors: U (no Sunday play)
Loc: 3 miles S of Edinburgh centre

Broomieknowe (1906)
36 Golf Course Road, Bonnyrigg EH19 2HZ
Club: 031-663 9317
Sec: 031-663 7808
Holes: 18; 6,046 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: WD—U; W/E & BH—NA
Loc: 7 miles S of Edinburgh

Bruntsfield Links Golfing Society (1761)
32 Barnton Avenue, Davidsons Mains, Edinburgh EH4 6JH
Club: 031-336 2006
Sec: 031-336 1479
Holes: 18; 6,402 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: I; XL
Loc: NW City of Edinburgh

Carrick Knowe (1930)
Glendevon Park, Edinburgh 12
Club: 031-337 1096
Holes: 18; 6,229 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: 5 miles W of Edinburgh

Craigentinny (1891)
Club: 031-554 7501
Holes: 18; 5,418 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: 2½ miles E of Edinburgh

Craigmillar Park (1896)
1 Observatory Road, Edinburgh EH9 3HG
Club: 031-667 2837
Sec: 031-667 0047
Holes: 18; 5,846 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: U
Loc: Observatory, Edinburgh

Duddingston (1897)
Club: 031-661 1005
Sec: 031-661 7888
Holes: 18; 6,647 yds; SSS 72
Visitors: Tues and Thurs only for societies

Kingsknowe (1908)
326 Lanark Road, Edinburgh EH14 2JD
Club: 031-441 1144
Sec: 031-441 1145
Holes: 18; 5,986 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: WD—U (before 4.30) W/E—M
Loc: SW of Edinburgh

Liberton (1920)
Kingston Grange,
297 Gilmerton Road,
Edinburgh EH16 5UJ
Club: 031-664 8580
Sec: 031-664 3009
Holes: 18; 5,299 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: S side of Edinburgh

Lothianburn (1893)
Biggar Road, Edinburgh
Club: 031-445 2206
Sec: 031-663 8354
Holes: 18; 5,750 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: U
Loc: S boundary Edinburgh

Merchants of Edinburgh (1907)
Craighill Gardens, Edinburgh EH10 5PY
Club: 031-447 1219
Sec: 031-443 1470
Holes: 18; 4,938 yds; SSS 65
Visitors: M
Loc: Morningside, Edinburgh

Mortonhall (1892)
231 Braid Road, Edinburgh EH10 6PB
Club: 031-447 2411
Sec: 031-447 8974
Holes: 18; 6,557 yds; SSS 71
Visitors: I
Loc: S of city centre

Murrayfield (1896)
Murrayfield Road, Edinburgh EH12 6EU
Club: 031-337 1009
Sec: 031-337 3478
Holes: 18; 5,739 yds; SSS 68
Visitors: WD—I; W/E—M
Loc: 2 miles W of city centre

Portobello (1853)
Stanley Street, Portobello, Edinburgh
Club: 031-669 4361
Holes: 9; 2,410 yds; SSS 32
Visitors: U
Loc: 3½ miles NE of Edinburgh

Prestonfield (1920)
6 Priestfield Road North, Edinburgh EH16 5HS
Club: 031-667 1273
Sec: 031-667 9666
Holes: 18; 6,216 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: WD & Sats—I; Suns after 11.30—I

Ravelston (1912)
24 Ravelston Dykes Road, Edinburgh EH4 5NZ
Club: 031-332 3486
Sec: 031-332 4630
Holes: 9; 5,332 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: M
Loc: off Queensferry Road (A90)

Royal Burgess Golfing Society of Edinburgh (1735)
Barnton, Edinburgh EH4 6BY
Club: 031-339 2012
Sec: 031-339 2075
Holes: 18; 6,604 yds; SSS 72
Visitors: I (Ladies, Monday or before 1.00 other weekdays; W/E after 5.00)
Loc: NW Edinburgh

Silverknowes (1947)
Silverknowes Parkway, Edinburgh EH4 5ET
Club: 031-336 3843
Sec: 031-336 5359
Holes: 18; 6,210 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: M or I
Loc: 4 miles W of Edinburgh

Swanston (1927)
Swanston Road, Fairmilehead, Edinburgh
Club: 031-445 2239
Holes: 18; 4,825 yds; SSS 64
Visitors: U
Loc: S side of Edinburgh

Torphin Hill (1895)
Torphin Road, Edinburgh 13
Club: 031-441 1100
Sec: 031-334 6052
Holes: 18; 5,025 yds; SSS 66
Visitors: U
Loc: SW boundary of Edinburgh

Turnhouse (1909)
154 Turnhouse Road, Corstorphine, Edinburgh
Club: 031-339 1014

Holes: 18; 6,171 yds; SSS 69
Visitors: M or by arrangement
Loc: Edinburgh to Turnhouse Road (A9080)

94. EDZELL
Edzell (1895)
Club: Edzell (03564) 235
Sec: Edzell (03564) 606
Holes: 18; 6,299 yds; SSS 70
Visitors: U
Loc: 6 miles from Brechin

95. ELDERSLIE
Elderslie (1908)
Club: Johnstone (0505) 23956

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GLASGOW HERALD
202nd year—No. 141 MONDAY, JULY 9, 1984 Twenty Two Pence

LANGS SUPREME
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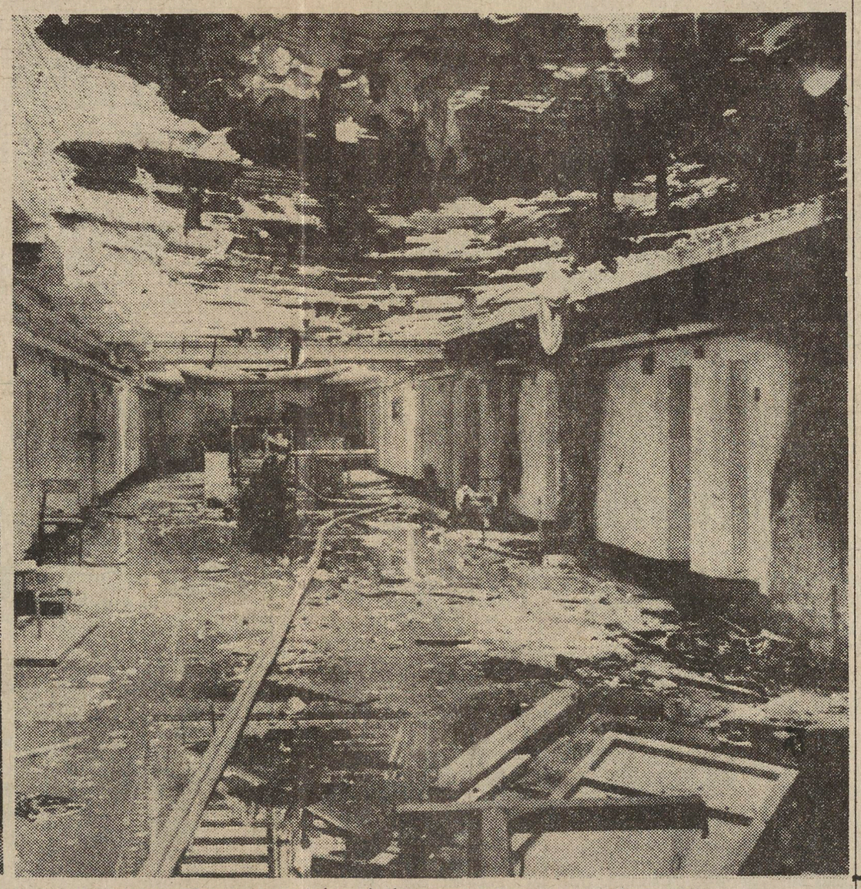
Peterhead gets warning of 'terrible explosion'



Debris litters the floors of hall and a washroom. There is scorching on the walls of the hall and the safety net contains clothes and other objects thrown from above.

EXCLUSIVE
By MURRAY RITCHIE

THESE pictures, published today for the first time, show the extent of the damage caused to Peterhead jail during the prisoners' protest in January.

They were offered to the Glasgow Herald by a former Peterhead inmate who said: "That protest was a warning. If conditions in Peterhead don't get better quickly the next disturbance could be much, much worse."

The pictures are part of a collection which form the only photographic record of the event which was described by Mr Michael Ancram, Scottish Home Affairs Minister, as a "potentially" dangerous incident. They lend support to the view that the Scottish Office deliberately played down the severity of the demonstration.

The photographs were produced in evidence at the trial of 13 Peterhead prisoners last month. They were shown to the Glasgow Herald by Frank McPhie, the only accused to walk free. McPhie, 35, was released when the charge against him of mobbing and rioting was found Not proven. By that time he had completed his five-year sentence for robbery with violence.

McPhie was the prisoners' "spokesman" who said his role in the revolt was to tell the outside world of conditions in Peterhead where, he claimed, protests against the harsh regime have been staged almost continuously — and often hushed up — in some form or another for more than two years.

Peterhead holds the most violent and difficult long-term criminals in Scotland. Since the latest incident, which McPhie insists was a demonstration and not a riot, the Scottish prison authorities have reopened the much-criticised "cages" at Porterfield prison, Inverness.

One of the two prisoners currently in the cages is believed to be William Porter ("Toe") Elliott, a violent criminal with a long record who is serving a life-sentence for murder. Elliott was the second of the two men to be acquitted in the High Court trial which followed the disturbance at Peterhead.

McPhie wants an independent inquiry into the regime at Peterhead and says: "The whole point of the demonstration last January was to show that the prisoners would no longer put up with the repressive regime.

"By overwhelming the prison officers and turning them out of the building the prisoners showed they had power. They hurt no one. There were threats, yes, but no one was hurt and that was deliberate policy.

"Our message is that if the regime in this prison is not liberalised and made more humane then there will be a terrible explosion. The prisoners have shown they have the will and the power.

"The rebellion in January was the last warning. The conditions in Peterhead are terrible and they will not be tolerated any longer by the prisoners."

He added: "Now that the prisons are filling up with people who would otherwise have suffered the death penalty there has to be a change of attitude. If a prisoner is given a life sentence he should also be given some kind of life. But conditions in Peterhead give a prisoner nothing: no hope, no consideration.

"The outside world has been kept unaware of a lot that goes on in Peterhead. Since 1982 there have been "dirty protests more or less all the time. At any one time they have involved anything from two to 16 prisoners. There is no way a civilised prison system can survive in that sort of atmosphere."

A "dirty" protest involved prisoners in solitary confinement smearing their own excrement on the walls of the cell and defying prison authority in every respect. This makes life unpleasant for prison officers who have to clean the cells.

McPhie said the system at Peterhead precluded a prison officer from building up a good working relationship with a prisoner.

"People who run the system should be made to realise that a prisoner is in prison as a punishment and not for punishment. His sentence should be served in bearable conditions so that he has a chance when he comes out.

"In the long run it would be cheaper to organise the prison system that way. If there is no change in the system now there will be more chaos. Nothing is more certain. But no one seems to heed the warning.

"The events of January were organised to draw attention to this need. What is required now is a public inquiry where the whole problem of Peterhead can be looked at objectively."

The Scottish Office, which has denied playing down the severity of the January disturbances in which damage estimated officially at £45,000 was caused to "A" hall housing dangerous prisoners, has disclosed that all but two of the accused from the Peterhead trial are now back in the prison. The two others are understood to be those in the controversial cages at Inverness.

According to McPhie this will ultimately ensure an explosion at Peterhead. "Even dispersing these people throughout the prison system would not avert trouble because the protest would only spread in such circumstances," he said.

The Scottish Office says it is still giving consideration to the Peterhead regime. An official said the new 10-cell block inside Peterhead, the so-called "halfway house" for difficult prisoners taken out of the mainstream prison system, would not be used as a punishment block, as prisoners believe. It would be for the individual "needs" of prisoners. "An announcement on the 10-cell unit is expected soon," an official said.

He said staff training at Peterhead was constantly under review and development. Agreement had been reached on this with the Prison Officers' Association on the modern role of the officer.

The 10-cell unit would extend the options of the prison. Stating that "constant efforts," were being made to improve prison officer training, the official added: "We are not complacent about Peterhead."

Editorial Comment — Page 8

Peterhead pressures — Page 9

Diplomats face expulsion over Dikko kidnap

THE Government will expel Nigerian diplomats from London, despite possible diplomatic and financial consequences, if the Lagos government is proved to be involved in the attempt to kidnap wanted former Minister, Dr Umaru Dikko.

Ministers have decided on this tough stance although they would expect Nigeria to retaliate by expelling British diplomats from the High Commission in Lagos.

A Government statement will be made in the Commons this week, possibly today, although any possible Nigerian complicity will not have been established or disproved by then. The military regime of General Mohammed Buhari in Lagos has denied any involvement in the attempt to snatch Dr Dikko from outside his London home and smuggle him to Nigeria in a wooden crate.

Nothing will be done officially until all legal steps have been taken to establish whether or not Lagos was involved, although official sources have angrily rejected any suggestion that the Government has any wish to play the matter down or let Nigeria off the hook.

Scotland Yard is not yet ready to say anything publicly because of the diplomatic consequences, but privately police are "100% certain" that the Nigerian regime planned the attempted abduction, according to a well-placed source.

Commander William Hucklesby, head of the Yard's C13 Anti-Terrorist Branch, last night briefed Home Office officials about the case. Home Secretary Mr Leon Brittan will report to the Prime Minister when she returns to Downing Street from Chequers, and it is believed Mrs Thatcher is to be given police evidence suggesting that the Nigerian government was involved.

Nigeria wants Mr Dikko because of alleged corruption while he was Transport Minister in the government of deposed President Shagari, his brother-in-law, who was overthrown in a military coup.

Mr Dikko was snatched from outside his central London home on Thursday and found drugged in a crate at Stansted Airport, Essex.

The exiled millionaire was in a crate with an Israeli mercenary who was trained as a medic, and had been drugged with Pentothal, a barbiturate anaesthetic often used by vets to put down animals.

Another Israeli mercenary and a Nigerian were found in a second crate at the airport.

A fourth man, another Nigerian, was arrested at the airport. One of the Nigerians being detained at Paddington Green police station in central London is said to be a major in Nigeria's National Security Organisation

Dr Dikko, who heads the Nigerian regime's "most wanted" list of exiles, was only yesterday well enough to be interviewed by detectives. He spent two hours talking to police in his room at the hospital where he has been staying under armed guard since his rescue. He is expected to be in hospital at least until today.

Earlier yesterday Britons, kept under armed guard in Lagos when the kidnap attempt was foiled, returned to Gatwick Airport, Sussex. They said they had to endure awful conditions after the Nigerian government seized their British Caledonian jet.

Maxwell sets bid deadline

MR ROBERT MAXWELL last night stepped up the pressure in his £80m bid for Mirror Group Newspapers by setting tomorrow as the deadline for acceptance of the offer.

Mr Maxwell, the publishing millionaire, said he would not buy any shares if the Mirror group's present owner, Reed International, ignores his takeover bid and goes ahead with its plan to float the company on the Stock Exchange.

Mr Maxwell who said he wanted to avoid a false market, is putting pressure on the Reed board to negotiate on the £80m to £100m offer from his privately-owned Pergamon Company.

He set a deadline of 5 p.m. tomorrow for acceptance of his £80m in cash offer. However, Reed has said it intends going ahead with the Stock Exchange flotation of Mirror group shares. The group includes the Daily Record and Sunday Mail.

Mr Maxwell's ultimatum means the price for a flotation would not be underpinned by the expectation that he will, sooner or later, make a bid. His intention is to persuade the Reed directors to discuss the price for a direct sale to Pergamon.

He would argue that this would be more than could be obtained on a flotation.

Mr Maxwell complained last night that since he made his offer on July 3 he had not been able either to meet or obtain any information from Reed. That meant he had been unable to determine whether he would be justified in raising the offer to £100m, he said.

"In these circumstances, to assist the Reed board in coming to a swift conclusion on the Pergamon offer, Pergamon has now made its offer of £80m wholly unconditional. £80m in cash is immediately available to them," he said.

The HERALD Cool £48m dam is

BIRTHS ENGAGEMENTS MARRIAGES DEATHS

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION PLEASE PHONE 041 552 6533

300. Births

ARCHIBALD — At Solihull Maternity Unit, on 21st June, 1984, to DAVID and MHAIRI (nee Woods), a daughter (Kyra Mhairi); a sister for Jamie.

BATCHELOR — EILEEN and NEIL are delighted to announce the birth of a daughter (Hannah Ellen Gray Batchelor), at the Royal Maternity Hospital, Glasgow, on 25th June, 1984; many thanks to all staff.

CAMPBELL — At Bellshill Maternity Hospital, on 6th July, 1984, to DOUGLAS and CLAIRE (nee Keeling), a daughter (Helen Frances); a sister for Gordon and Tommy; thanks to G.P. and all hospital staff; both well.

DANIELS — At The Queen Mother's Hospital, Glasgow, on 4th July, 1984, to STEWART and LOUISE (nee Wilkie), a son (Craig); thanking all staff in attendance.

DIKSTRA — BARRY and NICOLE (nee Smout) are delighted to announce the birth of their daughter (Karla Leontina), at The Queen Mother's Hospital, Glasgow, on 5th July, 1984; sincere thanks to all staff in attendance.

JOHNSTON — BARRY and LORRAINE are delighted to announce the birth of their son, at The Queen Mother's Hospital, Glasgow, on 6th July, 1984; thanks to all staff in attendance.

KENDALL — RICHARD and ANN (nee Mitchell) are delighted to announce the birth of a son (Ian Richard), at The Queen Mother's Hospital, Glasgow, on 7th July, 1984; brother for Jennifer and Graham.

THOMSON — BILL and ANNA (nee Balmain), are delighted to announce the safe arrival of (Richard Kenneth Anthony), on Wednesday, 4th July, 1984, at The Queen Mother's Hospital, Glasgow; grateful thanks to all concerned.

WATKINS — At Stirling Royal Infirmary, on 25rd June, 1984, to RAY and OLGA (nee Sultan), a daughter (Helen Georgina); a sister for Douglas; sincere thanks to staff in attendance.

302. Engagements

COWDEN — SAMWAYS — The engagement is announced between STEPHEN JOHN, only son of Mr and Mrs James Cowden, Cathcart, Glasgow, and DIANE, daughter of Mrs M. H. Samways, Prestbury, Cheshire.

MACARTNEY — MACVICAR — Both families are pleased to announce the engagement of DAVID CREIGHTON, elder son of the late Mr J. Macartney and of Mrs J. R. Macartney, Cambuslang, Glasgow, and MAIRI, only daughter of the Rev. A. and Mrs MacVicar, Dingwall, Ross-shire.

303. Marriages

ALLAN — DALTON — At Dalziel Parish Church, Motherwell, on 5th July, 1984, by the Rev. W. C. Bruce, M.A., B.D., WILLIAM MARTIN, only son of Mr and Mrs William Allan, 30 Airbles Crescent, Motherwell, to ANN, only daughter of Mr and Mrs James Dalton, 4 Merryton Road, Motherwell.

CALLUM — CROWTHER — At Glasgow University Memorial Chapel, on 6th July, 1984, by the Rev. J. H. Lindsay, GORDON, elder son of the late Mr I. Callum, and of Mrs I. Callum, 55 Drumsargard Road, Burnside, to SUSAN, daughter of Mr and Mrs F. Crowther, 7 Kincath Avenue, Burnside.

CLARKE — HARDIE — At Mannofield Parish Church, Aberdeen, on Saturday, 7th July, 1984, STEPHEN EDMUND, second son of Mr and Mrs D. Clarke, Stockport, Cheshire, to ELAINE GWENDOLINE, only daughter of Mr and Mrs J. N. Hardie, 47 Pantoch Drive, Banchory.

FLANNIGAN — STOBO — At Rankin Parish Church, Strathaven, on 3rd July, 1984, by Rev. Alistair L. Jessamine, ERIC, only son of Mr and Mrs S. Flannigan, Whitegates, Strathaven, to MARY, second daughter of Mr and Mrs J. Stobo, Boag Farm, Stonehouse.

ISBISTER — POLLOCK — At Glasgow University Chapel, by the Rev. James Munton, on 5th July, 1984, Doctor ERIC SUTHERLAND ISBISTER, elder son of Mr and Mrs Isbister, 4 Melville

SIMPSON — CALDER — At Eastwood Registry Office, Glasgow, on 4th July, 1984, GRAEME MITCHELL, son of Mr and Mrs Helen Simpson, 42 Florida Avenue, Glasgow, to MOIRA McKAY, daughter of Mr and Mrs G. M. Calder, 22 Cordiner Street, Glasgow.

SLANE — TRAINER — At Kirkfieldbank Parish Church, on 5th July, 1984, by the Rev. Robert J. McMahon, FINDLAY, only son of Dr and Mrs Frank Slane, 28 Pendicle Road, Bearsden, Glasgow, to JANET LAMBIE, younger daughter of Mr and Mrs James L. Trainer, Viewhouse Farm, Kirkfieldbank, Lanark.

WALKER — SLATER — At Burnside Parish Church, Glasgow, on 6th July, 1984, by the Rev. John Mowat, M.A., Dumfries, (great uncle of the bride), GORDON TAYLOR WALKER, B.Sc.(Hons.), only son of Mr and Mrs W. L. Walker, 20 Mary Street, Dunoon, to ALISON MARGARET SLATER, M.A.(Hons.), only daughter of Mr and Mrs A. M. Slater, 31 Rodger Drive, Rutherglen, Glasgow.

306. Deaths

BAIRD — Suddenly, at home, on 5th July, 1984, JEAN BAIRD, Castlemilk Road, Glasgow, G44, a very much loved aunt. Funeral service at Linn Crematorium (St. Mungo Chapel), Lainshaw Drive, Glasgow, G45, on Wednesday, 11th inst. at 11.30 a.m.

DAVIES — Peacefully, at home, on 6th July, 1984, after a short illness, JAMES CAMPBELL, M.C.T.D., beloved husband of the late Elizabeth (nee Parks), father of Anne, Ian and Janet. Funeral service at Clydebank Crematorium, North Dalnottar, tomorrow (Tuesday), at 11.30 a.m., to which all friends are respectfully invited, family flowers only.

FREW — Peacefully, at Hairmyres Hospital, East Kilbride, on 7th July, 1984, HENRY LORIMER (Harry) FREW, in his 86th year (formerly of Crookston), beloved husband of Margaret (Peggy) Baillie, dear father of Catherine and Henry, and loving grandfather of Laurie, Judith, Kathryn, and John; sadly missed. Funeral service at Linn Crematorium, Lainshaw Drive, Glasgow, G45, tomorrow (Tuesday), at 11.30 a.m., to which all friends are invited; no flowers or letters, please.

HUME — Suddenly, on 5th July, 1984, KENNETH HUME, aged 29 years, dearly beloved husband of Gillian Cook, 39 Garrick Drive, Coatbridge, and dear father of Stewart and Scott. Family service at above address tomorrow (Tuesday), at 10.45 p.m.; funeral thereafter at Daldowie Crematorium (East Chapel), Broomhouse, arriving at 11.30 a.m., to which all friends are invited; no flowers, please.

McVICAR — At the Royal Infirmary, Glasgow, on 6th July, 1984, ROBERT FERGUSON McVICAR, dearly beloved husband of Margaret Davidson, loving dad of Robert and Colin, and of daughters-in-law Ann and Carmella, loving brother of Jessie and Morag, and much loved granddad of Stuart, Douglas and Joanne. Funeral service at Daldowie Crematorium, Broomhouse, tomorrow (Tuesday), at 1.30 p.m., to which all friends are respectfully invited; no flowers, please.

STRUTHERS — Peacefully, at Crosshouse Hospital, Kilmarnock, on 7th July, 1984, MARION CADDUFF STRUTHERS, 18 Garden Street, Galston, daughter of the late Robert and Sarah Struthers, Ramageton Farm, Hurlford, and a dear sister and aunt of the family. Service at Galston Parish Church, tomorrow (Tuesday), at 2 p.m., to which all friends are respectfully invited; funeral thereafter to at Mauchline Cemetery, at 2.45 p.m.

PROVAN — Suddenly, on 5th July, 1984, ROBERT, Elmsfield, Great Berry Farm, Chase, Berry Lane, Langdon Hills, Basildon (formerly of Bereknowe, Rutherglen), beloved husband of Joyce, loving father of Sheena, and dear brother of Janet.

WALLACE — At home, Marchfield Avenue, Paisley, on 5th July, 1984, Rev. JAMES DOUGLAS WALLACE, dearly loved husband of Helen Randall and a much loved father and grandfather. Service to which all friends

MONDAYmorning Scotland's leading farming page

Renewed call for spending controls

From JOHN FRASER in Brussels

BRITAIN will today renew its demands for tight controls over EEC farm spending.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Nigel Lawson, is to attend a meeting of the EEC Finance Ministers, at which the community's future spending will be discussed.

He will repeat the message that Britain believes Common Market agriculture is growing out of control, and will argue that tough new measures are needed to ensure that spending is curbed.

One idea, which has already been provisionally adopted by EEC governments is for budget Ministers to have a far more important role in the annual price-fixing negotiations.

At present, Agriculture Ministers decide their future needs, and Finance Ministers have to find ways of fitting these into the overall EEC budget.

It is now expected that Finance Ministers will decide how much money is available for agriculture, and will leave it up to the Farm Ministers to share the sum among the different farm sectors.

The idea of imposing the ceiling is a central feautre of British policy on the EEC. It is to ensure that, as the Community budget expands, agriculture takes up a lower percentage of total spending.

The Government argues that, unless this is done, increases in EEC expenditure will merely serve to encourage the growth of Common Market surpluses.

The control of Community spending, and especially farm spending, is known in Euro jargon as budget discipline. Mrs Thatcher made the imposition of such discipline a condition for her acceptance of the budget deal at the Fontainebleau summit.

It is expected the budget Ministers will make some progress in agreeing a formal document on future spending controls at today's meeting.

However, final agreement is not expected until the autumn.

Lords urge curb on changes

THE Agriculture and Environment departments are criticised today for not paying enough attention to public concern at the way the countryside is being altered by changes in farming practices.

A Lords Committee on

Concern as dry spell hits grass and forage

MONDAY morning

IAN MORRISON

A FEW days rain would probably do more to put the smile back on farmers' faces than anything else during this crucial period in the run-up to the harvest.

That might be an unpopular sentiment as we approach the height of the holiday season and, certainly, none of the thousands who enjoyed ideal weather at Britain's two major agricultural shows — the Royal Highland and the English Royal were complaining.

But the fact remains that not even the EEC or the politicians exert as much influence on farming as the climate. Though generally speaking it has been a very favourable season up until now some of the higher rainfall areas of the country, like Scotand are short of grass and forage.

This has worrying implications at a time when the knock-on effects of milk quotas are forcing livestock farmers to turn to grass as a means of reducing concentrate feed costs.

Hence the need for an early break in the dry conditions experienced for most of the spring and early summer.

Ministry of Agriculture experts at the Royal Show were admitting to some concern about the situation with grass and forage crops in the north and west of the Country. As far as cereals are concerned they still see the prospects of a very good harvest, although there are still a few weeks left before most of the combines start going into the fields.

In most crops the pests and diseases forecast also looks promising but long familiarity with the British climate, and the feeling that there is still time enough for a dramatic change for the worse to take place, probably accounts for the remarkable absence of any rash predictions about the size of the UK harvest.

In any case fears that cereals could be next in line for an EEC crackdown on over production means that another record quantity coming off the combines this year would be bad news, except for hard-pressed livestock producers looking for cheaper feeds.

A prominent Scottish dairy farmer is already on record as saying that he cannot wait for grain prices to come clattering down which is understandable, if a little short-sighted, in the recent mild crisis.

In their frustration over the imbalance between horn and corn livestck rearers in the west should remember that as well as selling them feed barley, the arable men are also key buyers in the autumn store markets provided they have the money to spend from their cereal crops.

What we are seeing in agriculture is the application of the old maxim of "divide and rule."

EEC policies over recent years have driven a wedge between the various sectors of the industry, notably the livestock and arable interest which remain totally inter-dependent in the long-run.

There are plenty other manifestations of this development.

Farmers are being set against farm workers over dairy quota compensation terms; pig farmers versus red meat producers; disunity within and between the marketing boards; and the threat of a power struggle in Europe between the commercial activities of the UK farm co-operatives and the political role of the National Farmers' Unions.

This last aspect was touched upon at the Royal Show by Mr Douglas Cargill, vice-chairman of Food from Britain, and the president of the English NFU, Sir Richard Butler.

Both however were anxious to play down the possibility of any friction between the co-operatives and the unions.

Mr Cargill, head of Food from Britain's Co-operative Development Board, warned that UK farmers were a long way behind their European counterparts in terms of the commercial strength of the co-ops.

While the commercial and political sides of the industry must go hand-in-hand, the co-ops were right to seek a stronger voice in Europe through the UK Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives, which he described as "a move towards reality."

There had been more grant-aid applications for co-operative developments in the two months April and May this year than ever before — 23 as against only seven in the same period last year.

"I believe we're seeing a groundswell of activity in co-operation as a result of farmers realising the benefits of an organistion like Food from Britain," said Mr Cargill, chairman of Grampian Pigs and founder chairman of Grampian Growers.

"If we are going to succeed as an industry in the future it is the primary producers who have to produce quality food and accept the discipline of the market," he added. The individual farmer on his own must find it very difficult to do that."

He pointed out that the UK co-operatives' market share in top fruit was more than 50%, in fresh vegetables 20%, potatoes 12%, but in livestock it was only between 7% and 8%. There had been static growth over the past five years, while all the other co-op sectors were expanding.

Apart from pigs, livestock was no longer a priority area in Food from Britain's co-operative programme.

"We have been spending more than 25% of staff time on livestock groups without seeing any increase in market share," exlained Mr Cargill.

"While we will continue to support initiatives which are worth while, we will not be going out of our way to push livestock producers into co-operation.

Turkey legs could stand better litter

COLLEGE COMMENT

LEG weakness continues to be a problem among UK turkey flocks. It has been suggested that decreasing the growth rate of meat-type turkeys may reduce the incidence of leg disorders.

However, a trial conducted at the West of Scotland Agricultural College and sponsored by Nicholas Europa Ltd., has indicated otherwise.

Dietary protein level is known to affect the growth rate of turkeys so the incidence of leg disorders in commercially fed turkey stags was compared to that found in stags fed diets containing reduced levels of protein.

The stags were reared from day-old until 24 weeks of age and throughout that period they were monitored for leg disorders. No leg disorders were observed until they reached eight weeks of age and, at the end of the 24 week trial period, the incidence was similar for all treatments.

Thus it appears that reducing the growth rate by a reduction in dietary protein level does not affect the incidence of leg disorders in growing turkeys.

The 2% incidence of leg disorders observed in this trial was considerably lower than that reported commercially. This may have been a result of the good litter condition maintained throughout the trial.

Research at other centres has shown that turkeys reared on wet, compact litter tend to have a comparatively high level of leg disorders.

It is possible that the high UK growth rates are merely aggravating a problem actually caused by the poor litter conditions. It follows that good litter management may provide the answer to the leg problems of heavy turkeys.

No problems as oilseed is swathed

FARMER'S PROGRESS by FORDYCE MAXWELL

THE summers seem to be getting shorter. This isn't so much to do with getting older, although that increasingly comes into it, but with the acreage of oilseed rape and winter barley now being grown.

Our normal starting date for the spring barley harvest is August 20. We have had one extreme variation with a start on July 30 and several starting dates in the last week of the month, but over two decades the mean is August 20.

When harvest time meant cutting spring barley, spring barley and spring barley it meant we had the best part of another month for all those summer jobs compared with now when oilseed rape is cut from mid-July onwards and winter barley harvesting starts during the last week of July.

The oilseed, in fact, is swathed not harvested then; that is, it is cut by a machine with a fourteen-foot cutter bar and passes up and over a canvas elevator to be laid gently back on the ground behind the machine in a row about eight feet wide.

The tense bit is waiting for it to ripen in this swathe over the next 10 to 14 days. It worries me that one year we'll have wet, clammy weather for days on end after the oilseed has been cut and it will start rotting or germinating in the pod or generally disintegrating.

This is only the third year we have grown it and so far this has not happened. Farmers who have been growing it for many more years than us don't seem to have any problems in wet years either, but the problem of shedding seed and leaving quite a lot of potential crop on the ground is a regular one.

The actual oilseed pods are similar to broom and the seeds inside them about the size and colour of cabbage or turnip seed. Once dry, the pods burst open easily and the seed sprays out like tiny ball-bearings; in the same way any small holes in the combine or the trailer being used to cart the seed from the field leads to a rapid loss of crop.

Some farmers, for these reasons, prefer to dessicate with a spray rather than swathe it. They think less crop is lost at actual harvesting, but the disadvantage can be wheel tracks while spraying or the expense of aerial spraying.

We swathe the oilseed because we think it's more effective and the costs either way are about the same. But I still worry about what will happen if we get wet weather in late July.

Wet weather at haytime is just as bad. This has been mainly avoided this year, although operations are not over yet. We left our 16 acres of hay a week longer than usual this year, partly to let it bulk up as much as possible and partly to make sure the big-bale silage was safely bagged and stored before starting another job.

We were really spreading the risk in case of wet weather. As it turned out the beautiful spell during which we made the silage would have given us perfect hay if we had cut the two fields at the same time.

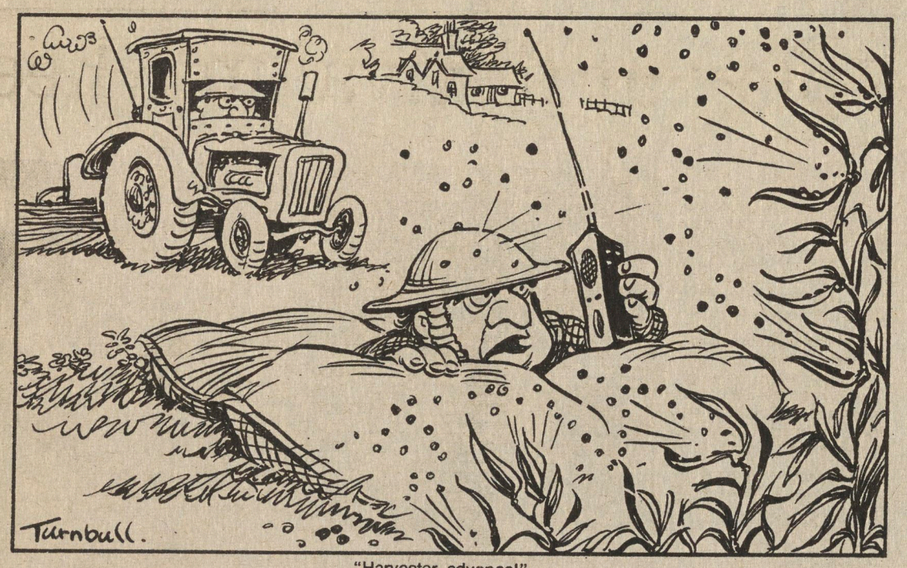
It did bulk up a little more, but this is always at the expense of quality as the advisers never tire of telling us. They're right, but more mature hay which has never had rain on it and is baled green and bone-dry, is better than hay cut in early June with a better feeding value which is then rained on for three weeks and when finally baled looks rather like mattress-stuffing.

That happened to us two years out of three when we cut hay in the first week of June in the quest for quality. Admittedly, the in-between year gave us the best hay we have ever had with a D-value of 67 and two and a half tons an acre; the other two years gave us D-values of about the same as barley straw and one and a half tons.

As with the regular starting date for the spring barley harvest, the best hay results usually come when we cut towards the end of June and bale in early July. This seems to give the best compromise between quality and quantity.

The winter barley is now turning, or has mainly turned, from green to bronze and is ripening steadily. The two combines were serviced before being stored for the winter, but they are now getting a final overhaul and thorough greasing ready for action.

It's much too early to be getting jumpy about starting or scanning neighbour's fields for sight of a combine, but as the days pass we are getting that way.



"Harvester, advance!"

New vaccine claimed to be the answer to foot rot

By George Beck

THE good news for sheep farmers is that they can now effectively combat foot rot, one of the more

For the flockmaster, it is a constant irritation in terms of time, labour and money spent controlling the disease

despite regular foot bathing and paring, outbreaks of the disease will still occur."

The firm claims that one

research and development to come up with Footvax.

The spokesman explained: "There are

Poor trade at Biggar

BIGGAR Auction Market Company Limited had an entry of 114 grazing bullocks and heifers at its sale at Biggar on Saturday. With the continuing dry weather attendance of buyers was smaller than usual and trade fell quite considerably from the previous sale.

Steers were down by £30 to £40 according to quality and heifers down between £15 to £20. Smaller calves looked an exceptionally good buy.

Principal prices — Steers — Hereford cross £386 Rawhead, £307 Craigdarroch; Charolais cross £345 Greystale, £314 Blackwoodyett; Limousin cross £308 Larencecroft; Luing cross £298 Craigdarroch; Aberdeen-Angus cross £260 Hillend.

Heifers — Hereford cross £387 Blackwoodyett; Charolais cross £335 Greystale, £286 Hillend; Simmental cross £278 Laurencecroft; Aberdeen-Angus cross £290 Hillend.

Bond winners

The winning numbers in the weekly draw for £100,000, £50,000 and £25,000 Premium Bond prizes, are: £100,000: 21ZS 563485. Winner lives in Poole. £50,000: 22AL 942715. Winner lives in Greenwich, London. £25,000: 18TT 039676. Winner lives in East Sussex.

THE SCOTTISH FISHERIES MUSEUM

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THE SCOTTISH FISHERIES MUSEUM

FOREWORD

This booklet is not a detailed guide to the Scottish Fisheries Museum but instead, it tells two fascinating stories which, we believe, will add interest for those visiting the Museum, and create it for those who have not.

The first story is about the Museum itself, the history of the centuries old site on which it stands, and how it came to be established. The second story, the *raison d'être* of the Museum, is about Scotland's fishing industry and fisherfolk and all associated with this vital industry.

THE MUSEUM

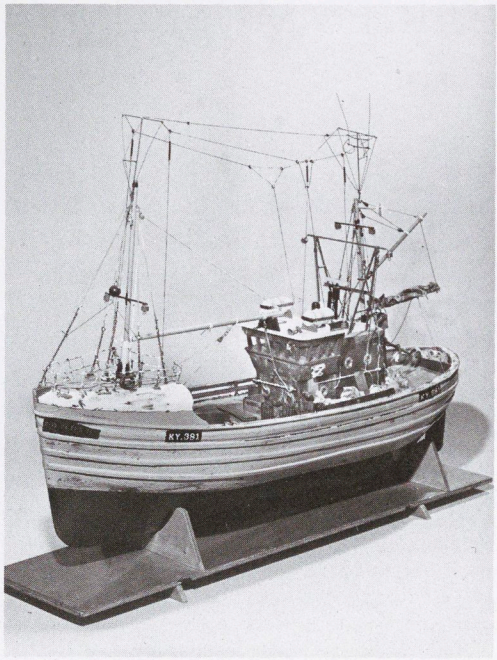
Front cover: "Old Butters", watercolour by David Foggie, RSA. Opposite above: Anstruther Harbour (Museum at right-hand corner of harbourhead)

Left: figurehead from the steamer "Fairy Princess" wrecked off Fifeness in 1877. Opposite below: Museum courtyard.

The Scottish Fisheries Museum is situated in Anstruther, in the old Kingdom of Fife, overlooking the ancient fishing harbour. It is at the heart of the East Neuk fishing villages of St. Monans, where wooden fishing boats are still built, Pittenweem, the present home of the East Neuk Fishing Fleet, and Crail, the centre of local crab and lobster fishing.

The museum is housed in a group of attractive buildings of historic and architectural interest, around three sides of a cobbled courtyard. They comprise, on the west side, an 18th century merchant's dwelling with its marriage-lintel, "WL HD 1721", above the street doorway; on the north side, a mid 19th century store-house, where once stood the 15th Century Chapel of St. Ayles; and, on the east side, the 16th Century Abbots' Lodging. The ecclesiastical associations are the result of a charter of 1318, by which the Lord of Anstruther, William de Candela, gave a piece of land, including the site on which the Museum stands, to the Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino in North Fife. Amongst rights granted in the charter was that of erecting and leasing booths to fishermen who were also permitted to dry their nets on the land. In return, the fishermen were required to pay a levy of 100 salt fish from every barrel of herring they caught. Thus the Abbot and monks of Balmerino were assured of a supply of salt herring, at that time more highly prized than fresh salmon.

A sizeable community of fishermen, coopers



Model of the Anstruther 70-foot seine-net fishing boat "Boy Peter IV" built at St. Monans in 1967

and brewers developed on the Abbey's Anstruther property and, to cater for their spiritual needs, a small chapel was built during the 15th Century and named St. Ayles after Saint Ayle or Saint Agilus (so called because of his agility). As this 7th Century Burgundian Monk had no known associations with either Scotland or fishing, it can only be supposed that the Abbey of Balmerino possessed some relic of this obscure saint. With the Reformation, the Chapel of St. Ayles ceased its religious function but was not demolished until about 1850, when it was replaced by a store-house. Fortunately, some conservationist was present to save the stone head of a window of two lancet lights from the east gable of the Chapel, to engrave ST. AYLES on it, and incorporate it into the new building, where it still looks down on the Museum courtyard.

In 1535, the tenancy of the Anstruther property was feued to a Thomas Wood, with an obligation "to receive the Abbot and Monks of Balmerino in kindly hospitality", and it is believed that he and his family were responsible for the building of what has come to be known as the Abbots Lodging. Now the oldest remaining building on the site, it has been converted internally for museum purposes but, externally, it has been restored as closely as possible to its 16th century appearance.

Over the centuries, the association of the St. Ayles land with fishermen and fishing has been maintained. The last private owners, the Cunninghams of Anstruther, carried on a ships chandlering business and leased parts of the buildings as fishermen's stores, net lofts etc., while the courtyard was used for barking and drying the nets. The barking tanks have disappeared but the wooden structure known as "gallowses", on which the nets were hung to dry, remains.

Following the retirement of Mr. Alex Cunningham and the closure of the business, the idea of using the property for a fisheries museum was born of local initiative. A small charitable organisation, the Scottish Fisheries Museum Trust Limited, was formed in 1968 and in July 1969, the first part of the new Scottish Fisheries Museum was officially opened by the late Dr. John Grierson. Since then, it has been developed and expanded and, in its comparatively short history, has received a Civic Trust award, an Architectural Heritage Year award and a Museum of the Year award for Scotland. It has also had the honour of a Royal Visit by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother.

The museum covers virtually every aspect of the fishing industry, including whaling and industrial salmon fishing as well as the ancillary trades (there are at least four jobs ashore for every fisherman at sea; there were possibly up to ten in the heyday of the herring fishing). The variety and beauty of old fishing boats are well illustrated by an excellent collection of models and by actual vessels in the museum courtyard and the adjacent harbour. The many facets of fisherfolk-life are portrayed, including the tragedies they face, as illustrated by the *Memorial to Scottish Fishermen Lost at Sea* which the museum is privileged to house.

THE FISHERIES AND FISHERFOLK OF SCOTLAND

A famous authority on fisheries, James Bertram, in his book *Harvest of the Sea*, written in 1873, said: 'No country has, taken into account size and population, been more industrious on the seas than Scotland – the most productive fishery of the country having been that of herring'. Although there is no consecutive historical account of the progress of the herring fishery, there are indications that 1,000 years ago herrings were fished and exported from Scotland, mainly to the Netherlands. However, by the middle of the 14th century, Dutch, Flemish and German vessels were regularly fishing off our coasts; Scots kings like James III and IV tried to restrict intrusions and encourage our own fisheries but by the 16th Century it was a common sight to see 2,000 Dutch herring boats assembled in the Shetlands and later fishing off the coasts of Aberdeen and Fife. James V encouraged families from Fife fishing communities to emigrate to the Hebrides where the Dutch established themselves, but apparently the islanders preferred the Hollanders and drove the Fifers away. During subsequent reigns several Royal fishing companies were formed to try to

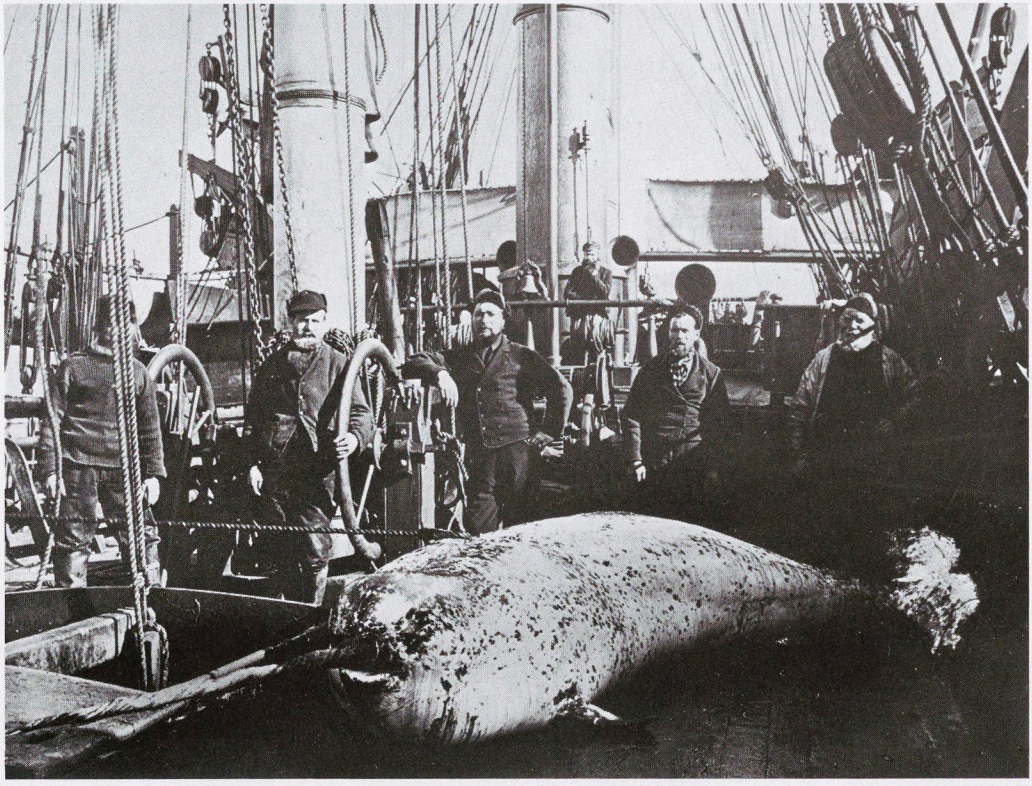
View of Museum's West Gallery showing some of the model fishing vessels

compete with the Dutch but the last of these collapsed in 1772, and the Dutch were left supreme in the herring fishery.

However, for many years there had been a small herring fishery on the Firth of Clyde under the control of merchant adventurers from Glasgow and other Clyde ports, with exports to France and Spain; for example, there is a record of 20,400 barrels of cured herring being sent to La Rochelle in 1674. The fishing was done mostly in small boats with a crew of four but, with the failures of the various Royal fishing companies, the Clyde merchants gradually acquired a fleet of herring "busses" – vessels of

Left: whaling display showing two tusks from Narwhal whales

Below: A captured Narwhal whale ("unicorn of the sea") on the deck of a sail/steam whaler



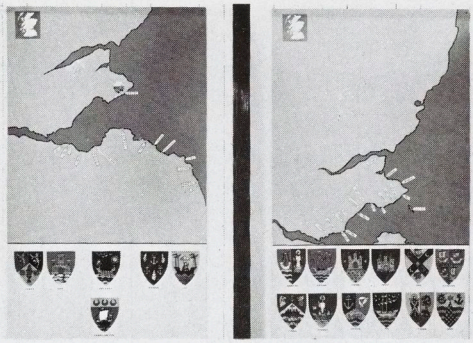
"Steam Drifters Preparing for Sea" from a painting by F. P. Martin at Anstruther c. 1930

about 50 tons and a crew of 15; there were two such vessels in use in 1751 but by 1766, the number had risen to 261.

On the East Coast, meanwhile, little seems to have been done to catch herring commercially until, in 1767, three Caithness merchants fitted out two sloops with nets and gear and, emulating the methods of the Dutch, they fished the Moray Firth with such success that soon Wick became the chief centre of the herring fisheries on the East Coast.

A further encouragement of the fisheries was the introduction, in 1718, of a bounty system whereby the Government awarded bounties not only for the fish caught but also for the building of fishing vessels. But probably the most important factor in the gradual change in Scottish fisheries was due to an organisation called "The British Society to Extend the Fisheries and Improve the Sea Coast of the Kingdom". Founded in 1786 by a number of influential Scotsmen under the presidency of the Duke of Argyll, and with privately subscribed funds of £40,000, the Society bought land at Wick, Ullapool and Tobermory on which it built houses, wharves and curing establishments to relieve the poverty of the inhabitants.

Unfortunately, the Napoleonic Wars had a disastrous effect on British fisheries, due mainly to the closing down of foreign markets for cured herrings. At the same time, complications connected with the working of the bounty system and the irregularity of appearance of the herring shoals on the East Coast, brought the fisheries to a low ebb. Much was written around the end of the 18th Century about the sad state of the fisheries, including several Parliamentary reports. These suggested the abolition of the heavy tax on salt, drastic revision of the bounty system, and control of all fisheries by the Government. Another recommendation, that larger decked boats be used, was resisted by



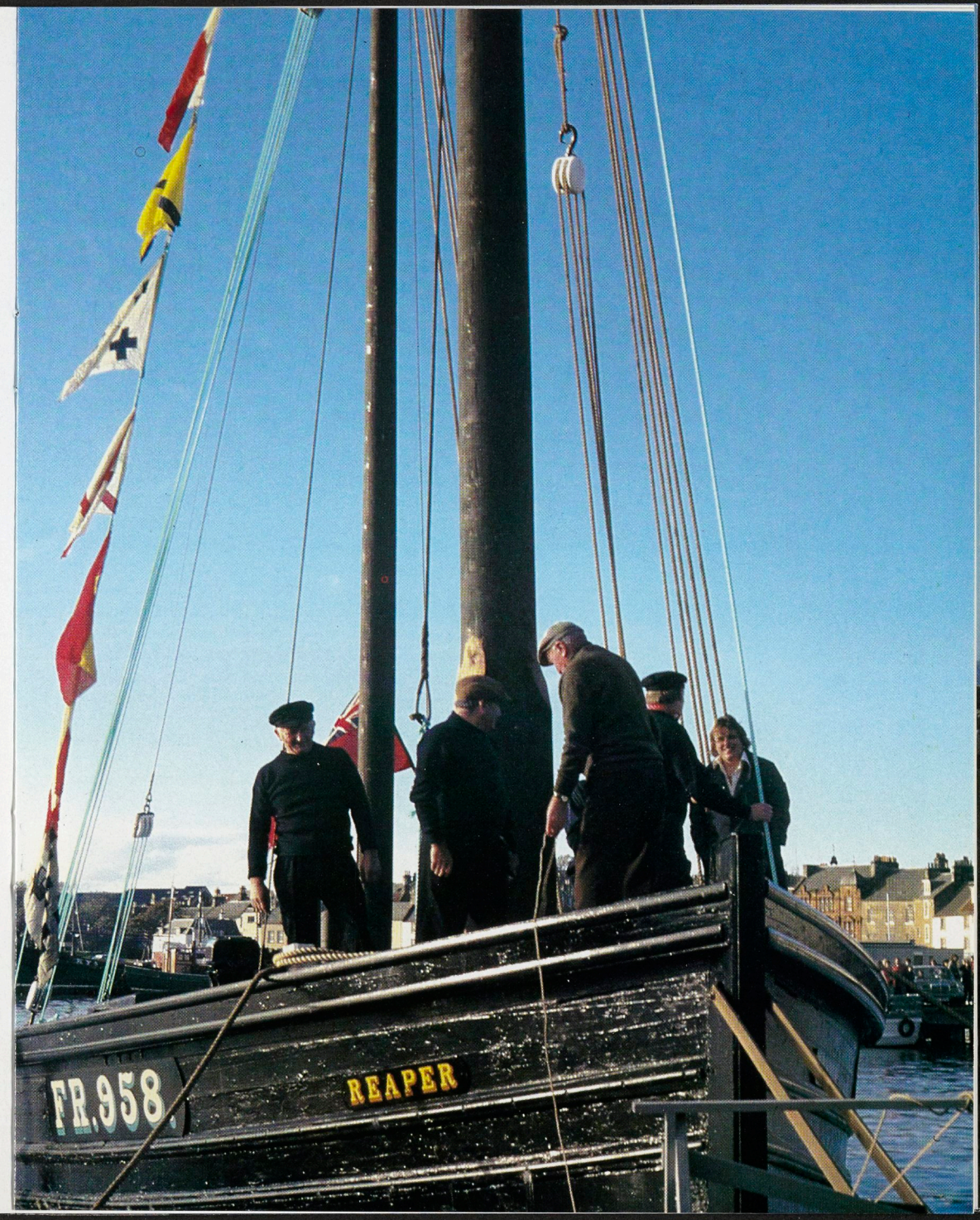
many fishermen who maintained that the small undecked boats were more suitable and economical for the herring fisheries, an argument repeated nearly a century later when the big "Fifies" and "Zulus" were first built.

In 1808, the bounty system was revised so that, to benefit from it, fishermen had to comply with new regulations on when and how to fish the herring. A board of "Commissioners" was appointed to control the industry, and the next 20 years saw a rapid development in the herring fisheries, especially on the East Coast of Scotland. Gutting and curing establishments were opened in many Moray Firth and North East ports, and the older Firth of Forth ports were improved. Officers for the various fishing centres were appointed, primarily to deal with the payment of bounties but, with the final abolition of the bounty system in 1829, their duties were confined to checking and branding the herring. Scotland was later given a separate organisation in 1882, when the Fishery Board for Scotland was set up; it was this Board which first established a fisheries research laboratory, initially at Dunbar but transferred to its present home at Torry, Aberdeenshire in 1900.

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Scottish fisheries, particularly the

Above : two of the ten sections of the "Panorama of Scottish Fishing Communities" covering the whole coast of Scotland. Below : the workforce of Wm. Fulton & Sons, boatbuilders at Pittenweem, c. 1905

Opposite : The Museum's sailing Fifie "Reaper" in Anstruther Harbour during her re-naming after restoration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REAPER

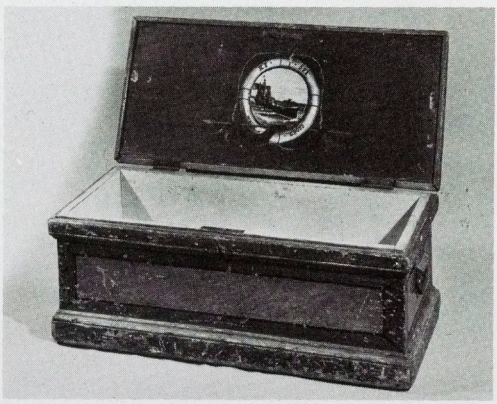
Fine example of an early solid-fuel stove used on fishing boats with brass kettle and copper pan

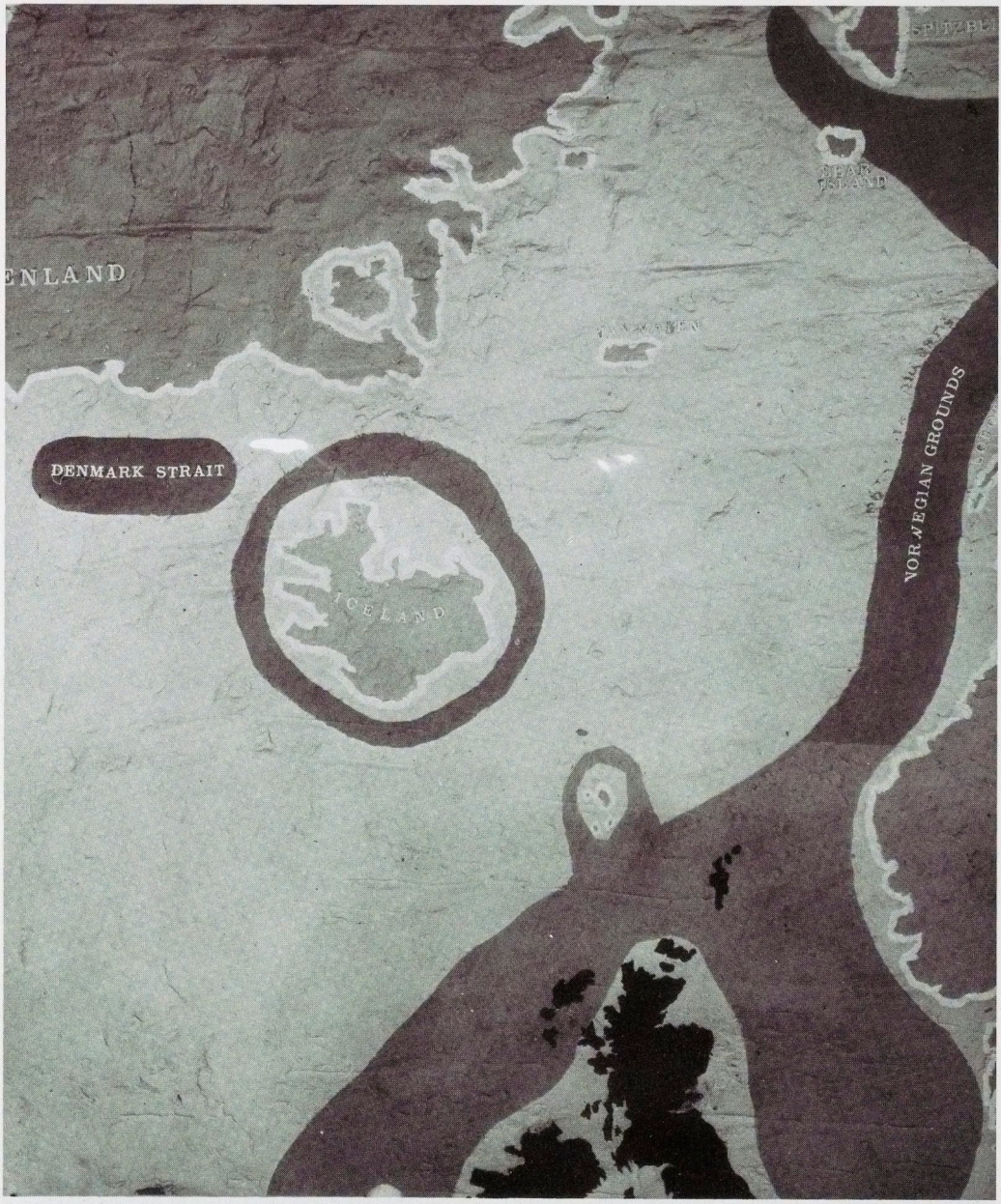
herring, forged ahead until the peak year of 1913. A significant factor in this success was the introduction, in the '80s, of steam drifters and trawlers. Then came the Great War and our peacetime fishermen, with their unique knowledge of our coastal waters, and their steam vessels, became the backbone of the Royal Naval Reserve, being employed particularly on mine-sweeping operations. They returned from the War to a declining industry which, by 1929, had reached such a state of crisis that the Government set up a special Committee to inquire into it. Following the very exhaustive report by this Committee, the Herring Industry Board was established in 1935 and the Sea Fish Industry Act passed in 1938. Unfortunately, just when it seemed that something practical was being done for fishermen, the Second World War broke out and 10,000 out of about 17,000 Scottish fishermen served in the Royal and Merchant Navies and the Admiralty commandeered 670 Scottish fishing vessels. Despite this, some fishing continued throughout the War, mainly centred on Fraserburgh, but it was curtailed by the inevitable wartime regulations and shortages.

Immediately following the War, positive steps were taken to restore the industry through the functions of the revived Herring Industry Board and later, the White Fish Authority, and considerable grants and loans were made to fishermen for the acquisition, improvement or reconditioning of boats and the purchase of gear. In spite of many fluctuations in markets and conditions, the industry has made steady progress since the War and the total value of fish landed in Scotland continues to rise each year. In 1970, for example, it totalled nearly £28 million, brought in by approximately 9,000 fishermen from a fleet of about 2,600 boats. Compare this with 1938 when 17,000 fishermen in 5,000 boats brought in a catch of about £5 million. Of course, part of the tremendous jump in value is accounted for by the change in monetary values over 30 years but a large part is due to the increased efficiency of the industry with improved methods of fish finding, catching and processing. Another significant factor is the growth in the shell fishery, due mainly to the successful fishing of *nephrops norvegicus,* or Norwegian prawn, in response to public demand for that popular dish, Scampi.

The herring fishery, once the mainstay of the

Fisherman's 'kist' or chest for clothes etc. when working away from home



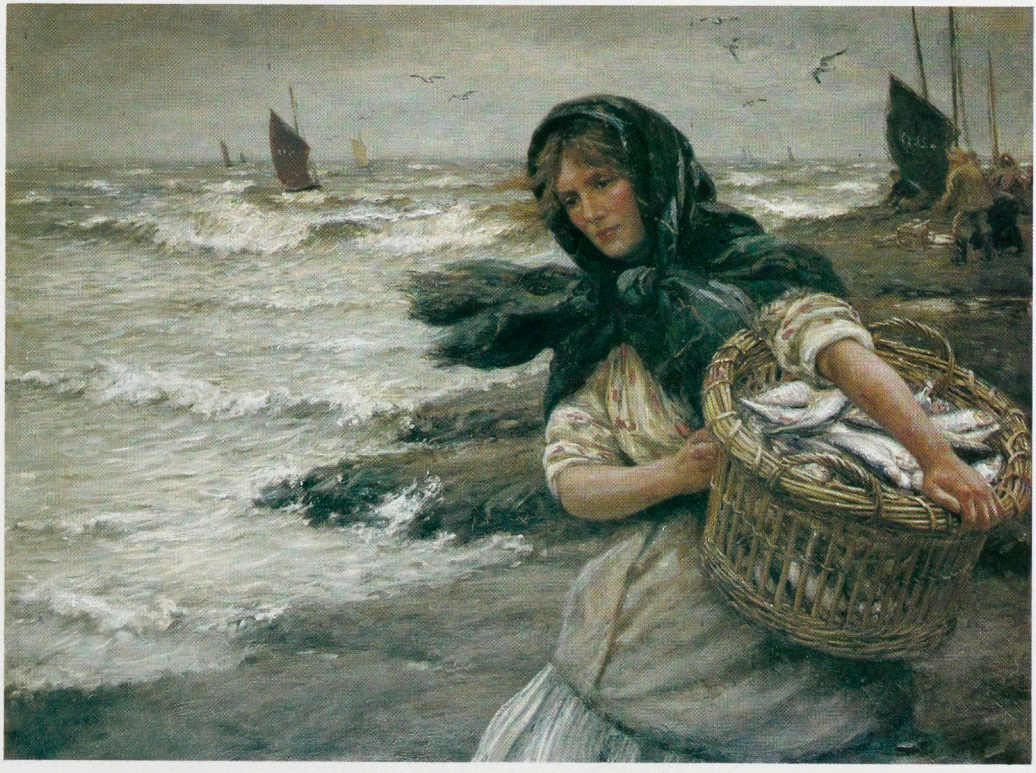


Part of the map of traditional fishing grounds for Scottish fishermen. It was painted by children from the Waid Academy in Anstruther directly on to the old stone wall in the Museum's "Ship's Loft"

industry, has so far failed to return to its pre-eminent position, and herring-drifters have virtually disappeared, except for preserved vessels such as the sailing-drifter "Reaper" in Anstruther Harbour and the steam-drifter "Lydia Eva" in St. Katharine's Dock, London. As with drift-net fishing for herring, "long" or "great-line" fishing for white fish has been replaced by so called better methods for catching quantity; some argue that quality has been sacrificed and future stocks endangered. These changes and the disappearance of the shoals of herring from the Scottish and English east coasts have led to a considerable reduction in the number of active fishing harbours, and fishing communities have had to adjust to the changed situation. Some have disappeared with the abandonment of their harbours; many have survived with the men commuting to the active harbours; others, aware of the tourism potential surrounding them, have adapted to this new major industry. But wherever they are, they remain fisherfolk.

Which brings us to the story of fishing communities and the fisherfolk themselves. Again lack of documentation makes it difficult to trace the beginnings of early fishing settlements but, from the remains of herring which have been found in the caves of prehistoric man in the British Isles, one can imagine the menfolk of small communities living near river estuaries, setting out in primitive craft, possibly coracles, to catch fish for their families. In 240 AD, Solinus wrote of the inhabitants of the

"Fisher Lassie" by John McGhie, one of several paintings in the Museum by this Glasgow artist painted during holidays in Pittenweem



Fisher-home interior c. 1900 with built-in "Box" beds. Homelife centred on this one room

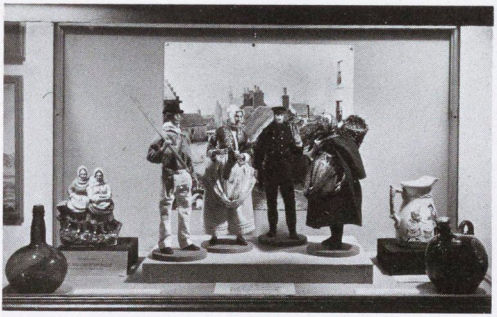
Hebrides; "They do not know the cultivating of the grain and live much on fish and milk". Cedric the Saxon landed at Great Yarmouth in 495 AD with others who gathered there for the herring season. Later, in the 7th and 10th centuries, another race more noted as fishers than farmers – the Vikings – came and settled on many coastal areas of our islands near the herring fishing grounds; their influence is still to be seen, especially in the Shetlands and in Scottish boat design. And so gradually, from native stock and these intruders, fishing communities were established around our coasts, each a closely knit unit, more conservative in many ways than agricultural or industrial workers. There was considerable inter-marriage within each community – it was a rare thing to take a bride from a neighbouring village and almost an offence to take a country lass – and the majority of fishermen's sons went to the fishing as a matter of course. Whether it was always a matter of choice as well is doubtful when you consider the sort of life they were entering. Hard and dangerous as it is today, it was even more so up to the middle of the last century when few boats were decked or even half-decked, so that the crews were continuously exposed to wind, rain and sea. They were dependent on sail and oars both for seeking the fish and for getting the perishable catch back to port in good marketable condition. And lacking today's fish-finding equipment, earnings were precarious and life was a gamble when the shoals of fish were not to be found. The gamble remains; in fact, the gambling or hunting aspect of fishing no doubt appeals to something in the

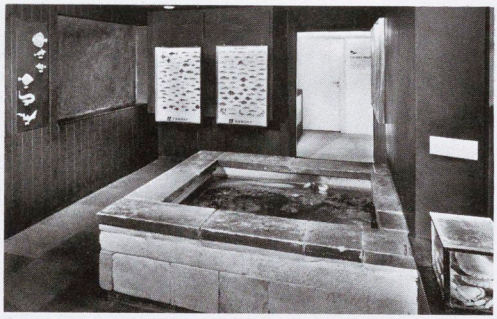
The fisherman's net-loft above his living quarters – used for storing his gear and working on it

spirit of the men who follow this difficult and hazardous calling.

Their womenfolk share this gamble of life, not only through their natural concern for the safety and success of their husbands and sons at sea, but also in their complete involvement in their menfolk's work, especially in pre-war days. In addition to their normal household duties, it was the women who mended the nets, collected and shelled mussel or other bait for the "small-lines" and then baited each hook (and there were 1,000 hooks or more to each line). They prepared the fish for sale and hawked it on their backs around the district; and in those villages where boats worked from the beach, not only did they assist in launching and beaching them, but they often carried their husbands out to the boat to keep them dry.

Towards the end of the last century, with the expansion of the herring fisheries, Scottish women and girls found employment in gutting, salting and packing herring, not only in Scotland but also in English and Irish ports. It was quite normal for them to leave home in June for the Shetlands, Wick or other northern ports; to move to Fraserburgh about August and then south to Yarmouth or Lowestoft until their return home in the late autumn. This was the pattern of movement of the herring fishers as they pursued the herring shoals in their seasonal migrations to different areas of the North Sea. Thus, although herring fishermen worked from their home ports for only part of the year, in many cases they came ashore in these distant harbours to their wives, daughters, nieces, working as "fisherlassies". The work done by the women and girls was very hard, involving long hours of standing over open troughs in all weathers, with their hands often a mass of sores and wounds from working in the brine in which the herring were soaked. Surprisingly enough, the majority of Scottish fisherlassies seemed to





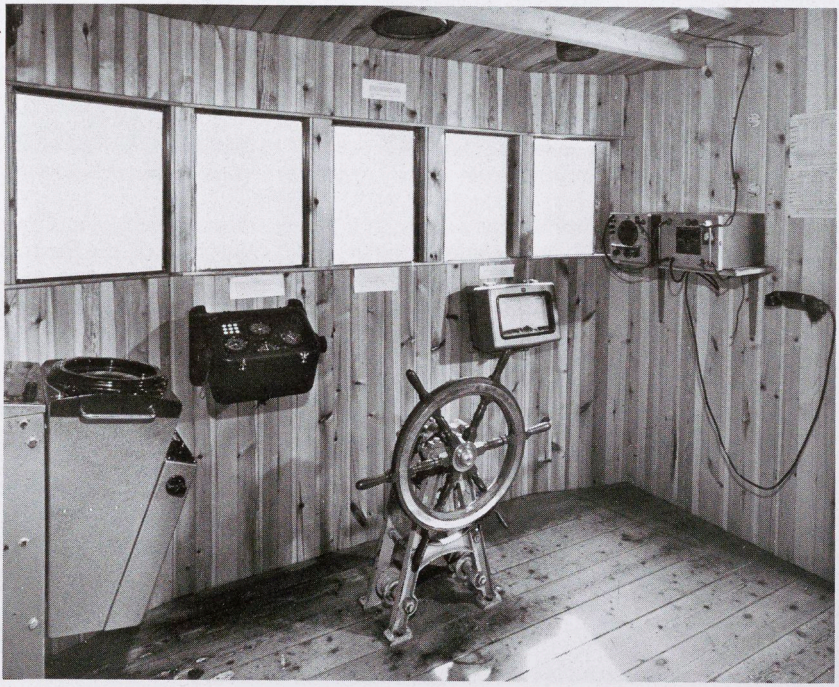
have enjoyed, and thrived on, this hard life. A 19th Century writer used the words "Handsome, good-looking; and the very picture of health" about the women and girls in Scottish fishing towns and villages; and, according to the author, Peter F. Anson, the fisherlassies who followed the herring shoals "acquired a self-assurance and knowledge of the outside world that was rare in a woman of another sphere".

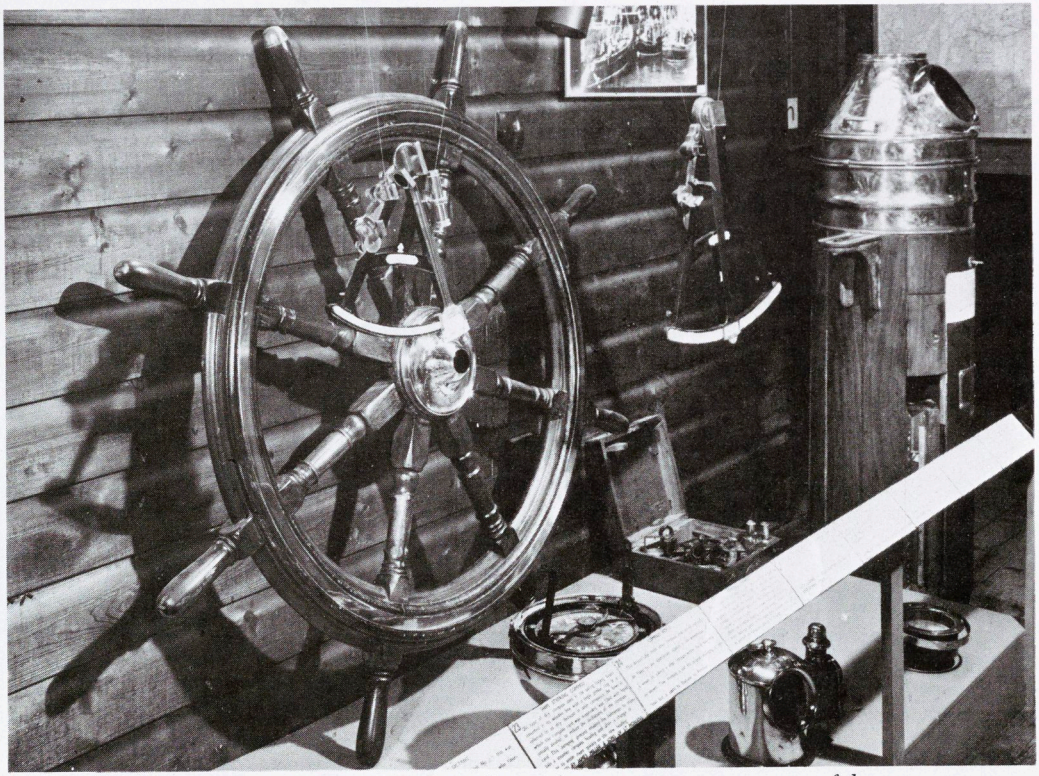
"Fishwives", on the other hand, did not follow the herring shoals but were responsible for carrying and marketing fish around the local district. A controversial viewpoint of this female participation appears in another quotation from James Bertram's book, this time about the fisherfolk of Footdee, Aberdeen, or "Fittie" as it is known locally: "The young girls, or 'Quines', as they are called in Fittie, carry the fish to market, and the women sit there and sell them; and it is thought that it is the officious desire of the wives to be the treasurers of their earnings that keeps the fishermen from being

Above left : miniature figures of fisherfolk surrounded by "fisher theme" pottery and glass

Above right : the Aquarium containing examples of fish caught in Scottish waters

Right : the Museum's simulated fishing-boat wheel-house with (l. to r.) radar, Decca Navigator, wheel, echo-sounder and ship-to-shore radio





Display of navigation instruments including 18th century octant, precursor of the sextant

more enterprising. The women enslave the men to their will, and keep them chained under petticoat government". Nevertheless, despite these harsh words about fishwives, King George IV described Newhaven fishwives as the handsomest women he had ever seen.

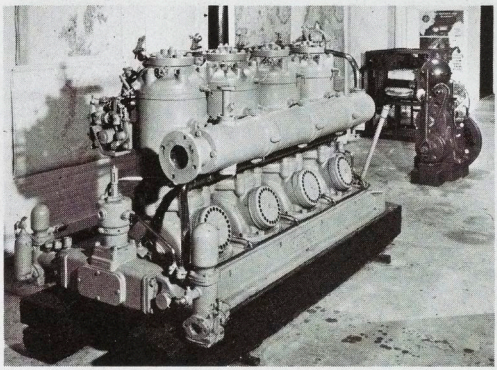
The fisherman's home was planned on definitely functional lines because most Scottish fishermen owned their own nets and gear and so needed space to store and work on them. Round about 1800, most fishermen's houses were single-storied with earth floors, and rough often unplastered walls; a large double-bed was recessed in the living-room and there would be one or two more rooms for the rest of the usually large family. Tarred sheds stood in the yard for storing nets and gear. It is interesting to note that, whereas most houses in Fife fishing villages were built in lines roughly parallel to the edge of the sea, those on the East Coast and the Moray Firth, exposed directly to the open sea, were mostly built gable-end on to the sea. In Aberdeen, on the other hand, in the fishing community of Footdee, the houses were built around two adjoining squares with no doors or windows in the outer walls, only facing into the square, so that the community was isolated and secluded from the outside public gaze. During the prosperous years of the herring fishing at the beginning of this century, bigger and better houses were built – and still stand – in many fishing towns; they were specially designed for fishermen, with spacious lofts for storing gear and mending herring nets. Such functional houses are no longer built and the modern fisherman, while deservedly enjoying the

comforts and coveniences of present day housing, has often to seek separate storage for his gear.

There is insufficient space to describe the diversity of clothes worn by fishermen and women over the years, especially as fashions varied according to districts. One common factor worthy of note is the leather sea-boots worn by fishermen until their gradual replacement by rubber boots in the 1930s. These old leather boots were hand-made and were usually so well-fitting that a boot-jack was needed to get them off. The leather was kept supple and waterproof by frequent applications of goose-grease or something similar. With metal studs and tips on the soles and heels to add to their weight, and the designed snug-fit, these boots must have been a terrible impediment for any unfortunate who fell overboard. The items mentioned were, of course, part of the working dress but it is worth noting that, when the occasion demanded, fisherfolk wore "braw clothes". As it says in the song "Caller Ou":

At Kirk and at Fair,
There's nane gae sae braw.

Of all fisher dress, probably that of the Newhaven fishwife is most well-known, possibly because Queen Victoria, on her first visit to Edinburgh, happened to take notice of them. Thereafter, they were sketched, painted and photographed and were favourite subjects of the pioneer photographers, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson in the middle of the 19th century.



The subject of fisherfolk would not be complete without a mention of their superstitions and beliefs, although again these were – and still are – so many and varied that it is impossible to cover them all. Luck has always been an important element in the life of the fisherman and the following are some of the ways he warded off the "bad" variety: a boat would

Above: early examples of Gardner and Kelvin marine petrol/paraffin engines used in fishing boats

Right: the Museum tearoom

The Museum shop

never be turned in harbour "against the sun", and when first leaving the shore, it would always be rowed sunways; those who went to bring a new boat to its home port for the first time, had to set off to do so when the tide was flowing; it was considered unlucky to go for a new boat and return without her; when a new fishing line was being made, the job had to be started on the outgoing tide and continued without any interruption. It is possible to discern some reasoning behind some of these but it is difficult to understand the fisherman's antipathy to certain words, to such an extent that he has to find an alternative word to say. For instance, he says "curly tail" for a pig, "lang-tail" for a rat, "man in the black coat" for a minister, "red fish" for salmon, and so on. Should one of the forbidden words be spoken aboard a fishing boat, the crew would cry out "Cauld Iron" and catch hold of the nearest piece of iron.

Fisher weddings have their customs and were great events a century ago. The so-called "Penny Weddings" involved the contribution of a small sum by each guest, so there was no difficulty in obtaining admission to the ceremony and customary rejoicings. In villages around Aberdeen, it was the custom for the two youngest members of the boat's crew to carry a large flag into the house, wrap the bride in it, and give her a kiss. Another custom with a flag has persisted in certain communities for over 100 years; when a member of a crew is to be married, his bride-to-be prepares the "Marriage Flag", consisting of a yard of red, white and blue material sewn together. On the Saturday preceding the ceremony, the youngest member of the crew collects it – and a gift – and raises the flag to the top of the boat's mast where it flies until immediately after the wedding, usually on the following Friday. The condition of the flag when hauled down is said to be an indication of the future success, or otherwise, of the couple's married life.

One other persistent tradition warrants special mention. Despite the ever-growing sophistication and cost of modern fishing boats, many are still owned by families or small groups of friends rather than by fishing companies or other large organisations; and they continue to operate under the share-system. Although it has many variations, this system is basically the sharing out of the gross earnings of the vessel among its crew after deduction of the operating and maintenance expenses; in other words profit-sharing.

This, together with the other traditions, customs, religious beliefs and the nature of their calling, is what makes up the special character of fisherfolk and their communities, especially their individuality and independence.

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Opposite: 16th century Abbot's Lodging, the oldest building of the Museum complex.
Back cover: fish chart

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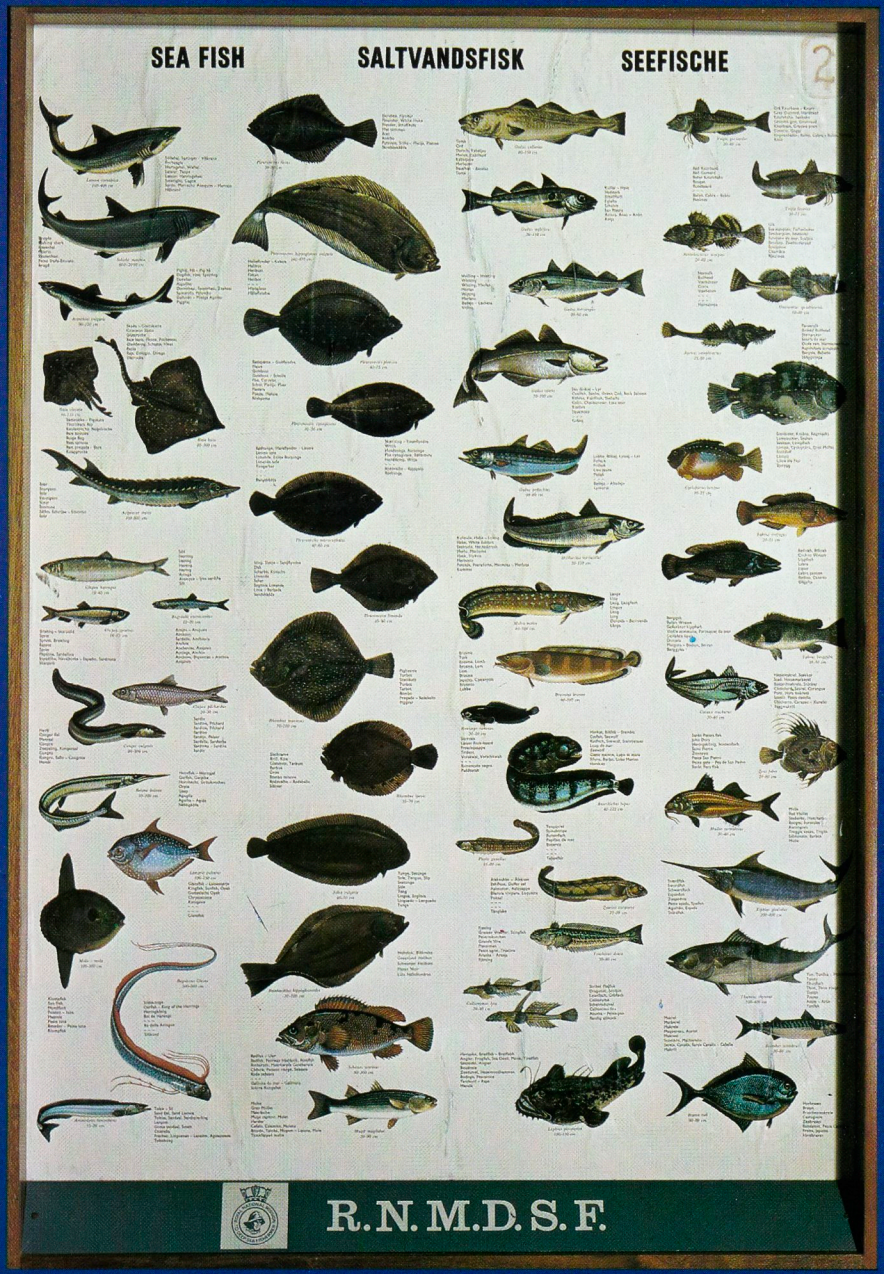
SEA FISH
SALTVANDSFISK
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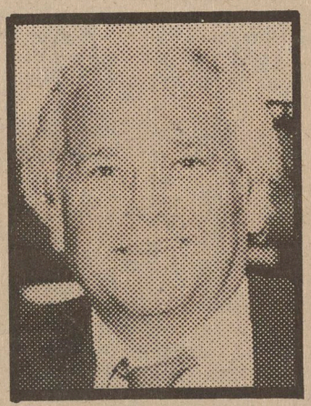
R.N.M.D.S.F.

Back by popular

DIAL·A·CA

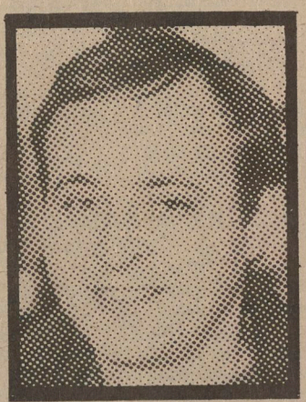
RUBIN BAUM
New York, N.Y.

"By calling Dial-A-Cadillac I saved at least $2000."



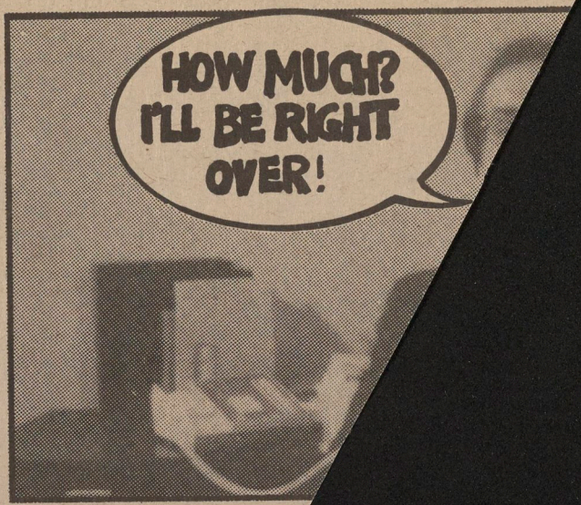
J. GUARINO
Winthrop, Mass.

"I dialed and saved approx. $3000."



TONY MARINO
E. Northport, N.Y.

BEFORE YOU BUY ANY CA
POTAMKIN AND GET A FI
AN 1984 CADILLAC OV



EAST SIDE

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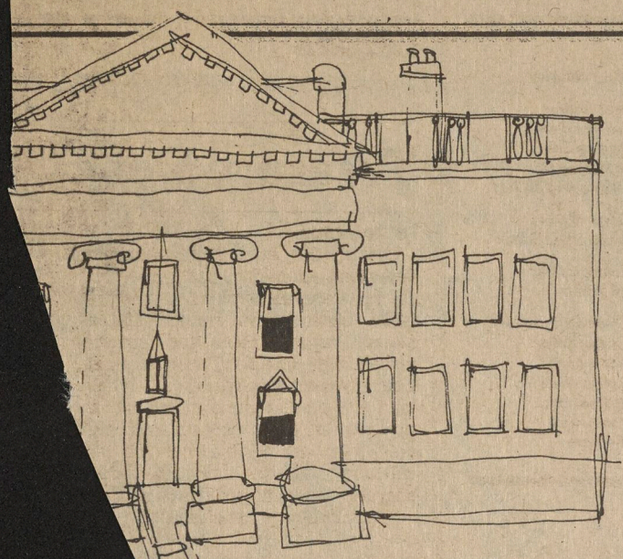

Mark Podwal

mare came to pass, it would prove the moral bankruptcy of the regime Washington now seeks to salvage.

The United States will, and should, go on trying to change the nature of the armed forces until it concludes that this is a futile task — something that may finally become clear after the elections. At that point, a United States withdrawal would be the logical alternative, even though this risks a guerrilla victory.

Withdrawal of military support would be extremely difficult for any Administration. In Havana, the Cubans now acknowledge their tutelage of the guerrilla front, and this should be expected to continue. Notwithstanding the claims by the guerrillas' political spokesman that they seek a democratic solution and will need good relations with the United States, no one can be confident of what would follow a takeover by the guerrillas. The result might well be as bloody and repressive as the situation is today. Washington could make it clear in advance that any installation of Soviet bases or missiles would not be tolerated, should the Russians be foolish enough to attempt this.

argument will be made that awal, even from a country ir allies are murdering civil- are ineffectual in dealing nemy, will bring United dibility" into question: war must go on. But it tful that the people of s will support a war eable end.

rned to head a com- ong-term policies entral America, lared that, "If al America, it vince threat- Gulf and in w to man- He could hard to e and ly — we at- e

WASHINGTON

'To All Ye Pilgrims'

By James Reston

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, Mass., Nov. 26 — After 48 years of wedded bliss — one wife, three sons and three grandchildren — I've finally come up with a better way to spend Thanksgiving.

The old Currier and Ives way, as recommended by Lydia Maria Child, is well known: "Over the river and through the wood to grandfather's house we go. The horse knows the way to carry the sleigh through the white and drifted snow."

There are several things wrong with this picture. Why *grandfather's* house? Why no mention of granny? This is because in those sexist days, the old man probably made a 50-50 deal with his wife: He'd take care of the drinks personally, and give her equal time to cook the meal, wash the dishes and tidy up the house after the kids were gone.

Our better idea — actually it was my wife's — was that this romantic rubbish should have gone out with the horse and sleigh, and that after 40 years of dirty dishes, it was the children's turn to get things ready and clean things up.

We would go, we said, to New England — specifically to Edgartown, here on Martha's Vineyard — say howdy to Martha and, before the feast, read Gov. William Bradford's first Thanksgiving proclamation of Nov. 23, 1623, as published annually in The Vineyard Gazette:

"To all ye Pilgrims: Inasmuch as the Great Father has given us this year an abundant harvest of Indian corn, wheat, beans, squashes and garden vegetables, and has made the forest to abound in game and the sea with fish and clams . . . now, I, your magistrate, do proclaim that all ye Pilgrims with your wives and little ones do gather at ye meeting house on ye Hill, there to render thanksgiving. . . ."

But meanwhile, since there were a lot of rivers and woods to cross between the capital of the United States and this island, I made a generous Scotch deal with my neighbors for sort of a cooperative Thanksgiving Day, as follows:

I would make the corn pudding (Governor Bradford would have loved it!). My wife, Sally, would produce the creamed onions. Our neighbors in Washington, the Frank Ikards, would go ahead and open their house and prepare the turkey and fixin's. And another neighbor, the Jeeb Halabys, would furnish the airplane. In short, an equal sharing of the burden.

So Mr. Halaby, who flew the plane, with his wife, Allison, as co-pilot at his side and in charge of the weather, touched us down in golden twilight on the Vineyard, and we came into town and found that our son Richard had done as he was told — not only tidied up the house, but even Easy-Off'd the stove.

Governor Bradford would have been proud of the way Edgartown looked. The old whaling houses were shuttered, but gleaming with pride. The busy streets of summer were deserted, and if suddenly you saw the faithful Jon with his taxi in the distance and hailed it, you felt that maybe by magic it would simply have vanished in the gathering fog.

So we sat down to Thanksgiving dinner, looking out on the channel to Chappaquidick, where Ted Kennedy swam for his life, and began with Robbie Burns's Selkirk blessing, as amended:

"Some hae meat that canna eat, and some hae none that want it. But we hae meat and we can eat, so let the Lord be thankit."

We had our old buddies, the Cronkites, at our side, and the Attorney General of the United States, William French Smith, to settle any disputes that might arise — just the 12 of us — but no disputes arose. We didn't talk about the Old Men in Moscow and Washington, fussing with one another about missiles and warning about the war young men would have to fight, or even about the mysterious development of putting trucks filled with sand around the White House and the State Department.

Instead, we went around the table and talked about why we were thankful, and we all came back to our children and our friends and our freedom to talk to one another honestly about the things that unite us rather than the things that divide us, and we wondered why we didn't do it more often.

So we went happily out into the lonely streets, with a howling wind coming up, and drifted home to a clean kitchen and flannel sheets. And the only sad part of this story is that the Ikards were left with the dirty dishes.

The moral of this tale should be fairly clear: (1) After 40 years, don't go to grandfather's house through the woods and the snow. (2) Rescue granny from the kitchen. (3) Go by all means to some lovely, lonely village in New England for Thanksgiving, and have a kindly neighbor with an airplane to get you there and bring you back home.

SIR PATRICK SPENS

I

THE King sits in Dunfermline town,
Drinking the blude-red wine;
'O[1] whare will I get a skeely skipper,[2]
To sail this new[3] ship of mine!'

II

O up and spake an eldern knight,
Sat at the King's right knee,—
'Sir Patrick Spens is the best sailor,
That ever sail'd the sea.'[4]

III

Our King has written a braid letter,
And seal'd[5] it with his hand,
And sent it to Sir Patrick Spens,
Was walking on the strand.[6]

[1] In singing, the interjection O is added to the second and fourth lines. [2] *Skeely skipper*, skilful mariner. [Herd and Percy have 'guid sailor,' and the Jamieson version, 'mariner.'] [3] ['New' is added by Scott.] [4] [Herd MS. Percy version has 'sails upon' for 'ever sail'd.'] [5] [Herd and Jamieson. Percy has 'sign'd.'] [6] ['Strand' is apparently Scott's own. Percy reads 'sands,' and Herd 'Leith Sands'—the ships that set sail with James VI. in 1589 were 'lyand in Leith.' Except for the variants mentioned, the three first stanzas agree with the Percy version.]

IV[1]

'To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway o'er the faem;
The King's daughter of Noroway,
'Tis thou maun bring her hame.'

V

The first word[2] that Sir Patrick read,
Sae loud loud[3] laughèd he!
The neist word[2] that Sir Patrick read,
The tear blinded his ee.

VI

'O wha is this has done this deed,
And tauld the King o' me,[4]
To send us out, at this time of the year,
To sail upon the sea?

VII[5]

'Be it wind, be it weet, be it hail, be it sleet,
Our ship must sail the faem;
The King's daughter of Noroway,
'Tis we must fetch her hame.'

[1] [This stanza is apparently the work of Scott to 'complete' the story.] [2] ['Line.'—Percy.] [3] ['A loud laugh.'—Percy. There is no corresponding stanza in the Jamieson version, and the Herd stanza differs considerably from Percy and Scott.] [4] [The line is from the Jamieson version: the remainder of the stanza is from Percy.] [5] [The first line of the stanza is from Jamieson, with variations; in the second, 'faem' is substituted for 'morn'; the remainder is apparently Scott's own.]

VIII[1]

They hoysed their sails on Monenday morn,
Wi' a' the speed they may;
They hae landed in Noroway,
Upon a Wodensday.

IX

They hadna been a week, a week,
In Noroway, but twae,
When that the lords o' Noroway
Began aloud to say,—

X

'Ye Scottishmen spend a' our King's goud,
And a' our Queenis fee.'
'Ye lie, ye lie, ye liars loud!
Fu' loud I hear ye lie.

XI

'For I brought as much white monie,
As gane[2] my men and me,
And I brought a half-fou[3] o' gude red goud,
Out o'er the sea wi' me.

XII

Make ready,[4] make ready,[4] my merrymen a'!
Our gude ship sails the morn.'
'Now, ever alake,[5] my master dear,
I fear a deadly storm!

[1] [Stanzas viii.-xi. are from the Jamieson version, with emendations.] [2] *Gane*, suffice. [3] *Half-fou*, the eighth part of a peck. [4] ['Haste.'—Percy.] [5] [Borrowed from another stanza of the Jamieson version. Percy reads, 'O say na sae.']

XIII[1]

'I saw the new moon, late yestreen,
Wi' the auld moon in her arm;
And if we gang to sea, master,
I fear we 'll come to harm.'

XIV

They hadna sailed a league, a league,[2]
A league but barely three,[3]
When the lift grew dark, and the wind blew loud,
And gurly grew the sea.[4]

XV[5]

The ankers brak, and the topmasts lap,[6]
It was sic a deadly storm;
And the waves cam o'er the broken ship,
Till a' her sides were torn.

XVI[7]

'O where will I get a gude sailor,
To take my helm in hand,
Till I get up to the tall topmast,
To see if I can spy land?'

[1] [In this stanza Scott prefers the Jamieson to the Percy.] [2] [The repetition of 'a league' is Scott's. The MSS. have 'on (or 'upon the') sea.'] [3] ['Barely' from Jamieson, and 'three' from Herd.] [4] [This couplet is mainly Scott's own. The nearest approach to 'gurly grew the sea,' is the 'ugly, ugly were the jaws,' etc. of the Herd.] [5] [The first half of the stanza is from Jamieson, with slight verbal amendments; the second half is apparently Scott's own.] [6] *Lap*, sprang. [7] [Chiefly from Herd, with emendations from Hamilton. For 'gude sailor,' Herd has 'pretty boy,' and Jamieson 'bonny boy.' For 'my helm,' Herd has 'my steer.']

XVII [1]

'O here am I, a sailor gude,
To take the helm in hand,
Till you go up to the tall topmast;
But I fear you 'll ne'er spy land.'

XVIII [2]

He hadna gane a step, a step,
A step but barely ane,
When a bout flew out of our goodly ship,
And the salt sea it came in.

XIX

'Gae, fetch a web o' the silken claith,
Another o' the twine,
And wap them into our ship's side,
And let na the sea come in.'

XX

They fetched a web o' the silken claith,
Another of the twine,
And they wrapped them round that gude ship's side,
But still the sea came in.

[1] [From Herd, with emendations from Hamilton.] [2] [This and the two succeeding stanzas Scott obtained from Hamilton's recitation.]

XXI

O laith, laith, were our gude Scots lords [1]
To weet their cork-heel'd [2] shoon!
But lang or a' the play was play'd,
They wat their hats aboon.[3]

XXII

And [4] mony was the feather-bed,
That flattered [5] on the faem;
And mony was the gude lord's son,
That never mair cam hame.

XXIII

The ladyes wrang their fingers white,
The maidens tore their hair,
A' for the sake of their true loves;
For them they 'll see nae mair.

XXIV [6]

O lang, lang, may the ladyes sit,
Wi' their fans into their hand,
Before they see Sir Patrick Spens
Come sailing to the strand!

[1] [From Herd and Jamieson. Percy has, 'Our Scots nobles were right laith.'] [2] ['Coal-black.'—Herd. 'Leathern.'—Jamieson.] [3] [Herd. Jamieson has 'Their hats were wat aboon,' and Percy, 'Thair hats they swam aboone.'] [4] [Stanzas xxii. and xxiii. are from the Jamieson, with slight emendations.] [5] *Flattered*, fluttered, or rather floated, on the foam. [6] [The stanza is from Percy, with slight emendations, and the substitution of 'strand' for 'land.']

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XXV[1]

And lang, lang, may the maidens sit,
Wi' their goud kaims in their hair,
A' waiting for their ain dear loves!
For them they'll see nae mair.

XXVI[2]

O forty miles off Aberdeen,
'Tis fifty fathoms deep,
And there lies gude Sir Patrick Spens,
Wi' the Scots lords at his feet.

[1] [The stanza is from Percy, with slight emendations, and the substitution of 'maidens sit' for 'ladyes stand,' and 'loves' for 'lords.'] [2] This concluding verse differs in the three copies of the ballads which I have collated. The printed edition bears,

'Half ower, half ower to Aberdour';

and one of the MSS. reads,

'At the back of auld St. Johnstoune Dykes.'

But, in a voyage from Norway, a shipwreck on the north coast seems as probable as either in the Firth of Forth or Tay; and the ballad states the disaster to have taken place out of sight of land. [Scott seems to misquote a line of the Herd MS. :—

'The water at St. Johnston's wall.'

The line he selected is in the Jamieson version.]

NOTES

ON

SIR PATRICK SPENS

To send us out at this time of the year
To sail upon the sea?—St. vi. ll. 3-4.

By a Scottish Act of Parliament, it was enacted, that no ship should be freighted out of the kingdom, with any staple goods, betwixt the feast of Simon's day and Jude and Candlemas.—*James III. Parliament 2d, chap.* 15. [The quotation is from the old ed. of *Scotch Statutes.*] Such was the terror entertained for navigating the North Seas in winter.

I saw the new moon, etc.—St. xiii.

['The bard, be sure, was weatherwise, who framed the grand old Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens.'—COLERIDGE'S *Sibylline Leaves.*—J. G. L.]

[The saying is, however, quite a common one in Scotland.]

When a bout flew out of our goodly ship.—St. xviii. l. 3.

I believe a modern seaman would say, a plank had started; which must have been a frequent incident during the infancy of ship-building. Mr. Finlay, however, thinks it rather means that a bolt gave way. The remedy applied seems to be that mentioned in Cook's *Voyages*, when, upon some occasion, to stop a leak, which could not be got at in the inside, a quilted sail was brought under the vessel, which, being drawn into the leak by the suction, prevented the entry of more water. Chaucer says,

'There n'is na new guise that it na'as old.'

Anstruther : The Scottish Fisheries Museum, Interior of Fisherman's Home, c 1900 5394 X

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vin (1577) became the source of many defamatory misstatements. One heretic, the renowned Spanish anti-Trinitarian, Michael Servetus, was burned at the stake (1553). He had clashed with Calvin long before, written against him, and engaged in controversial correspondence with him. He came to Geneva when Calvin's position seemed weak. Calvin had indicated earlier that if Servetus should come there he would do what he could to prevent his getting away alive. Servetus was brought to trial, during which Calvin sought the penalty of death by the sword rather than the flames; the council, however, ruled otherwise. The incident moved Castellio to write a notable treatise against persecution, but Calvin defended the death penalty for heresy, and thereafter always wrote of Servetus and his doctrines with loathing. There was perhaps no spot in Europe where Servetus would have been safe, yet Calvin's reputation justly suffers from his part in the affair.

The defeat of powerful opponents of the policy of admitting the refugees to citizenship left Geneva virtually under Calvin's sway (1555). The consistory became more independent of the councils. The laws became more exacting. Free elections were maintained, but political authority was more centralized in the Little Council. The repressive aspects of the regime were balanced by great attention to education. From 1558 the Academy of Geneva became a nursery of Calvinism, sending alumni to all parts of Europe.

Until his health failed Calvin occasionally played games or took short excursions for recreation, and despite his intensity and hot temper (the "wild beast," he called this defect), he could be a genial companion. In his forties he was assailed by a series of painful diseases that increasingly sapped his vitality. He toiled on with all his strength writing commentaries, treatises, and pamphlets and corresponding with rulers, bishops, ministers, students, and troubled men and women everywhere, all the while giving detailed attention to the people and church of Geneva. He continually enlarged the *Institutes;* the final Latin edition (1559) is nearly five times the bulk of the original of 1536. His works in Latin and in translations were widely circulated and highly influential during and after his lifetime. He died in Geneva on May 27, 1564.

Theology. Calvin's theology rests closely upon the Bible and is everywhere supported by scriptural evidence. It has been charged that he relied almost exclusively upon the Old Testament. But this is widely erroneous, as is shown, for example, by the preponderance of New Testament references in the *Institutes.* According to a meticulous count made by F. L. Battles, these number 4,330 as against only 2,474 references to the Old Testament. Calvin habitually thinks of the superiority of the New Testament over the Old; yet undoubtedly he did at times employ arguments drawn from a primitive stage of the Hebrew religion.

Calvin frequently explains passages by viewing revelation as a progressive process or by supposing that the sacred writer is accommodating his words to an audience not yet illuminated by the Gospel. He sometimes writes in grateful wonder of the grace of God toward undeserving men. But in Calvin's view the characteristic idea of God is of awe-inspiring majesty and sovereignty. God is in the spendor of the stars, in all events of history, in every experience of every man. By the dread decree (*decretum horrible*) of predestination, He appoints to each soul eternal happiness or woe. Calvin is here indebted to Augustine and to certain 14th century Augustinians.

His doctrine of the church may be described as antipapal catholicity. He stresses the universality of the visible as well as of the invisible church and warns of the sin of willful schism. He cooperated with Bucer and with Heinrich Bullinger of Zürich and corresponded with the English archbishops Thomas Cranmer and Matthew Parker in support of ecumenical aims. The triumph of the Lutheran opponents of Melanchthon cut off his relations with official Lutheranism. His doctrine of the Eucharist, in contrast with that of transubstantiation as well as that which prevailed in Lutheranism, laid stress on the real presence spiritually appropriated by the worshiper through a mysterious activity of the Holy Spirit. Important in the eucharistic experience are mystical union with Christ and the sense of corporate communion.

His permission to charge interest on money, despite the Old Testament prohibition, was qualified by extraordinary safeguards against oppressive greed. In government he favored a representative system stabilized by an element of aristocracy, and he sought to establish fruitful interaction of church and state. He exercised a ministry of personal counseling both directly and by letter. He did much to develop psalmody and the training of the young in church singing.

Calvin takes high rank as a writer in both Latin and French. His 1541 version of the *Institutes* is a landmark in early modern French prose. His style in descriptions of God's handiwork in creation glows with eloquence, and in general he treats theological themes with unusual clarity.

CALVINISM

Calvinism is a term used mainly in two senses. In its more limited sense it refers to beliefs derived from John Calvin and held by the Calvinistic churches. In a broader sense, Calvinism applies to a set of ethical and social attitudes that have influenced world culture since Calvin's day.

Doctrine and Practice of the Calvinistic Churches. The system of doctrine, church polity, discipline and worship derived from the teachings of John Calvin as professed in the Calvinistic (Reformed and Presbyterian) churches throughout their history. The word is commonly applied in a restricted sense to the body of Calvinist doctrine centering in the sovereignty of God and the divine predestination of every human being either by election to an eternal state of bliss in God's presence or by reprobation or preterition to a state of misery in alienation from Him. Calvin taught this double predestination, while urging "that we ought to be humble and modest in the treatment of this profound mystery," learning from it "reverence for the majesty of God." He was, however, engaged in animated controversy over this doctrine with the Dutch Pelagian Albert Pighius (1543) and others. His position on the *ordo salutis*, the sequence of decrees in predestination, is sometimes described as "sublapsarian"; that is, election is regarded as decreed in view of the fact of the fall of man through Adam's sin. But there are passages in which he speaks of election before the fall. Awed by the mystery involved, he does not pursue the issue systematically as did succeeding theologians.

Theodorus Beza put forth the "supralapsarian" doctrine that the decree of election is prior to that of man's creation and to that of the permission of the fall; the fall thus becomes necessary to give effect to the prior decree of election. Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) recoiled from this teaching and made election conditional on foreknowledge of faith. The Synod of Dort (1618–1619), in accord with Augustine, declared that election is the unchangeable purpose of God whereby He chose some to salvation "before the foundation of the world," but it avoided an explicit statement of supralapsarianism. The Westminster Confession (1647) uses similar language.

The prevailing view of the 17th century Calvinist theologians was "sub-", or "infralapsarianism." As expounded by François Turretin (*Institutio theologiae elencticae*, 1680–1683), it viewed the decrees in this order: creation; permission of the fall; election of some and passing over of others; the work of Christ as mediator; the actual calling of the elect. Controversy over these points tended to discredit Calvinism by suggesting arbitrariness in God. The revival of Calvinism in 20th century Swiss, German, and Dutch Reformed theology has been in part a recovery of Calvin's own teaching, stressing the converting power of the Word of God and the witness of the Holy Spirit as against the rationalism of scholastic Calvinism.

Calvinism as a Social and Political Force. The term "Calvinism" is also used in the historical and sociological sense of the entire complex of Calvinistic churches and their impact on society during the last four centuries. Calvin has been described by E. Choisy as "educator of conscience" and by E. G. Léonard as "founder of civilization." His works have been read and studied today in many languages, and the 16th century have been industriously reinvestigated by scholars. The Reformed and Presbyterian organized churches of Switzerland, France, Scotland, the Netherlands, various German states, and other parts of Europe and their Congregational and Baptist collateral branches have had a profound influence upon the course of modern cultural history including that of the British dominions and of the United States. They have fostered a distinctive type of life, marked by thrift, conscientious diligence in one's calling, business integrity and enterprise, political and social meliorism and activism, and a passion for education at all levels. Typical Calvinism cultivates a somewhat austere morality that shrinks from ostentation, waste, and all unbecoming behavior. In some puritans this asceticism has reached extreme expression, to the point of moral freedom. In general it means the control of personal, social, and economic behavior by considerations of conscience and with the motivation of service to God and man. The Calvinist economic philosophy is not one of profit for service—in Calvin's words, "to serve our calling with a good conscience," both by the way we do and by what we earn in doing it. Calvinistic thrift and restricted expenditures have often acquired wealth and yielded to the temptation to use it for profit or wasteful display rather than service, this is a secularization and a reversal, of Calvinist teaching. Where this tendency is strong it is usually offset by a willingness to use a generous portion of wealth in the support of religious and philanthropic enterprises. Calvinism prizes the church not only as the fellowship of the saints but also as the generating center of community service and regards all human activity and enterprise as answerable to God.

Politically, Calvinism has played a role of some importance. International in its early propagation, it has never been narrowly nationalistic, and many of its political figures and writers have been deeply concerned with international law and peace. In Scotland a new religious dimension was given to the advocacy of limited monarchy, and the reformed church waged a long fight against the absolutist pretensions of the Stuart kings. A similar attitude prevailed in colonial New England and formed a preparation for the Revolution in which monarchy itself was swept away. After the Cromwellian revolution and the Stuart restoration in England came the era of limited monarchy introduced under a Calvinist king and marked by widening liberty in the modern era. In many instances Calvinism has supplied leadership to movements of resistance to despotic governments and worked for the establishment of representative institutions. Calvinist piety involves no detachment from the political scene but rather requires responsible participation in public affairs. A religiously motivated critical restraint has governed the attitude of Calvinism to pictorial art, music, the theater, and the whole field of belles-lettres. Yet it has nourished a few first-rank geniuses in these fields. Calvinists have been particularly active in the promotion of schools and have esteemed the teacher's calling as closely allied to that of the ministry. Believing with Calvin that truth wherever it appears is given by God, they have usually been appreciative of scientific studies and have given them due place in academic institutions. They have supplied much of the leadership in Christian missions and in the ecumenical movement. A recognized social and cultural dynamism is characteristic of historic Calvinism.

JOHN T. MCNEILL
Union Theological Seminary

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NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, EDINBURGH

John Knox, Scottish ecclesiastic, was the major force behind the Protestant Reformation in Scotland.

KNOX, noks, **John** (c.1515–1572), leader of the Scottish Reformation. As a man of passionate convictions, at the center of the religious and political upheavals of his time, Knox has evoked extremes of admiration and defamation. Admirers see him as the indomitable and godly Reformer, who overcame all obstacles and braved savage opposition in order to assure an established Church of Scotland that would be Calvinist in doctrine and polity. They are apt to cite the contemporary judgment at his funeral service: "Here lies he who neither feared nor flattered any flesh." Detractors portray him as a religious fanatic and wily politician, whose gift for rabble-rousing kept Scotland in an uproar and destroyed its religious and cultural heritage.

In Protestant tradition, Knox is ranked with Luther and Calvin among the heroes of the Reformation. However, popular opinion, influenced by novels and drama, has tended to view him as the sour and bigoted opponent of an idealized Mary, Queen of Scots. Modern scholars offer a more balanced portrait, recognizing his share in the "odium theologicum" of his times but stressing his dynamic leadership and his far-sighted social and educational reforms.

Early Years. Of sturdy Border stock, Knox was born near Haddington in the Lothians. After schooling at Haddington he attended the university (probably St. Andrew's) and came under the powerful influence of the noted scholar Dr. John Major. From him, Knox learned the revolutionary view that all civil government derives from the will of the people. For reasons unknown Knox did not graduate, but he obtained scholastic employment with influential families in the south of Scotland. By about 1540 he had been ordained a priest in the Roman Catholic Church and seems to have been employed in legal and scholastic work.

The first sign of Knox's interest in the Reformers is his identification with the teachings and activities of George Wishart, [illegible] ing was attracting a large and influ[illegible] ing and alarming the authorities. [illegible] scribed as carrying a two-handed [illegible] Wishart's protection. Knox offered [illegible] pany Wishart on his last fateful [illegible] Andrew's, where he was burned [illegible] 1546, but was refused with the [illegible] sufficient for one sacrifice."

Wishart's martyrdom provoked the [illegible] to attack the castle at St. Andrew's, [illegible] Beaton, their archenemy, was slain. [illegible] took possession of the castle and held [illegible] arrival of a French fleet in 1547. [illegible] joined the rebels and discovered his [illegible] their pulpit voice. From then on he [illegible] vinced that he had been chosen as [illegible] to rouse the country, after the model [illegible] brew prophets.

Knox was captured with the [illegible] the castle and spent 19 months as a [illegible] the French, most of the time as a [illegible] Toiling at the oars in fearful condi[illegible] lost his conviction that he was [illegible] his people into the Reformed fold. [illegible] in Scottish waters he saw the [illegible] church at St. Andrew's in the distance [illegible] "I am fully persuaded, how weak [illegible] appear, that I shall not depart [illegible] tongue shall glorify His godly name [illegible] place."

Middle Years. In 1549, Knox was [illegible] went to England, where he served [illegible] Berwick and Newcastle and event[illegible] pointed a royal chaplain under King [illegible] He thus became an influential [illegible] clesiastical struggles in England, [illegible] (and refused) the bishopric of Roch[illegible] a hand in Prayer Book revision. He [illegible] be responsible for the Prayerbook [illegible] ing that kneeling at Holy Commu[illegible] imply adoration of the elements.

After the accession of the Catholic [illegible] dor to the English throne in 1553, [illegible] many other Protestants, fled to the [illegible] where he ministered to the refugees [illegible] and was embroiled in the ecclesiastic[illegible] logical controversies of the time. [illegible] visits to Geneva, where he came [illegible] ence of Calvin, whose city he was [illegible] "the most perfect school of Christ [illegible] since the days of the apostles." With [illegible] discussed the question of the right [illegible] to rebel against a "legitimate [illegible] persecutes the true faith—a [illegible] things to come.

Returning to Scotland in 1555, [illegible] Guise, mother of the Catholic Mary [illegible] regent, Knox encouraged the party [illegible] defy her rule and gathered much [illegible] this time he married Marjorie [illegible] mother was of an influential English [illegible] family and became a close friend [illegible] then called back to Geneva to [illegible] English Church. While there he [illegible] *Blast of the Trumpet Against the* [illegible] *Regiment [Regimen] of Women,"* a [illegible] directed at Mary Guise and Mary [illegible] later, Mary, Queen of Scots. When [illegible] tant Elizabeth ascended the English [illegible] 1558, this outburst proved to be [illegible]

In 1559, Knox returned perma[illegible] land, where he soon became the [illegible] leader of the rapidly developing [illegible]

broke out, with Mary of Guise enlisting support against the growing forces of the In 1560, after the regent's death, the forces were triumphant, compelling to withdraw. A Scottish Parliament it adopted the Confession of Faith, of was the chief author, and forbade ation of Mass. Also, the first General of the Reformed Church was held.

became minister of St. Giles in Edinseemed to have obtained what he had —a nation in which the voice of the heard, all authority derived from the God, and the Church (Kirk) was of what he believed contrary to the But his position was threatened by the 1561 of Mary, Queen of Scots. She have the Roman Mass reinstated and ward France, where her first husband king. The Reformers, meanwhile, ing English aid.

Now came the years of bitter con- Knox thundering from the pulpit of St. battling to preserve the Reformed set- while Mary, at the Palace of Holyrood- ended Mass and sought to conciliate and win it back to her faith. The ontations of the two contrasting char- brilliantly reported by Knox himself in *ory of the Reformation in Scotland* (first its entirety in 1644), by far the most of his works. Among Knox's more fa- utes was his answer to Mary's indig- tion to his interfering in her marriage "What have *ye* to do with my marriage? Or ye within this Commonwealth?" "A born within the same, Madam!"

conflict came to an end with Mary's dication in 1567, and Knox spent his as the undisputed leader of the victori- ed Kirk. After the death of his first married Margaret Stewart, a girl of 17, in She bore him three daughters. Knox his last sermon in St. Giles in early 1572 and died on the 24th.

ment. Knox's most influential writings Confession of Faith (the Scots Confes- is included in the Book of Confessions ded Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.) *istory of the Reformation in Scotland.* ing the most remarkable of his achieve- ve the proposals he made for providing hools in every parish in Scotland. Un- ergis of the Kirk, he planned to make pri- haling possible for all and a university ns available to everyone who showed the ability. He was also ahead of his time ing adequate care for the poor in each The program was to be financed from ecclesiastical funds that previously had ns of the clergy in luxury, but Knox was ly thwarted in this effort by the desire of ility to lay their hands on church money perty. Knox, with all his reputed arro- was responsible for instilling a strongly tic spirit in the Scottish people, and he h to do with their tradition of pride, fru- determination, education, and theological

DAVID H. C. READ, *Minister Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York City*

Reading: MacGregor, Geddes, *The Thundering* minster Press 1957).

KNOX, Philander Chase (1853–1921), American public official, best known for his antitrust prosecutions as U.S. attorney general. He was born in Brownsville, Pa., on May 6, 1853. After graduating from Mount Union College in 1872, he studied law in a private office in Pittsburgh, Pa., and was admitted to the bar in 1875. In the following year he was appointed assistant U.S. district attorney for the western district of Pennsylvania, but he resigned in 1877 to practice law. During the next 23 years he was a successful corporation lawyer.

In April 1901, Knox was appointed to President William McKinley's cabinet as U.S. attorney general. After McKinley's assassination, he continued in this post under President Theodore Roosevelt and directed vigorous prosecutions of major trusts under the Sherman Antitrust Law. In 1902 he successfully brought an antitrust suit against the Northern Securities Company, which James J. Hill and J. P. Morgan had formed to effect a merger of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads. He also drafted the legislation that created the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903.

In June 1904, Knox was appointed senator from Pennsylvania to finish the unexpired term of Sen. Matthew S. Quay, and in 1905 he was elected to a full term. However, in 1909, President William H. Taft appointed him secretary of state. He served until 1913, dealing with the Bering Sea and North Atlantic fisheries controversies and opening the way for what was soon to be called "dollar diplomacy" in South America and China. In 1912 he toured Latin American countries to cement closer relations with the United States.

Knox resumed the practice of law in Pittsburgh in 1913, but in 1916 he was elected again to the Senate. He staunchly opposed the League of Nations and the Versailles Peace Treaty, arguing that they violated the U.S. Constitution and that Congress should repeal by resolution the declarations of war against Germany and Austria. He died in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 12, 1921, before completing his term.

KNOX, Fort. See FORT KNOX.

KNOX COLLEGE, noks, a private, coeducational institution of higher learning, located in Galesburg, Ill. It offers the bachelor of arts degree in the following programs: area studies (Asian, Latin American, Russian), education, English, the fine and performing arts, health sciences, foreign languages, mathematics and science, preprofessional study (dentistry, engineering, forestry, law, medicine), and social sciences. In addition, there are special programs offered in cooperation with other institutions, including one in law with Columbia University and the University of Chicago and one in forestry and land management with Duke University.

Knox College was established as Prairie College in 1836 and was chartered as Knox Manual Labor College in 1837, with instruction beginning in 1838. The present name was adopted in 1857. The college was the site of one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates (Oct. 7, 1858), which was held on the steps of Old Main (now a national historic landmark), and during the Civil War it was a center of abolitionist activity. Abraham Lincoln received his first honorary degree from Knox College.

REFLECTIONS

N Yorker Oct. 5, '81

DIGGING UP SCOTLAND

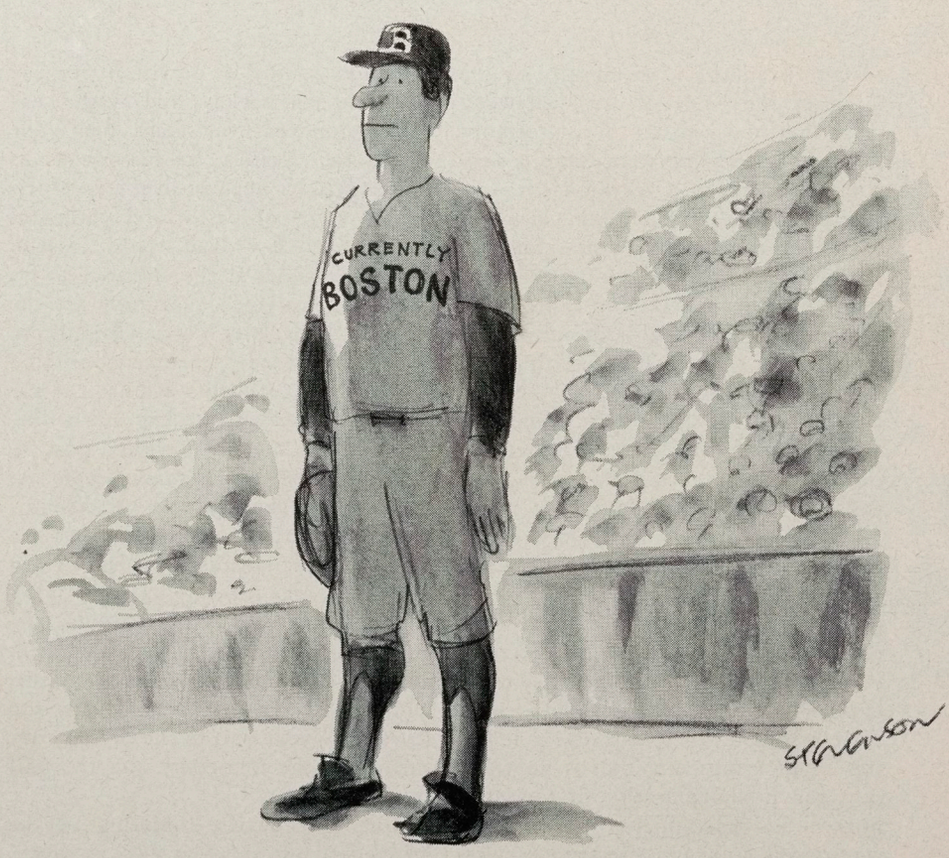
I HAVE a friend in Scotland, a painter, who still lives in the fishing town he was born in, grew up in, went to school in, was married in, raised his children in, works in, and clearly intends to die in. I look on him with uncomprehending awe, for although I had much the same origins that he had, born and sprouting in rural Scotland, close to the sea, living more by the agrarian round than by outside time, I had in my head from an early age the firm notion of leaving, long before I knew why or how. Even less did I realize then that I would come to restless rest in a whole slew of places, countries, and languages—the shifting opposite of my rooted friend. Walking with him through his parish, I am aware that the buildings and trees are as familiar to him as his own fingernails; that the people he throws a passing word to he has known, in all their changings, over a span of some fifty years; that he has surrounding him his own history and the history of the place, in memory and image, in language and stone; that his past is ever present to him, whereas my own is lost, shed. He has made his peace with place in a way that to me is, if not unimaginable, at least by now beyond me.

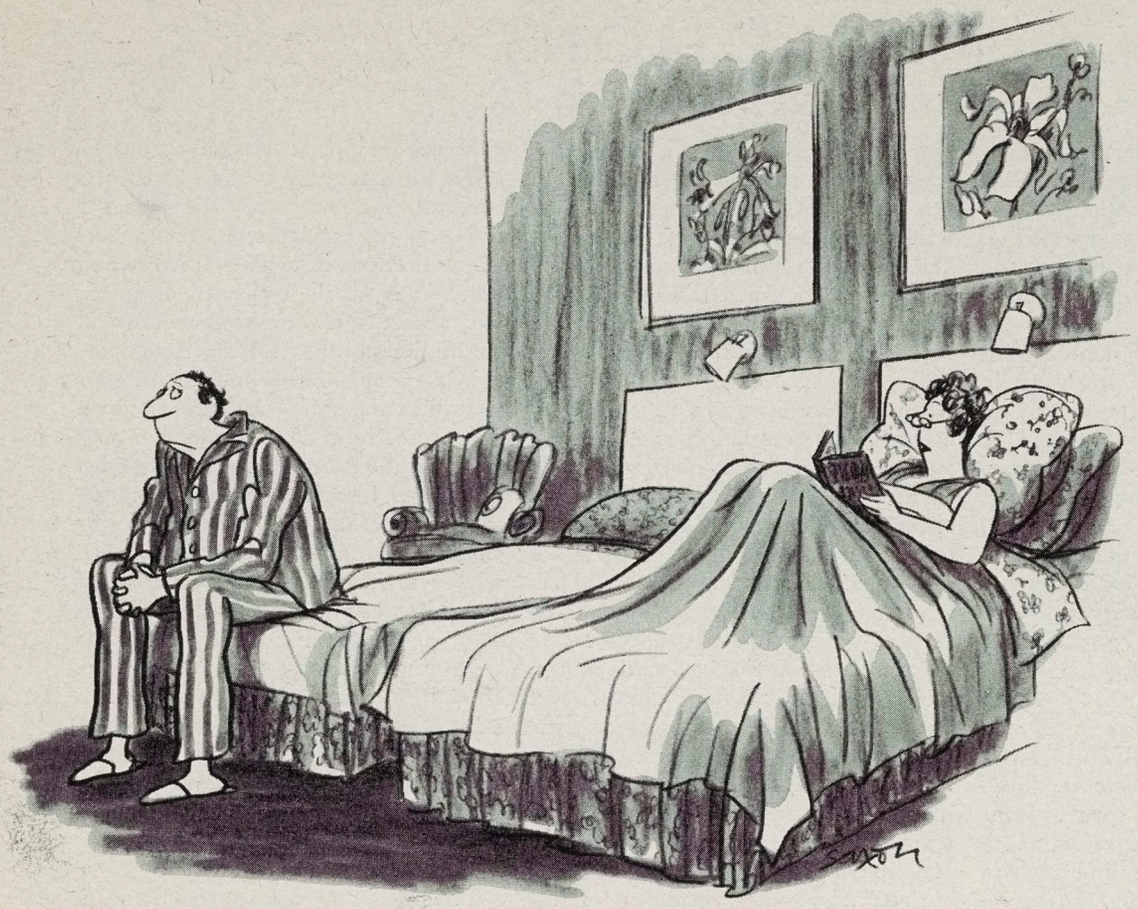
I spent a part of the summer of 1980 digging up Scotland and to some extent coming to terms with it, for although I have gone back to it at odd intervals since I first left it, I have always looked on it more as past than as present. My childhood is enclosed, encapsulated in it somewhere, but the threads that connect me to it have long been ravelled. When I return, however, I realize that the place exists spinally in my life, as a kind of yardstick against which I measure myself through time—a setting against which I can assess more clearly the changes that have taken place in me, and in it. When I go back, I am always trying on the country to see if it still fits, or fits better than it did. In one sense, the place is as comfortable to me as old clothes; in another, it is a suit that did not fit me easily from the beginning.

Still, the landscapes of childhood are irreplaceable, since they have been the backdrops for so many epiphanies, so many realizations. I am acutely aware, in Scotland, of how certain moods of the day will put me suddenly on a sharp edge of attention. They have occurred before, and I experience a time warp, past and present in one, with an intense physicality. That double vision is enough to draw anyone back anywhere, for it is what gives us, acutely, the experience of living *through* time, rather than simply living *in* time. People's faces change when they begin to say, "I once went back to . . ." Something is happening to them, some rich realization, the thrill of retrieval Nabokov writes about pervasively, past and present in one. Places provide these realizations more readily than people do: places have longer lives, for one thing, and they weather in less unpredictable ways. Places are the incarnations of a modus vivendi and the repositories of memory, and so always remain accessible to their own children; but they make very different demands on their inhabitants. In Scotland, the sense of place is strong; when I had left that attachment behind me, I had a loose curiosity about new places, and I still spark up at the notion of going somewhere I have never been to before.

Nevertheless (a favorite Scottish qualification), places embody a consensus of attitudes; and while I lived in a cheerful harmony with the places I grew up in, as places, I did not feel one with them. The natural world and the human world separated early for me. I felt them to be somehow in contradiction, and still do. The Scottish landscape—misty, muted, in constant flux and shift—intrudes its presence in the form of endlessly changing weather; the Scottish character, eroded by a bitter history and a stony morality, and perhaps in reaction to the changing turbulence of weather, subscribes to illusions of permanence, of durability, asking for a kind of submission, an obedience. I felt, from the beginning, exhilarated by the first, fettered by the second. Tramps used to stop at our house, men of the road, begging a cup of tea or an old shirt, and in my mind I was always ready to leave with them, because between Scotland and myself I saw trouble ahead.

When I go back to Scotland, I gravitate mostly to the East Neuk of Fife, that richly farmed promontory jutting into the North Sea to the north-





"Why, Clayton, that's not true. You have friends up and down the corporate ladder."

• •

east of Edinburgh, specifically to the town of St. Andrew's, a well-worn place that has persisted in my memory from the time I first went there, a very young student at a very ancient university. I have come and gone at intervals over some thirty years, and St. Andrews has changed less in that time than any other place I can think of. It is a singular place, with an aura all its own. For a start, it has a setting unfailingly beautiful to behold in any weather—the curve of St. Andrews Bay sweeping in from the estuary of the River Eden across the washed expanse of the West Sands, backed by the windy green of the golf courses, to the town itself, spired, castled, and cathedraled, punctuated by irregular bells, cloistered and grave, with gray stone roofed in slate or red tile, well-kempt ruins and a tidy harbor, the town backed by green and gold fields with their stands of ancient trees. If it has the air of a museum, that is no wonder, for it sits placidly on top of a horrendous past. From the twelfth century on, it was in effect the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland, but the Reformation spelled its downfall: its vast cathedral was sacked, and by the seventeen-hundreds the place had gone into a sad decline. Its history looms rather grimly, not just in the carefully tended ruins of castle and cathedral but in the well-walked streets; inset in the cobblestones at the entrance to St. Salvator's College quadrangle are the initials "P.H.," for Patrick Hamilton, who was burned as a martyr on that spot in 1528; students acquire the superstition of never treading on the initials. With such a weighty past so tangibly present, the townspeople assume the air and manner of custodians, making themselves as comfortable and inconspicuous as they can among the ruins, and turning up their noses at the transients—the students, the golfers, the summer visitors. Yet, as in all such situations, it is the transients who sustain the place, who flock into it, year in, year out, to the present-day shrines of the university and the golf courses.

The date of the founding of the University of St. Andrews is given, variously, as 1411 or 1412: the ambiguity arises from the fact that in fifteenth-century Scotland the year began on March 25th, and the group of scholars who founded the institution received their charter in February of that dubious year. Such matters are the stuff of serious controversy in St. Andrews. As students, we felt admitted to a venerable presence, even if the curriculum appeared to have undergone only minimal alteration since 1411. A kind of wise mist enveloped the place, and it seemed that we could not help absorbing it, unwittingly. The professors lectured into space, in an academic trance; we took notes, or borrowed them; the year's work culminated in a series of written examinations on set texts, which a couple of weeks of intense immersion, combined with native cunning and a swift pen, could take care of. What that serious, gravid atmosphere did was to make the present shine, in contradistinction to the past. Tacitly and instinctively, we relished the place more than the dead did or could, and we felt something like an obligation to fly in the face of the doleful past. The green woods and the sea surrounded us, the library, and an ocean of time. When I left St. Andrews to go into the Navy in the Second World War, the place, over my shoulder, took on a never-never aura—not simply the never-neverness of college years but as contrast to the troubled state of the times. It appeared to me, in that regard, somewhat unreal.

In its human dimension, St. Andrews embodied the Scotland I chose to leave behind me. The spirit of Calvin, far from dead, stalked the countryside, ever present in a pinched wariness, a wringing of hands. We were taught to expect the worst—miserable sinners, we could not expect more. A rueful doom ruffles the Scottish spirit. It takes various spoken forms. That summer, a man in Edinburgh said to me, "See you tomorrow, if we're

reddish fields nr
Pambride

NB - N. Britain

red - stone cottages
(plastered - over?)

N in horizon
betn Arb ths &
Montr lks like
Montana - snowy
ridgelines

· Green Isle 1:
Great Deep –
Neil M. Gunn
(for dialogue)

· Scots Wad BA
– W M Graham
– Ramsay Head Press
£4.60, 1977

Fulton 6 (Bricklayer's laborer)
Garratt 2 (chain maker)
Johnstone 9 (Tobacco spinner)
Deuchar 4 (Cloth lapper)
Donaldson 4 (pastry cook)
Goodwin 9 (bricklayer)
McGraddie 5 (spirit dealer)

of above, Wm Brannan & wife Mary, ny Ireland, housed nephew & 3 boarders (lath-splitter ny England); John Torbet ran spirit shop, wife Agnes ws dressmaker; Ebenezer Garratt was 44-yr old widower c 16 yr old son Samuel; Wm & Fanny Johnstone also were ny Ireland, & had b household a grandmother, son, daughter, 2 bro-in-laws, niece, & cousin; Chas Goodwin had step daughter, Catharine Ogilvie, 12, who ws born b Valparaiso, So Am

1856 map - Crown St runs into Albert Br. o. south, ov Upper Harbor of Clyde

1871 census, Hutchesontown, Glasgow
644[10]-65

58 Crown St.

John Doig - Head of fam, 44, Bricklayer,
b. Kippen, Stirlingshire
Mary Malcolm Doig, 44, b. Musselburgh
children: John, 19, provisions merchant
Wm, 14, Draper's salesman
Mary, 12, scholar
David, 9, "
Robert, 7, "
Peter, 5
Jessie, 3
Henry 11 mo.

Total of 80 people at 58 Crown St.
families as follows: Harwood 8 (engine turner)
Machan 5 (ship carpenter)
Doig 10 (Brick layer)
Brannan 6 (mason's labourer)
White 6 (Carter)
Torbet 5 (spirit shop)

1856
David - b March 16, 44 Thistle St.
Hutchesontown, Glasgow
father John Doig, Nickelayer
mother Mary Malcolm Doig
married Mar 21, 1856 Glasgow

Peter - B Apl 11, 1866 58 Crown St, Glasgow
same parents

Marriage 1856 John Doig Dundee 1st Dist
211

Mary Malcolm - Aug 15, 1858
parents same 44 Thistle St.

1871 census - 44 Thistle St, 38 persons

1857 - Jane, Anderston Glasgow 826
Margaret " " 1568

1858 - Janet, Hutchesontown 1151
Mary Malcolm " Glasgow 1321

The New Statistical Account of Scotland
Vol. XI, Forfar-Kincardine, 1845

p. 556-

"... celebrtd scholar, David Doig, LL.D. (rector of grammar schl of Stirling, & an able writer b. Encyc Britnca) was a native of this parish, & was admitted schoolmaster b. 1749..." [refers to Monifieth parish]

p. 541- ~~Monifieth~~ "... circumjacent cemetery)

p. 548- Monifieth popn 250

p. 550, o " parish: "3 lunatics are kept b. Dundee asylum. 3 others are fatuous, & 5 are deaf & dumb."

Census 1861 Regn Dist 310
Monifieth
Co of Forfar
enumn divisions 5-8

village of Drumsturdy:
David Doig, Grandson, 9, scholar,
living c John MacKenzie, flour miller
p. 7

1871 - Monifieth, p. 21, Yule fam
" p. 29, Wm Doig fam
indexes p. 35

1881 - Monifieth, p 8 David L Doig Boarder
" p. 18 John & Jessie Doig
" p. 22 John Doig & fam
p. 23 Eliz Doig fam
" 2d sectn p. 33 David Doig (Leiling

Birth Gen Index –

1855 – Peter (Glasgow)
– David (Dundee, 1st Dist)

1856 – David (Hutcheontown, Glasgow)
" (Holyrood & Canongate (Edin)
" (Calton, Glas
" (South Leith

1857 " (Dunsart)
" (Calton, Glasgow

1858 " (Scoonie, Fife
" (Ardrossan)

1859 " (Kirriemuir)
" (Scoonie, Fife)
" (Bendochy
" (Cargill)

1860 " (Alyth)
" (Baldernock)

1862 " (Togie, Fife)
(Rattray)
(Kilrenny)
(Cutts
(Tuntrathen

Dad 1908
Anna 1911
-1855
56

~~1863~~
~~1864~~
~~1865~~
1866 - Peter (Hutchesontown, Glasgow)
~~1867~~
~~1868~~
1869 - Peter (Forfar) #151
1870 - David S (Forfar) #166
1871 - Peter (Forfar) #267
1872 - Peter (Cults) #23
~~1873~~ -
1874 - Peter Scott (Panbride) #3
1875 - Peter (Arbroath) #260
~~1876~~
1877 - David Mathers (Arbroath) #700
1878 - Peter Smith (Monifieth) 208
~~1879~~ -
~~1880~~
~~1881~~

Aug 21, '78 Cyprus Cottage, Monifieth

James Lumsden Doig

Railway porter

Lizzie Younger Doig

– maiden Smith

md. 1877 at Mon/th

↓

1877 entry # 28

13 June 1877 Ch 7 Scotld

James 28

Lizzie 29

James' father (dec) weaver Thos (1 Dundee

" mother Mary Lumsden

Liz's father Peter Smith (Crofter)

Janet Smith

'69 Peter Doig
Jane Low

'71 Peter Doig - father Peter Doig
25 Jul
plasterer
~~Doug~~ Horsewater Wynd,
Forfar

Jean Low Doig
1858 July 5, Kirriemuir

1859 - David Doig - Kirriemuir 299
entry 155
No - Alexander Janet

Deaf & Dumb
Blind
Imbecile or Idiot
Lunatic

1855 - Peter Doig - Anderston (Glasgow)
entry 959 644 8

1856 - David Doig - Hutchesontown
(Glasgow)
entry 396 644 10

1866 - Peter Doig - Hutchesontown
(Glasgow)
entry 756 644 10

1869 Peter Doig Forfar 288
entry # 151

1870 David S. Doig Forfar 288
entry # 166

1871 Peter Doig Forfar 288
entry # 267

Roll 1

3 - Panleride churchyard, church + countryside —

last - across from church, toward water. Previous: opposite direction

---

8 - Monikie burn — (~~looking NW~~) from Panleride church

9 — " downstream

10 — upstream

11 — tree - bark pattern

12 - upstream

13 - Corkscrew rock formation

14 stream & rocks

15 - 16 downstream along bern

17 - trees & roots along stream

18 - upstream & house from road nr. sea

19 - stone bridge

Register House
Registers of Scotland
Edinburgh

Census Office
Ladywell House
Ladywell Rd 2
Edinburgh

Smith Seminar. May 1980

Men of St. Kilda line up on the Street about 1890: by then population was 77. Island's parliament, all the grown men, met in morning to decide day's work.

I see bare feet.

By Charles Maclean

St. Kildans had harsh but good life on 'world's edge'

Once a thriving island culture, St. Kildan life could not survive all the benefits of 'civilization'

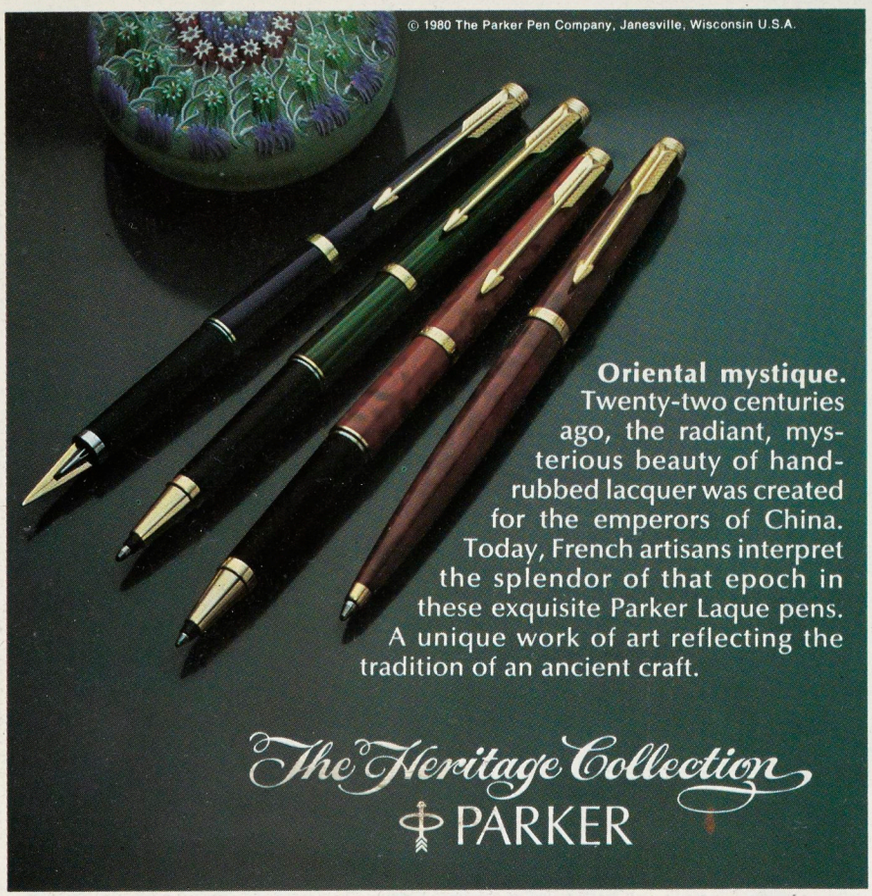
A part of Britain but a world apart, the far-flung Hebridean island of St. Kilda existed in almost complete isolation from the mainstream of civilization for hundreds of years. As long as the island remained remote, a small, self-sufficient and remarkable community survived there. But its primitive culture was unable to withstand the effects of increased contact with the Scottish mainland.

In the 19th century the island was "discovered" by missionaries, do-gooders and tourists who, under the impression that they were bringing to St. Kilda the benefits of civilization, brought about the gradual destruction of what many had once regarded as an ideal society. The population declined and in 1930 the few islanders left were evacuated because they could no longer support themselves.

Today, only a handful of the members of the once-flourishing community are still living—scattered throughout Britain and the Commonwealth. Except for a small military station, their island has been uninhabited for 50 years, though as a nature reserve and bird sanctuary it attracts a small but steady tide of visitors to its wild and hauntingly beautiful shores.

A dark extravagant shape detaches itself from the overall grayness of sea and sky as the boat makes a path toward it.

The author—seaman, journalist, cowboy—based this story on his forthcoming book, Island on the Edge of the World.



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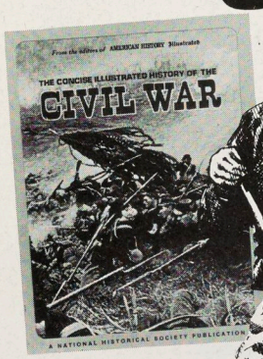

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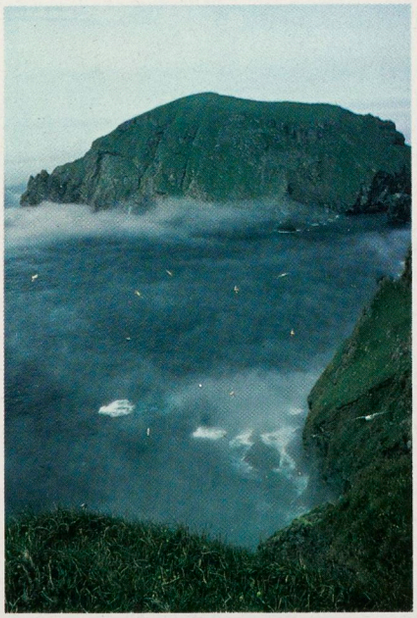
D1001-2

The outline sharpens. A second landmass appears. Shoulders of cliffs descend into the ocean and reemerge as stacks (chimneylike rocks) and skerries (reefs), standing up out of the water like elbows and knees at angles of defiance. A ragged promontory extends a treacherous arm as the boat passes between it and a pyramid of rock, standing pale and massive in the middle of that forbidding sea waste, guarding the entrance to St. Kilda.

Rounding the promontory the boat comes out of the heavy Atlantic swell and enters the calmer waters of Village Bay. The bay is surrounded on three sides by green amphitheaterlike hills that cradle the ruined village of the old community. But the serenity of the landscape is deceptive, for these hills have no backs to them. They sweep up to their summits, then stop, as though bitten through the middle, falling sheer more than a thousand feet to the Atlantic below.

From the brow of the great cliffs the panorama of the Western Isles becomes visible. On most days St. Kilda has a round and empty horizon, but in fine weather a narrow blue line of land appears low in the east and the long chain of the Outer Hebrides can be made out.

The archipelago of St. Kilda, which consists of Hirta, Soay, Boreray and the Dun, lies out in the Atlantic Ocean on



"A dark extravagant shape" looms amidst crashing waves of the Atlantic.

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Grievin'
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This view of fowling is from 1891, when the community was already declining.

Unlike fulmar and gannets, puffins were caught grown; all were taken at risk.

the edge of the continental shelf, 110 miles due west of the Scottish mainland. Cliff-bound and surrounded by deep water, the islands are as inaccessible as they are isolated. (Hirta, often referred to as St. Kilda, is the largest of the group and the only one inhabited in recent history.)

Hirta was probably once part of a much larger landmass and joined to the other islands in the group, but over the millennia erosion caused by direct exposure to the Atlantic has worked spectacular changes. All around the coast the effect of weather and waves can be seen in the compilations of rock, in the gaping caves and gigantic flying buttresses, in the towering stacks and broken-down skerries that encompass the island.

The climate of St. Kilda played a decisive part in the lives of the inhabitants and generally added to the isolation. The frequent storms that blow from September to April often made it impossible to get on or off the island for weeks at a time. In winter the days are short—just as at midsummer the night is only an hour long. Yet in spite of the wind and a northerly bleakness, the climate stays mild the year round. In summer there are sometimes long spells of clear, warm weather when the islands appear, as one of the St. Kildans put it, "under a white cap of summer haze, [like] no paradise on earth."

The islanders depended for their survival on the enormous colonies of gannets, fulmar and puffins that dominate the ecology and indeed the whole character of St. Kilda. The birds provide the land with fertilizer and the sea with nutrients from their droppings. Their incessant cries fill the air; their myriad flights crowd the skies.

Other seabirds, and land birds, too, use Hirta as a resting place. But the only bird that stays year round is the St. Kilda wren, a true subspecies and like the St.

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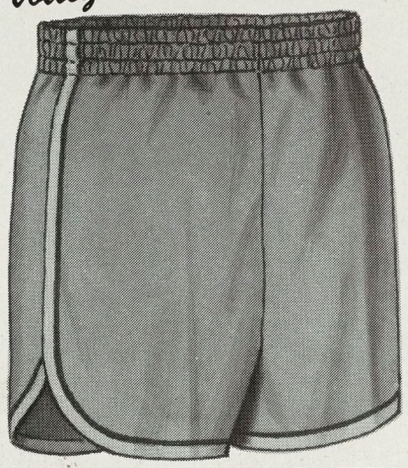

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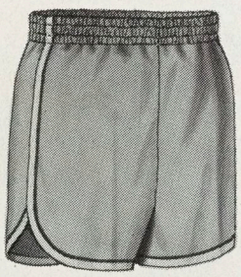

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Islanders posed for charmed 19th-century tourists who introduced new dress, ideas and needs, helping to destroy their self-sufficiency and simplicity.

Kilda mouse—described in 1885 as the only wild animal on the island—probably a resident since before the last ice age.

The profusion and variety of birdlife on the islands provide plenty of opportunity for the ornithologists, but to the St. Kildans the birds were something else. The history of the islands is essentially the story of a bird culture, of a people whose existence depended on those seabirds that provided them with food, medicine, lighting, manure, shoes, a source of revenue, a way of life and often enough—when they broke their necks trying to catch them—a cause of death.

The early history of St. Kilda follows roughly the same pattern as other Hebridean islands. On Hirta, the largest in the group, there are numerous freshwater springs: lush-green and fertile, it must have seemed an ideal place to settle. Possibly Neolithic wanderers, Celtic invaders, early Christian anchorites and Vikings followed in succession, contributing to what soon became the islanders' unique way of life. Celtic Druidism gave ritual form to the St. Kildan's close relationship with nature, while early Christian precepts did much the same for his relationship with his fellowmen.

For most of its history St. Kilda appears to have been a self-supporting commonwealth with an economy suited to the terms of its own isolation. From the end of the 14th century until 1930 it belonged to the MacLeods of Harris and of Dunvegan, Skye. After survival, the St. Kildans had to produce enough surplus to pay the owner of the island rent.

A MacLeod steward visited St. Kilda once a year to see to the islanders' needs and collect the rent, which they paid chiefly in cloth, feathers, oil and dried carcasses of seabirds. Imports were limited mostly to bare necessities. Like the obligation to survive, paying the rent was the responsibility of the whole community. Arable land, pasture, livestock, fowling cliffs, boats and ropes were all held in common, yet at the same time scrupulously divided into plots and portions among the island's families—each contributing toward the rent according to an intricate system of ownership rights.

Decisions on all matters concerning the welfare of the community were made by the St. Kilda parliament, a deliberative assembly made up of all the grown males on the island. They met every morning except Sunday to decide what work should be done that day and to discuss a wide range of topics. Stories, myths, sagas and tales of bravery on the cliffs found their way onto the agenda.

Since there was virtually no crime on the island and disputes were easily settled, parliamentary business was mostly concerned with payment of the rent and the division of property. The parliament insured that no islander was raised above another and that all shared the common wealth or want.

In 1697 Martin Martin, a literary tutor to the MacLeods of Dunvegan, visited St. Kilda and wrote a compelling account of his visit. He found that life on St. Kilda

was simple and severe, but that its people were content. Beyond being well fed, well clothed and well housed, "the inhabitants of St. Kilda," he noted, "are much happier than the generality of mankind, as being the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty."

The St. Kildans—they were almost 200 strong at the end of the 17th century—lived above Village Bay in a long row of black houses called the Street. Some of the older houses were of a prehistoric beehive type, like the stone *cleits* dotted about the island in which the people stored food, peat and tools.

The islanders lived on a diet built around fulmar and gannets, which they ate either fresh in season, or cured. In 1697 Martin Martin reported that the previous year they caught 22,600 gannets —and this was considered a poor year. Seabird products were the prime wealth of the island. Fulmar oil was sold on the mainland for medical purposes and as fuel for heating and lighting. There was also a steady market for seabird feathers. By the end of the 19th century, however, the demand for these products fell away.

Both gannets and fulmar were harvested when young—before they could fly—from the nesting ledges on the cliffs. Puffins were taken fully grown and had to be caught with fowling rods or snares or sometimes by dogs, which were trained to pull them out of their burrows.

Traditionally, women did the spinning, and men the weaving and tailoring.

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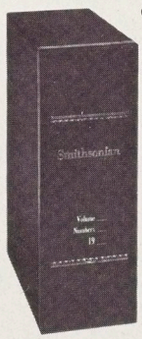

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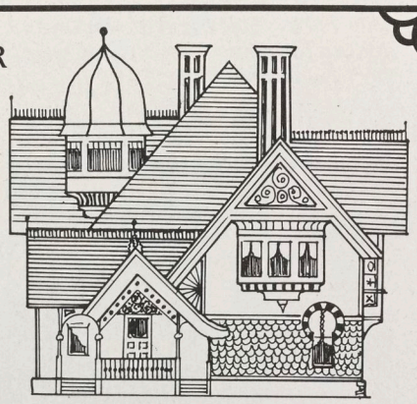

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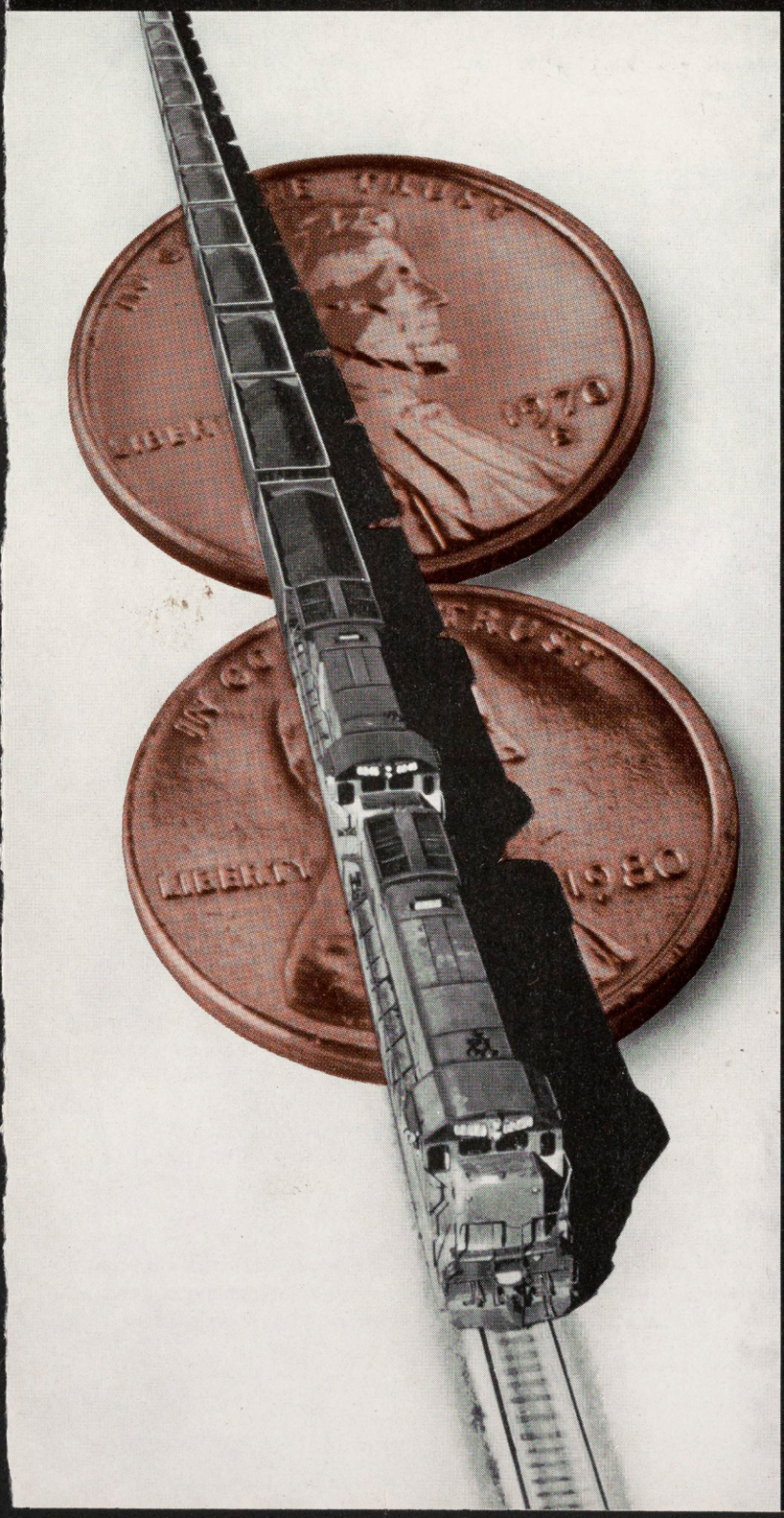
The Reverend John MacKay, minister 1865-89, kept islanders from vital work.

Fowling was unquestionably the most important activity at St. Kilda. By the time boys were 16 they were fully fledged cragsmen. At the time of Martin's visit, a young St. Kildan could not marry before he had proved himself by displaying his courage and skill as a cragsman—in the ritual of the Mistress Stone. The potential bridegroom had to balance on the heel of one foot on the edge of a flat rock overlooking a sheer 250-foot drop to the ocean below, and hold this position until his friends were satisfied.

Before the 19th century, fowling on St. Kilda was regarded as a noble sport. Risks were taken for risk's sake and climbing accidents were common. A fall from the cliffs was usually fatal: the chief euphemism for death was a fowling expression —rather than talk of someone's having passed away, St. Kildans referred to his

Myth:

Railroads charge too much to move coal.



Fact:

Rail costs are a smaller share of the delivered price of coal today than they were 10 years ago.

The United States has enough coal to break our energy dependence on imported oil. Now, when this vital resource is needed more than ever, America's freight railroads are being accused of charging too much to move coal, thus impeding the nation's shift from oil to coal.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Coal prices and electric utility rates have risen much faster than railroad coal rates. Ten years ago, rail transportation charges averaged 39 percent of the delivered price of coal. Today, they average only 25 percent of the delivered price.

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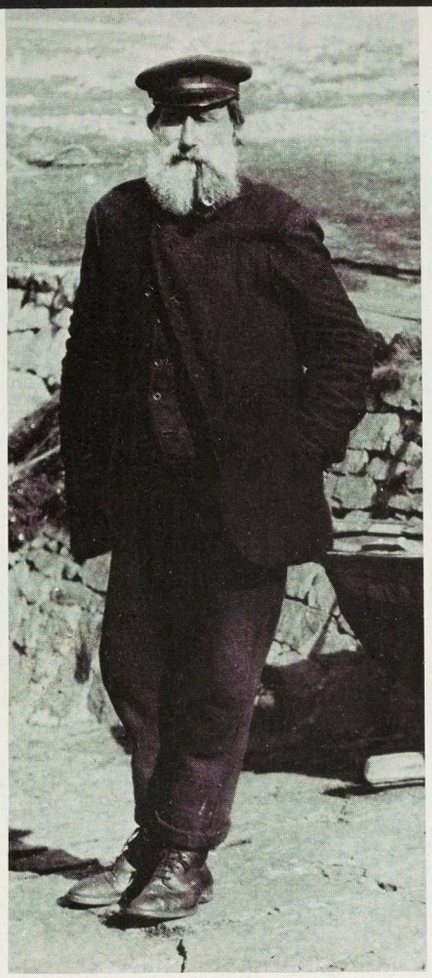
Surprise:

Railroads move a ton of coal for an average charge of less than 2¢ a mile.



Finlay MacQueen's beard belies 17th-century note of "but a few hairs. . . ."

having "gone over it." Stories dramatizing the dangers of fowling perpetuated the myth of the heroic cragsman. But in later years as the male population decreased and the community began to lose faith in itself, fewer risks were taken and fowling lost much of its former prestige.

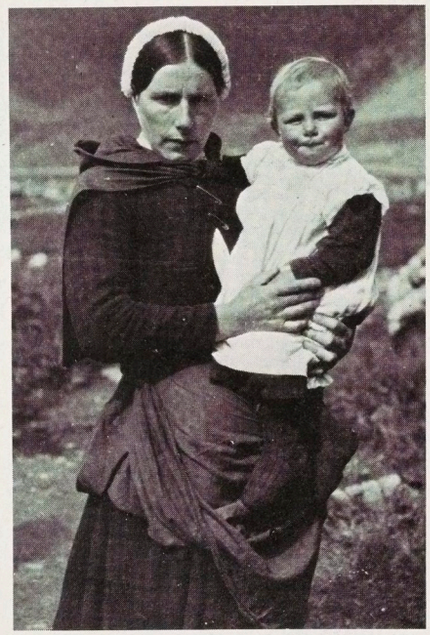
Yet St. Kilda always remained a fowling community, a bird culture, first and foremost. Fishing was never popular with the islanders, who used the few boats mainly for fowling expeditions and for tending sheep on the other islands in the group.

While farming provided a substantial part of the islanders' diet and contributed produce toward the rent, it was only a secondary occupation. They cultivated barley, corn and oats, but the summers were short and the return on the crops was poor. The harvest always had to be gathered early in case of storms.

The St. Kildans owned a small herd of cattle and about 7,500 sheep pastured on Hirta and Boreray. The sheep on Soay, which belonged to MacLeod, were a pure primitive breed probably descended from the wild mouflon and kept only for their wool. The islanders' own mixed-breed sheep were hardy and agile.

In winter the St. Kildans kept busy making tweed to clothe themselves and for export. The men were traditionally the island's weavers and tailors, but the women spun the yarn and had to work hard at a variety of other jobs—especially any which involved carrying.

The women had their own informal assembly and elected a queen from among the island's unmarried women, who led the female puffin-snaring expedition to Boreray every summer.



Rob Roy tartan, white muslin cap were "very fine." Cap frill indicated matron.

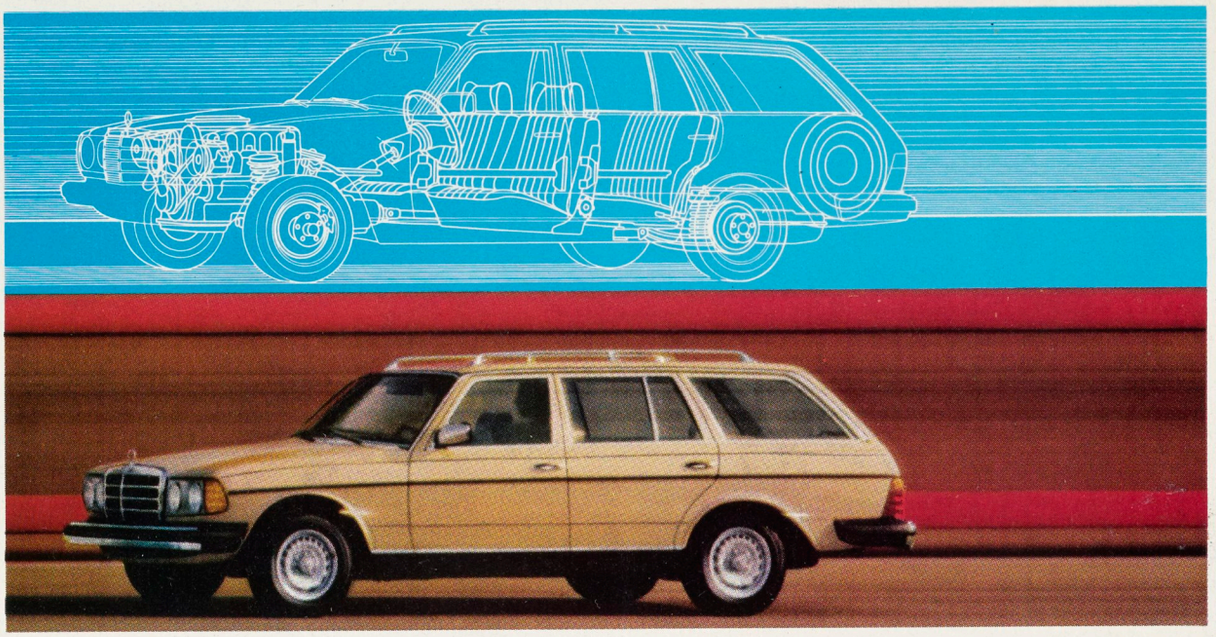
This tradition, a legend about a "Female Warrior" and certain anomalies in the division of labor between the sexes have given rise to the speculation that the island was first inhabited by a matriarchal society. It is unlikely, although perhaps not as farfetched as the popular fancy that St. Kilda was once part of Atlantis.

Except for the steward's yearly visit, communications with the outside world were, at best, tenuous. The islanders relied on the "St. Kilda mailboat." This consisted of a piece of wood shaped like a toy boat and hollowed out in the middle to hold a small bottle or tin, which contained the letter, instructions for the finder to post it and a penny for the stamp. The bottle was waterproofed with grease and battened down under a little wooden hatch which bore the inscription "Please Open" burnt into it with a hot wire. A float made of an inflated sheep's bladder with a small red flag tied to its mast was attached to the hull of the mailboat, and it was ready to sail. It was launched when the wind was in the northwest and more often than not it eventually turned up on the west coast of Scotland or, sometimes, Norway.

Because of its remoteness and the obliviousness of its inhabitants to the outside world, St. Kilda gained a reputation in the early 19th century for being a long-lost utopia. Accounts of the simplicity of the St. Kildans, stressing their charming naiveté and their primitive way of life—"Thus blest in primal innocence they live"—inevitably became confused with estimates of their moral worth. Few of its promoters had ever actually visited Hirta, but the romantic image of the "lone isle" caught the Victorian imagination.

Soon enough the world began its bid

Cragsmen had unusually strong feet and ankles; toes were "almost prehensile."



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Grins of disbelief

With 50.8 percent of its weight over the front axle and 49.2 percent over the rear, the 300 TD is almost perfectly balanced. It flattens curves with a fully independent suspension similar to the exotic 450 SL Roadster.

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A wagon, Mercedes-Benz style

From the driver's seat, the 300 TD gives no inkling that it is anything but a Mercedes-Benz automobile. Civilization reigns, from a comprehensive bi-level climate control system to electric window lifts to AM/FM stereo radio.

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Why Mercedes-Benz owners are smiling

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And because it is a Mercedes-Benz, it stands a fine chance of retaining much of its value over time. Mercedes-Benz owners today are finding that cars they bought 3 years ago are now worth *80 percent* of their purchase price.

The 300 TD. It may haul cargo like a station wagon. Clearly, it does everything else like a Mercedes-Benz.

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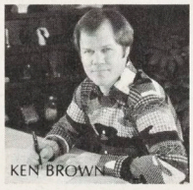
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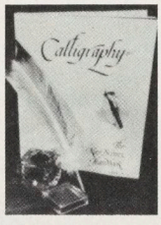

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to bring St. Kilda into line with the rest of civilization. Until now the islanders had always received visitors, who were regarded as great curiosities, with a mixture of fear and delight. They were unfailingly hospitable even though they knew that contact with outsiders would usually cause the community to be laid low with the "stranger's cough," a severe form of influenza to which the islanders had little immunity. Against the so-called benefits of civilization they had even less protection.

Although a few missionaries visited St. Kilda in the 18th century, it was not until the Reverend John MacDonald, the "Apostle of the North," arrived in 1822 that the islanders were first subjected to dogmatic religion. Because of the people's natural devoutness and superstitious character, the missionaries were able to set themselves up as their spiritual dictators without opposition. By their superior knowledge they gained an easy ascendancy over the hearts and minds of the islanders.

Some, like the Reverend Neil MacKenzie, who worked hard to raise the islanders' standard of living, were well-intentioned. He reorganized their farming, persuaded them to rebuild their village and instituted a sort of education. But when MacKenzie went away in 1844 he left behind a vacuum, a new dependency.

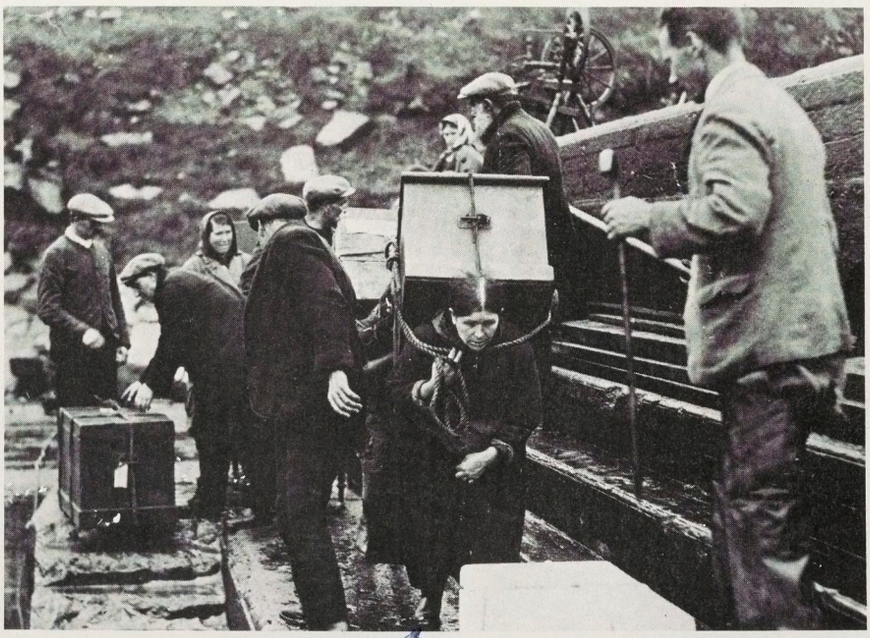
It was filled by the Reverend John MacKay, a zealous bigot. His sabbatarianism was so extreme that the St. Kildans, forced to attend three services on Sunday and lengthy prayer meetings most days of the week, were prevented from doing the vital work of the community. He banned singing and dancing, poetry, storytelling and all sport. For 24 long years the island labored under his oppressive yoke.

The St. Kildans did not try to resist. Even as they watched MacKay's tyranny bring life to a halt, they accepted it.

As contact with the mainland increased, the islanders, always a strong and healthy people, became susceptible to diseases previously unknown there. By the 20th century a general debilitating weakness had set in.

More than any other disease, *tetanus infantum* contributed to the decline of the community: it killed newborn children, usually within eight days. Throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries the disease was endemic, progressing until eight out of ten children died. By 1891 it had been brought under control, but the loss to the population was never made up. The emigration in the 1850s of 42 islanders to Australia may have sealed the community's fate.

Unable to adapt to the modern world,



August 28, 1930, the last 36 islanders prepare for next day's evacuation.

Their good cheer held until the island faded from sight; then came tears.

women as beasts of burden!

Boxes shown smaller than actual size. Clockwise, from far left: "Austrian Gold," Rosa Mundi, "Austrian Copper," Rose d'Amour, "Empress Josephine," Multiflora Carnea.

The Empress Josephine's Rose Garden

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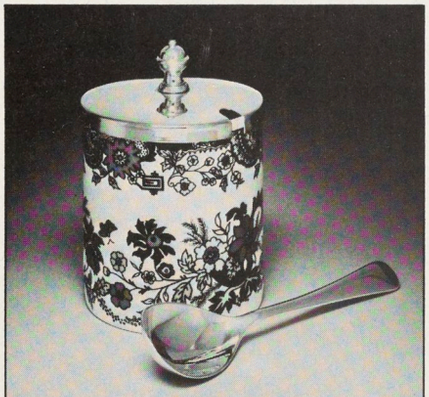

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St. Kilda's economy collapsed. The demand for seabird products had dwindled and the islanders, demoralized and fatalistic, had run down their agriculture until they could not even produce enough food for their own needs. They could make a little money from tourists and by selling tweed. As their exports diminished their imports increased. They ceased to be self-supporting and came to rely more and more on the devitalizing charity of their MacLeod landlords and other concerned well-wishers.

Tourism had an equally malign effect. From being almost totally isolated the St. Kildans suddenly became overexposed. Visitors tended to be patronizing or scornful and the islanders lost respect for their ancient customs and rituals.

The "steamer season" soon became the most important part of the islanders' year. Once money—a relatively new idea in St. Kilda—had been introduced into their lives, its acquisition became a necessity. Their tastes grew more sophisticated. They started to import food and other essentials from outside and became even more dependent on communications with the mainland. Unfortunately, tourism was unreliable.

Communications with the mainland improved enough to destroy St. Kilda's independence, but not enough to bring the island into the swim of Scottish life. As early as 1875 evacuation of the island was considered as a solution, but the community refused. In 1913 the islanders, on the point of starvation and incapacitated by an influenza epidemic, were saved by the arrival of World War I, when a navy station was established on the island.

After the war ended and the navy base was disbanded, the community struggled on for another ten years, during which time many of the old people died and most of the young men left the island. The population fell from 73 in 1920 to 37 in 1928. Successive crop failures reduced life to a miserable level. In 1929 an epidemic coincided with the harvest: the St. Kildans were again threatened with famine. On May 10, 1930, they signed a petition asking to be removed.

The St. Kildans were settled on the mainland and given homes and jobs. But they lacked the determination to begin life afresh and the community gradually dispersed. The shock of leaving the island in some cases proved too severe and many of the old people died soon after the evacuation. Even the younger people stayed homesick all their lives.

Those still living retain their identity as St. Kildans, but regard the evacuation, for all the grief it caused, as inevitable. The community had been living on borrowed time since the turn of the century and it had long been clear that the advantages of the outside world would never come to St. Kilda, where life could go neither forward nor backward, for it had long since come to a stop.

Scottish National Trust has begun to restore St. Kilda's deserted homes and search for clues to its early history. Cottages were MacLeod gift in 1860.

tography went modernist not, as has been supposed, when it began to imitate modern abstract art but when it began to study snapshots."

Malcolm's approach is that of a woman of letters, a probing mind coming up against solid evidence of a new cultural phenomenon and grabbing the tools she has at hand to define it. While her starting point is with the esthetic line laid down by John Szarkowski, director of the photography department of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, her references are apt to be literary —Henry James, T. S. Eliot and Jean Genet. Her point of view rests somewhere outside the insider's place in contemporary photography and her sounding board is more likely to be the writings of social historian John A. Kouwenhoven (author of *Made in America*) than the guru of young photographers today, the late German critic Walter Benjamin, whose "Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" is often quoted by them.

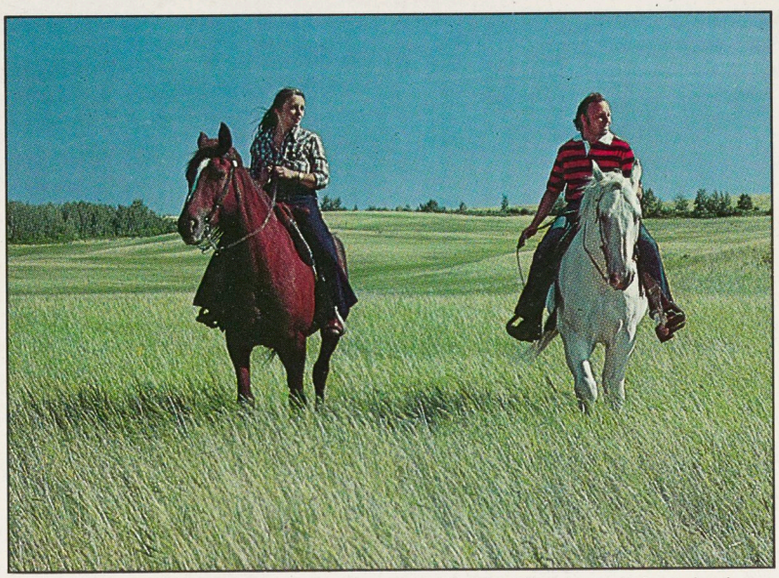
But this distance gives the author's words clarity and common sense. The single lapse from this good taste occurs when Malcolm describes Eve Sonneman's serial photographs in adjectives too close to a cloying press release, falling into the mistake of judging them simply by what the photographer intended them to be, not by what they are.

The method of making the photographic print from a lens, light and chemicals is only 141 years old, and for most of that time photography has operated without an esthetic. In the past two decades, several writers have taken on the task of forming esthetic guideposts for a fast-changing medium. Critic Max Kozloff has written brilliantly for *The Nation* on painting and photography, and Susan Sontag's impressive book on photography and popular culture was published three years ago. Both writers tend to march into the subject in the manner of field commanders.

Janet Malcolm, on the other hand, remains as a solitary foot soldier, finding her own way without much reference to previous critiques beyond the writings of the photographers she looks at. By turning and questioning, she builds from the particular to the punch line, gradually shaping her own still-evolving ideas about the meaning of photography.

—*Mimi Crossley*
Houston critic

CANADA



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had done during the whole period that has elapsed since any of our race settled on its banks.

The progress in agriculture has not been nearly so distinguished; but here also the improvements have been many and valuable. It is in this period that thrashing-mills have been introduced; that the land has been drained; that the alternate husbandry has been practised; that wheat has been regularly cultivated; and there can be no doubt that the culture of potatoes has increased from 70 to 80 per cent. Many of the inhabitants of Dundee take a piece of ground from the farmers annually, plant, hoe, and take up their potatoes themselves; and the exercise is considered to be salutary to those who are used to sedentary employments. It was formerly the custom, particularly among small farmers, to raise a quantity of flax annually, which the females were employed in spinning during the winter months; and the cloth when manufactured, and not used for household purposes, was sold, and constituted one of the items of profit or of rent. The spinning-mills have abolished this practice,—the sound of the wheel is no longer heard in the farmer's dwelling,—for this good reason, that the cloth can be bought at a cheaper rate than the former expense of spinning, which has been reduced from 2s. to 2½d. per spindle. Females who formerly gained their livelihood by spinning, have now taken to weaving, and under certain restrictions, they do not suffer from the change of employment.

There can be no doubt that our agriculture is susceptible of much improvement. The great evil under which this parish is now suffering, is the frequent repetition of the same crop on the same soil. There is a steady demand in Dundee for turnips, potatoes, and grass; and these crops, particularly the grass, have become deficient from frequent repetition. Indeed clover is now so commonly a failure, that tares are not unfrequently sown as a substitute. Turnips, potatoes, and sown grasses, have been introduced at a comparatively recent period. The appearance of the whole face of nature has thus been changed; and the value of the produce of the soil has increased to an extent that cannot be well conceived.

December 1833.

Statistical Account of Forfarshire
by Ministers of Respective Parishes
Vol. II (Dundee library

PARISH OF PANBRIDE.

PRESBYTERY OF ARBROATH, SYNOD OF ANGUS AND MEARNS.

THE REV. DAVID TRAIL, D. D. MINISTER.

I.—Topography and Natural History.

Name and Boundaries.—The name of the parish is evidently connected with St Bridget; and it is more than probable that the prefix *Pan* is derived, not from the Latin word *fanum*, a church, as has been supposed by some, but from the Celtic word *pallin* or *ballin*, signifying a town or hamlet. The historian Buchanan accordingly calls the parish Balbride, which signifies St Bride's town.

The parish is fully more than five miles long in the direction of north-west to south-east, by about two broad. It is bounded by the sea on the south; by the parishes of Barry and Monikie on the west; by Carmylie on the north; by Arbirlot on the north-east; and by a detached part of St Vigeans on the south-east.

Topographical Appearances.—The general appearance of the parish and immediate neighbourhood is rather flat than hilly; but there is a considerable declivity for some miles from the north to the south throughout the whole line of country between Dundee and Arbroath. The sea shore, which bounds the parish, is flat and very rocky, with a considerable accumulation of gravel along the margin of the water, among which a variety of pebbles is to be found fit for the lapidary.

It is evident, from the state of the coast in this quarter, that formerly the ocean must have covered a great part of what is now dry and solid land; for along our shores a succession of banks may be traced, composed of sand and gravel; which must have been the boundaries of the sea at different and probably very widely separated periods. There are, indeed, a few partial inroads by the sea at various places; but these are trifling, and must have been occasioned merely by the dashing of the waves against the softer banks during the storms of winter.

Throughout the parish the soil varies considerably: it is light and sandy on the coast: loam, and in some places approaching to clay in the middle: and moorish, with a till bottom in the northern extremity.

Hydrography.—There is one mineral spring of the chalybeate kind in the parish, which might easily be formed into a well: but little attention is paid to it; and it has never been much frequented, unless by persons in the immediate neighbourhood.

Two small streams run through the parish, and unite about a mile from the sea. In various places along their course, these rivulets are bounded by pretty high rocks, from 25 to 50 feet, nearly perpendicular.

Geology.—The range of the strata in the rocks above alluded to is from N. W. to S. E. The rocks in this place, as well as those on the sea-shore, are composed of soft sandstone, intermixed with masses of very hard compact limestone. These are very durable, and the weather seems to make no impression on them. Towards the head of the parish, within the woods of Panmure, there is a quarry of good hard freestone, which is fit for any purpose of masonry, and of a fine colour. At a little distance, slates and pavement may also be got. It should be added, that the limestone is not in such quantities as to render it worth quarrying; and that it is not pure, yielding only about 75 per cent.

Botany.—The double flowering *Geum*, which I believe is a very rare plant in most parts of Scotland, I have sometimes met with on the banks of the rivulets which run through the parish. The greater part of the more showy wild flowers which formerly adorned our fields have almost entirely disappeared. This is a proof that the soil is now better cultivated, and cleared of those plants and weeds which formed near half its produce about the middle of last century, except on a few farms where the improved system of husbandry had been introduced.

II.—Civil History.

Eminent Persons.—The ancestors of Hector Boetius were for several generations proprietors of the barony of Panbride; and that celebrated historian is generally supposed to have been born in this parish.*

* About sixty years ago, there was found among some loose papers in the house of Panmure a short history of the county of Angus, written in elegant Latin, by Mr Edward, minister of Murroes, containing both a geographical description of the county, and an account of every family of note belonging to it. This literary curiosity, of which, after particular inquiry, no other copy could be found, was translated and published by Mr Traill, the late minister of St Cyrus, in the year 1793.

One of the most ancient families of Angus is that of Panmure, to which the whole property of this parish belongs. Galfred de Maule appears to have held all the lands of Panmure by a charter from Edgar King of Scotland, signed and sealed in the year 1072.

Parochial Registers.—These commence in the year 1693, and are regularly kept.

Modern Buildings.—In the N. E. of the parish stands the spacious and massy house of Panmure,—the principal seat of the nobleman to whom it belongs. It is built in an elevated situation, surrounded by extensive enclosures and plantations, and commands a fine prospect, especially to the south and east.—At a little distance, are still to be seen the vaults and foundations of the old castle of Panmure, long the residence of the Earls of that name.

III.—Population.

In 1801 the population amounted to				1583
1811	-	-	-	1412
1821	-	-	-	1275
1831	-	-	-	1268

The decrease has been owing to the removal of some villages, and to the uniting of a few small farms into one.

The average number of baptisms yearly for the last seven years is 32; of marriages, 13; of deaths, 22.

The number of families in the parish is 300; whereof 88 are chiefly employed in agriculture; 103 in trade, manufactures, and handicraft; and 109 not comprised in the two preceding classes.

Character and Habits of the People.—The people in general are sober and moral in their habits; and regular in their attendance on public ordinances. They are also, as might be expected, industrious and frugal; and are altogether a very respectable portion of the community.

The ordinary food of the peasantry consists chiefly of potatoes, and of the various preparations of oatmeal; with occasionally a little butcher-meat, generally pork, at dinner. Tea is in universal use, from the highest to the lowest. On the whole, though many are liable to participate in the occasional depressions of trade, it may be stated that the people enjoy in a reasonable degree the comforts and advantages of society.

IV.—Industry.

Agriculture and Rural Economy.

			Acres.
The quantity of land in the parish now in cultivation, and occasionally in tillage, is			4100
Uncultivated,			
In moor and natural pasture,	700		
In wood,	600		
			1300
Capable of being cultivated with a profitable application of capital,			0
In undivided common,			0

Rate of Wages.—Farm-servants' wages may be stated at L. 11 per annum; with 6½ bolls meal rated at L. 6; and three choppins of milk for one-half of the year, and two for the other half, which may amount to L. 3. A certain quantity of potatoes, as may be agreed on, is frequently given; and, if married, the servants generally have a house and small garden in addition. Labourers' wages per day in summer are 1s. 8d.; in winter 1s. 3d. for good hands, and for ordinary hands, 1s.

Husbandry.—The improved system of husbandry is generally, almost universally adopted. The fields are well cultivated, and kept in good order. Draining and lime are the two great means of improvement in this quarter: Common dikes and thorn hedges, the usual fence. Common black cattle are best for this part of the country.

Produce.—The average gross amount and value of raw produce yearly raised in the parish, so far as can be ascertained, is as follows:—

11,000 bolls of grain, at 25s. per boll, on an average of each kind,	L. 13,750	0	0
425 acres of turnips, at L. 6, consumed on the farm,	2,550	0	0
225 acres of potatoes, at L. 10 per acre,	2,250	0	0
1,000 acres of grass, from which is made into hay from 7500 to 8000 stones, say 7725, at 8d per stone,	257	10	0
	L. 18,807	10	0

Flax, which some years ago was raised in considerable quantities on almost every farm, is hardly to be seen in any part of the parish. It may be added, that, of three farms consisting of 370 Scots acres, the average produce is 1300 bolls grain, 925 bolls potatoes, turnips in proportion, and 1000 stones of hay: 80 acres are in pasture.

Fisheries.—At East and West Haven, fishing-boats are in constant operation. Each boats-crew (of which there are three at East Haven,) pays 5s. 6d. as teind to the proprietor; and the ground-rent for a dwelling-house is 1s. 6d. At West Haven, the ground-rent is 2s. 6d.; and the boat's teind (for the privilege of fishing) payable by each of the three crews there, is 5s. 3d.

In the proper season, which is between the beginning of February and end of May, lobsters are caught in great quantities for the London market, and carried up alive in vessels fitted for the purpose with what are called wells, which freely admit the sea-water during their passage. Sea-weed is also put into the wells, on which the lobsters may feed. Such as are caught before the arrival of the smacks, which come along the coast every two weeks, are put into a large chest fixed among the rocks, within flood-mark, with their claws tied with small cord, so as to prevent their destroying one another; and in this state they remain until they reach the Thames.—Crabs are also got in abundance, but they are all disposed of in the neighbourhood.*—Cod, in winter, is often caught in great quantities, and salted in casks for exportation. Haddocks, likewise, are abundant, and form the principal part of our fishery, furnishing an ample supply for the surrounding country, especially for Dundee and Forfar, where they find a ready market. Indeed, the fishery on this part of the coast is of great advantage to the whole neighbourhood, as it produces a very considerable supply of wholesome food for all classes of the inhabitants.

Manufactures.—There is only one mill,—a flax-spinning one, in the parish. It is on a very limited scale; but, limited as it is, it is quite sufficient to show the demoralizing effects which such establishments have on those who are engaged in them. Hitherto, in these establishments a great proportion of the rising generation has been trained up in ignorance, profligacy, and vice, and afterwards sent abroad into the world to corrupt and contaminate all who come into contact with them. It is to be hoped that these abuses will now be corrected by legislative enactments.

Navigation.—There are four vessels belonging to this parish; from 45 to 65 tons burden each.

V.—Parochial Economy.

Villages.—There are several villages in the parish; but only two of considerable extent,—East and West Haven, about a mile distant from each other. The first contains 118 inhabitants; the other, with a small landward village adjoining it, 304.

Means of Communication.—There is no built harbour at either

* It may be worth recording, that a few years ago a lady in this neighbourhood found half a guinea in the body of a crab, after it was boiled and brought to table.

of the villages above-mentioned; but there is an open loading-place, where vessels of from 60 to 80 tons burden may deliver their cargoes, which are chiefly of coal and lime. During the summer there is a considerable trade in this way; but in winter it is entirely at a stand, as no ships could with safety put into so unsheltered a situation.

There is the convenience of a post-office at Muirdrum, a small village on the great line of road between Dundee and Arbroath; and a daily post by the mail-coach both to the north and south; besides three other public coaches regularly at different hours of the day, and carriers generally twice a-week to Dundee and Arbroath.

Ecclesiastical State.—The church here is undoubtedly very old, though it is impossible to specify the date when it was built. It appears that the original form of the house was a cross. The arms to the south and east, as they first stood, were removed, and the one to the east was rebuilt in the year 1681. The external fabric is not so handsome and regular as might be wished, owing to the addition now noticed, and the great irregularity of the windows both in size and situation; but within, it is in excellent repair, and even elegant. In the year 1775, it was completely repaired. It accommodates nearly 600 sitters.

The average number of communicants annually for the last twelve years is 508; and the church is in general well attended. The number of Seceders in the parish is 53; of Episcopalians, 5; of Independents, 2.

The stipend is, of wheat, 18 b. 3 f. 3⅓ lip.; of barley, 78 b. 2 f. 1 p.; of meal, 105 b. 2 f. 1 p.; of money, L. 43, 15s. 5½d.; and in lieu of pasture, L. 1, 13s. 4d. The teinds are now exhausted; and of course there is no allowance for communion elements. The total amount of the stipend, converted to money, on an average of the last three years, is L. 245, 4s. 4d. a-year.

The glebe consists of 4 acres, 1 rood, and some falls of good land. The manse was built in 1765; repaired in 1799; and it received a large addition in 1811.

Education.—There are two schools in the parish, with excellent teachers. One of these is parochial, the teacher having a salary of L. 34, 4s. 4d., and fees to the amount probably of L. 30 a-year. The other is merely for girls to be instructed in needlework and English reading. But besides these, there is a small private school in the upper part of the parish, for the benefit of such as are too remote from the parochial school. There is also

a Sabbath school regularly kept. The means of elementary instruction are thus sufficiently provided to the parish, and there are no persons in the parish betwixt 6 and 15 years of age unable to read.

Library.—There is a parish library, consisting almost entirely of religious publications.

Poor.—The number of poor on the roll varies from twelve to eighteen; and they are all maintained in their own houses. But besides these, there is a considerable number of householders in indigent circumstances, who receive each a boll of coals from the poors' funds. The poors' funds, bearing interest, amount only to L. 73; but a considerable sum arises from the mortcloth and hearse fees, and the rent of one of the galleries in the church, which belongs to the session; and also from the back seats in the Panmure loft, which Lord Panmure has for some years past permitted to be let for behoof of the poor. The average yearly amount of collections in the church for the last seven years is L. 37, 11s. 10¼d. There are no assessments for the ordinary poor. But there are three lunatic paupers connected with this parish, in different asylums, the expense of whose board is L. 50; of this sum the heritor pays one-half, and the tenants the other.

Alehouses.—Of these there are five in this parish, and two of them might well be spared. It is, I think, the remark of Kotzebue, in his Travels through Russia, that wherever he came to the neighbourhood of a public house, he uniformly found the morals of the people corrupted, and their character debased; and perhaps the same observation will hold good in every part of the world, where such haunts of idleness and profligacy are to be met with.

December 1833.

(Angus Wildlife Review, '76-77: Dundee Museums & Art Galleries Pub'n '78)

Angus birds:

black-headed gulls

mast head source: Adam B. Ritchie
Keeper of Natl Hist
Dundee Museum

Xerox: 4-6
18-20

WOODLANDS IN ANGUS

Dr Hugh Ingram and Dr Derek Robertson

In common with most of the British countryside, the lowlands and valleys of Angus must once have been densely wooded. Only along parts of the coastline, and on the highest hills and summit plateaux where the Isla and the North and South Esk take their rise, would there have been substantial tracts of treeless ground. This luxuriance of vegetation was the result of some five millenia of colonisation by plants. Beginning some 10,000 years ago in a wilderness of rocks, boulders, rushing torrents and enourmous spreads of sand and gravel left by the final melting of the last glaciation, successive waves of different plant communities entered the country from the south and spread, slowly but steadily northwards: first open tundra, then a scrub of willows, then birch or hazel woodland, then Scots pine. Eventually with the return of warm summers to Britain, the pine forest was displaced by a mixed deciduous woodland of alder, oak, elm and lime, to be followed eventually by beech and hornbeam.

The details of this fascinating process have come to light through the study of fossil pollen grains, preserved year by year and layer by layer in peat bogs and in the mud of lake bottoms. The details vary from place to place. Beech and hornbeam, being late invaders which had scarcely reached our shores before the sea broke our land bridge to France at the Dover Strait, became established only in the extreme south and east of England. Through this historical accident, beech is only native south of a line from the Wash to South Wales and hornbeam only in the London area. Over much of the rest of England, Wales and South and West Scotland, the mixed deciduous forest reigned supreme, leaving pine predominant in the glens of the central and eastern Highlands and birch still further north.

We know, alas, all too little about the history of woodland in Angus. Recently, however, some interesting evidence has come to light which suggests that neither pine nor the mixed deciduous forest trees were ever common hereabouts. Instead, it seems that most of the primitive wild wood of Angus may have been birch, with alder important in the swampy river valleys and oak and its companions only of minor importance. This tantalising fragment of the history of our countryside relates to a very significant instant in time. It coincides with the establishment of Neolithic culture: with the earliest human communities to have tools that were good enough to make an impression on the wild wood. There followed 5,000 years of inexorable destruction. Axe, fire, flock and herd all took their toll until today the wild wood of Angus is no more.

The learned Dr Samuel Johnson, who travelled this way in 1773, was not impressed. 'The oak and the thorn', he wrote, 'is equally a stranger', and 'a tree might be a show in Scotland as a horse in Venice'. To such criticisms, coming from so influential a quarter, the local landowners could not fail to be sensitive. Planting began almost at once, but of the plantations that survive, almost all are beech. The best known of these are the West Woods of Ethie, the strip of woodland at Seaton Den and Caddam wood near Kirriemuir. Many others disappeared after little more than a century.

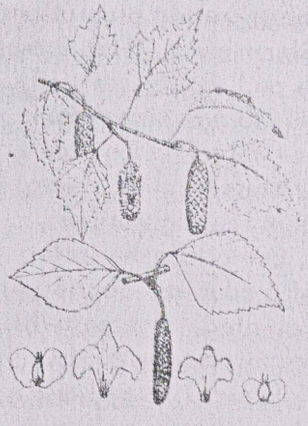
Much felling was carried out during World Wars 1 and 2 and other woods have gone in more recent years. The big wood at Boghead vanished from the map in the late 1950's, the land being cleared for agriculture and, without exception, the fate of the other woods is near at hand since all consist of mature trees in their prime. Beech, in fact, assumes better proportions growing on the deep, rich soil of this part of Scotland than it does on the chalky soils of Buckinghamshire where it is native. In Angus also the trees regenerate freely from their own seed or 'mast'. Being tolerant of their own dense shade they are capable, given time, of replacing other trees which demand abundant light for growth unless the forester makes clearings fror time to time. Moreover, they do not bring their native flora and fauna with them from the south. Therefore, while our beechwoods can be fascinating places, with wood anemones and other spring flowers in abundance when carefully managed, elsewhere they are liable to be dull. Although oak was planted as well it was, regrettably perhaps, not fashionable. The Balgownie Muir Plantation near Glamis was almost entirely felled before 1918 and only the smallest fragment of oak wood now survives there.

The conifer situation presents an interesting contrast. Early plantations were established in remote parts of the Angus Glens by Victorian times. They seem mainly to have been of larch and there is still one in Glen Esk. Today, Angus has thriving young coniferous plantations and, in the Highland area at least, scope for considerable extension. There are big plantations owned by the Forestry Commission at Glen Doll, Glenmarkie, Glen Prosen, and Montreathmont and numerous smaller woodlands and shelter belts of conifer are under private ownership. The native caledonian pine (Pinus sylvestris ssp. scotica) is almost non-existant, in contrast with Deeside not so many miles north of the Angus-Aberdeenshire boundry. However, the continental form of Pinus sylvestris does feature in the plantations, together with its close relative, lodgepole pine (P. contorta), the latter frequently an ill-chosen provenance with a habit of producing innumerable male cones instead of needles. Some larch is still planted, together with Norway and Sitka spruce. The economics of modern forestry mean that many of these must be felled well before maturity. Even so, they have a real value to wildlife affording food and shelter. Even the dark sitka plantations harbour a great variety of small birds, especially in winter, and the red squirrel, after many years when its numbers were down to a serious degree, is now becoming a regular sight in the conifer plantations.

It seems possible that the few mixed deciduous forests of primaeval Angus were confined to certain narrow ravines or 'dens'. Certainly, these are the only places where they are found today. The best examples occur along the river valleys, especially where these leave the foothills of the Highlands to enter Strathmore, for example the valley of the Isla near Reekie Linn and Airlie Castle, the South Esk round Cortachy and the North Esk north of Edzell. South of the Sidlaws there are interesting wooded valleys in the Den of Fowlis and along the Monikie Burn near Panmure Castle. These woodlands contain naturally propagated trees like gean, wych elm, ash, bird cherry, birch and oak, together with specimens of beech and sycamore of planted origin. The ground flora may be a rich one, especially on damp ground in the valley bottom in dense shade. Wood

anemone, wood sorrel and common golden saxifrage may be plentiful. The alternate-leaved golden saxifrage also occurs as does tuberous comfrey though both of these rank as generally uncommon plants. Dog's mercury,
6 primrose and red campion are other characteristic species. The red-berried elder, thoroughly naturalised in this part of Scotland is frequently seen near the edges of the woods. Wild hyacinth, common in Perthshire, appears to be virtually absent.

It seems likely that of all the Angus woodlands, those least affected by man are the swamp woods of the poorly-drained valley bottoms. The best known examples are in the Lunan Valley east of Forfar. They extend, intermittently, along the valley floor between Restenneth Moss and Guthrie and are well represented at the Scottish Wildlife Trust's new reserve at Balgavies. The woodlands comprise mainly alders and sallows with occasional stunted birch trees on slightly higher ground. The undergrowth is mainly of sweet gale, sedges, meadowsweet and bogbean. These are all rooted in rather muddy peat and may spend part of the winter under water. Thus the swamp woodlands survive, inaccessible to man and to his domestic livestock, as havens of refuge for deer and small birds. An interesting variety of this vegetation occurs on the sand dune system behind Buddon Ness, again in the wet hollows, but differing in the presence of thickets of sea buckthorn, an introduced species.



Birch wood is still the commonest native forest in Angus, just as it seems to have been in Neolithic times. Along with occasional rowan, these birch woods clothe the higher slopes above the dens and tend to appear wherever plantations have been felled. Thus, several of our best examples have replaced the oak, beech or conifer plantations which were felled in the war of 60 years ago. Heather and blaeberry often carpet the ground beneath the trees. Chickweed wintergreen is also common and many of these woods are rich in ferns. With the advent of plastic cotton reels, birch is no longer a profitable timber tree so that, in these days of Capital Transfer Tax, the woods are under threat and some have recently disappeared. Others on the other hand are extending, like the birch wood at Buckhood in Glen Prosen which is vigorously invading the neighbouring heather moor. This is most encouraging since, if we are right in interpreting its history, it is birch wood above all others that we should prize as the predominant vegetation of prehistoric Angus. Nor need we be ashamed of our heritage for, with the delicate, elusive scent of the young leaves in Spring and the extraordinary richness of colour at the Autumnal leaf fall, this is indeed a forest without peer.

ANGUS MAMMAL REPORT 1976

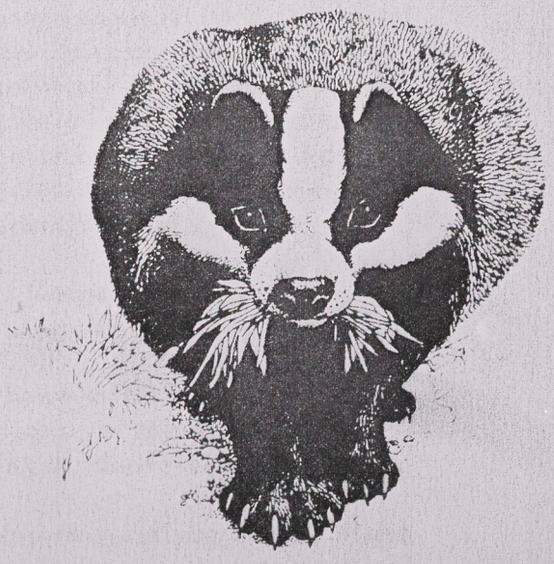
Norman Atkinson

Hedgehog	Total of 67 sightings from 4 March to 4 Dec. 17 of these were live, 49 were road casualties and 1 was found on a gamekeeper's gibbet. The first young seen on 1 July and the last on 13 Nov. Pregnant females were seen on 12 and 27 Aug. All reports were from the lowlands, several in gardens in Dundee, Forfar and Carnoustie, none being reported from the Glens (NKA, RKB, WB). Monthly breakdown of sightings – 1 March, 3 April, 5 May, 7 June, 17 July, 19 Aug, 12 Sep, 1 Oct, 1 Nov, 1 Dec.
Mole	Interesting Glen records include hills in the graveyard at Clova 11 Sep (RKB), at Glen Prosen Lodge 5 May (RKB), in Glen Ogil 4 Oct (Miss M Rogers), and in Glen Lee 23 April (NKA, JS).
Common Shrew	1 from Kestrel pellet Parkhill, Arbroath 7 March (NKA), 2 in Short-eared Owl pellet, Elliot, Arbroath 11 April (NKA), 1 seen near Fowlis 18 May (WB), 1 found dead at c2000' in Glen Doll 12 June (ABR), 1 found dead Panbride, Carnoustie 15 Aug (NKA), 1 caught swimming in flooded salt marsh, Montrose Basin 24 Oct (NKA).
Pygmy Shrew	1 from Tawny Owl Pellet 7 March Parkhill, Arbroath (NKA).
Common/Pygmy Shrew	Many heard and several sightings. A shrew was heard in upper Glen Lee on 23 April (NKA). Unfortunately these do not constitute specific records since identification is difficult, if not impossible in these situations. At present these two shrews must be trapped, found dead or bird of prey pellets searched in order to make a positive identification.
Water Shrew	1 on south side of Camperdown Park in a stream mid-Aug (J Co, IF).
Pipistrelle Bat	Many sightings, however none confirmed of this species. Identification of this group requires handling or finding dead specimens.
Brown Hare	Seen on the Sidlaws near Tullybaccart 25 March (NKA, JS).

Mountain Hare	No reports of the Sidlaw population.
Rabbit	Seen in Glenlee 23 April (NKA, JS). Commonly seen Arbroath Railway Station (NKA) and Dundee Docks (Courier).
Red Squirrel	Common at Camperdown Park, Dundee (J Co, IF), 1 seen in Glaxo Factory Montrose 27 Feb (J Ca).
Field Vole	2 from Kestrel pellet 7 March Parkhill (NKA), seen Tullybaccart 25 March (NKA, JS), 1 from Short-eared Owl Pellet Elliot 11 April (NKA), 1 found in garden 20 June and 15 Aug Albany Terrace, Dundee (JW), 4 caught in flooded saltmarsh, Montrose Basin 24 Oct (NKA).
Water Vole	1 chestnut variety seen Dighty Burn near gas tank 10 April (IF).
Wood Mouse	4 from Tawny Owl pellets, Parkhill 7 March (NKA), adult female found in garden Albany Terrace, Dundee 1 Sep (JW).
House Mouse	Reported from a tenement Nethergate, Dundee (WB), droppings found Barrack Street Museum, Dundee (NKA).
Common Rat	1 from Tawny Owl pellet Parkhill 7 March (NKA).
Fox	Tracks or signs found Montreathmont 9 March, Long Loch 16 April, St Cyrus 31 May (NKA).
Stoat	1 Newtyle 28 April (SH), Tullybaccart 25 March (NKA), 1 Quiktoe, Forfar 28 March (NKA), 1 Monifieth 8 Aug (RKB), 1 Balgownie, Glamis 5 June (RKB), 1 Lochead, Forfar 25 Aug (NKA), 1 Camperdown Park, Dundee 21 Sep (JCo, IF), 1 Luther Bridge, Inglismaldie 30 Oct (NKA), 1 Ladenford, Forfar 4 Dec (NKA), only 1 in ermine Panbride, Carnoustie 14 Dec (NKA), 1 Victoria Park, Arbroath 11 Dec (NKA).
Weasel	1 Piperdam, Dundee 30 May (SH), 1 Balgownie, Glamis 6 June (RKB), 1 Glaxo Factory, Montrose 26 Nov (JCa).
Mink	Several reports from both North and South Esk.

Badger	Occupied sets Montreathmont Moor Nov/Dec (NKA).
Otter	Tracks and signs found in spring (MN) and 17 Oct (KB) on South Esk.
Wild Cat	No reports received
Grey Seal	Occasional sightings St Cyrus and Arbroath throughout the year.
Common Seal	Haul-outs on the Tay at Riverside Drive and Barnhill each numbering 35-40 during summer (NKA), regularly seen St Cyrus during summer, 1 entering the North Esk 4 Oct (NKA).
Red Deer	147 Glenshee 23 April (NKA, JS).
Roe Deer	Tracks or signs found Montreathmont 9 March, 8 April, 31 May and 6 Dec, Tullybaccart 25 March, Panmure 15 Sep (NKA).
Propoise	1 stranded Easthaven 4 Feb (IM), 1 stranded Broughty Ferry 31 Oct (JRCD).

Observers
N K Atkinson (NKA), W Binnie (WB), R K Brinklow (RKB), K Brockie (KB), J Carter (J Ca), Young Ornithologists' Club (YOC), J Cobb (J Co), J R C Davey (JRCD), I Farquharson (IF), S Hacker (SH), S Hubbert (SHu), I Milne (IM), M Nicoll (MN), A B Ritchie (ABR), M Rogers (MR), J Sage (JS), J Woodford (JW).



Ravalli County
Allis B. Stuart
Hamilton, Montana

November 18, 1941
675 words
America Eats WPA

#1

Some Scotch Dishes

Oat Meal Porridge is a dish never omitted from a Scotch breakfast. Brought from Scotland with the sprig of heather. It is just as Americanized as anything Scotch ever becomes. Be it understood it is not served half raw and the pasty mess usually served by Americans.

To two quarts boiling water, well salted, add one and one half cups best oat meal (Irish, Scotch Canadain or Akron are best); stir in meal by degrees, and after stirring up a few times to prevent its settling down in a mass at the bottom, leave it to cook three hourse without stirring. While stirring in the meal, put inner kettle directly on the stove (cook in a custard kettle) Serve with cream.

All growing children should have a breakfast of this porridge.

Hot Cross Buns is another thing never left out of a Scotch Easter Morning breakfast. Break one egg into a cup and fill with sweet milk. Mix with it ½ cup yeast, ½ cup butter, one cup sugar, enough flour to make a soft dough; flavor with nutmeg. Let riase until very light then mould into buns.

Let raise a second time, bake and when nearly done glaze with a little molasses and milk, place a cover of beaten white of egg and powdered sugar on each bun. Hot cross buns has become an American habit and the bake shops offer them for sale on Easter morn.

Then there is the suet pudding that is never left from our receipt for very long. Fin and Haddie is as Scotch as oat meal.

Our Sctoch families change in their cooking less of almost any other emigrants. They seldom ever take to any dish made from Indian corn. They make many delicious hot breads and cookies from oat meal mixed with wheat flour.

Roast Leg of Lamb is a company dish and not even the French can prepare and roast a leg of lamb as most Scotch women can.

Cinnamon Toast is another Scotch dish, slices toasted wheat bread spread with creamed butter and sugar and sprinkled with cinnamon cut in thin strips and served with smoked herring. Bonnie Clabber is another. Skimmed milk allowed to clabber pour off all the whey that you can then take a skimmer and lift the clabber onto a plate, salt lightly. If you eat this with thin slices of rye bread and do not eat of drink anything else, you will live to be one hundred years of age.

Scotchmen that are not John Knok Prebyterians like Scotch whiskey and Sodas, Egg Nogs. Whiskey straight. They do not take kindly to cocktails or wines or grape juice. Port wine is sometimes offered in a Scotch home but is rather looked upon as a ladies drink.

Rye bread and cheese is always found on a Scotch table. Buttermilk is a favorite drink. A haunch of venison always get a sherry wine dressing even in the homes of the John Knoxes.

Scotchmen are said not to be given to intemperance.

Well at a stag party where Scotch Whiskey, Brandy and Soda is in decnaters on the table, Americans and Englishmen go under the table while the Scotchman waks out of the banquet room under his own steam-- That is not saying he has not taken his share.

Roderick Due Leggett was one of the best known Scotchmen among the Butte old timers. He was want to give a banquet once a year to his cronies Strictly Scotch Whiskey while a small pot of heather graced the center of the

Neil Gunn: The Man and the Writer

study p. 316+, Gunn's animistic vision.

pp. 363-4, Scottish extreme traits
p. 367, Lowlands v. Highlands

p. 369, Celtic mind and nature
p. 383, slowness of Gunn's plots

See: Highland River by Gunn

Neil Gunn's Animistic Vision

KURT WITTIG

On the surface, Neil Gunn's novels seem chiefly or even exclusively concerned to mirror the way of life followed by crofting and fishing communities in Caithness and Sutherland. So a reader might wonder what relevance Gunn has to our modern life, or what makes his novels outstanding works of art that are a concern of all humanity. But Gunn is not satisfied with what meets the eye; those crofting and fishing communities are his personal experience that he has to probe to reach the source of his being and ours. He is well aware that each individual lives his life on many different levels at the same time. In all his novels we seem to be moving on many different 'planes of being', in apparently self-sufficient circles which yet have innumerable points of contact with one another. There is the landscape and 'the other landscape which the delight inhabits', a 'secret world within the ordinary world' that may be haunting you 'like something forgotten'. When these planes 'tilt' or 'the landscapes interpenetrate',[1] that momentary contact of different circles allows us to glimpse beneath the surface and to gain insight into the deeper meaning of life.

Consider Gunn's dialogue. Often it is not merely a communication, an exchange of opinions and information, but the words are only the ripple on the surface which betrays thoughts or feelings that lie beneath; and there is much 'searching innuendo', much stealthy manœuvring,

as each of the speakers probes the other's mind, and tries first to draw him on and ultimately to drive him into a blind corner.[2] A speaker may not be unlike a fisherman fighting and outwitting his salmon: 'Lachlan might now have been playing *him* on the end of the line, trussing him up'; or he may 'use talk like a weapon' or like a game of chess where the 'verbal pieces' can be lifted from the board one by one.[3] Doubtless this reflects an essential feature of Scots conversation, with its laconic remarks and the metaphysical deliberation with which it chooses each individual word. And it also gives dramatic quality to the silence between the words, where the real conflict on a deeper level is going on: 'But in these few moments of silence between them awareness became acute.'[4] 'So behind the words another silent conversation must have been going on, "the other conversation", that for each is the important one.' 'There is always, however, the implication behind such talk and it can be more elusive than a serpent.' 'The implication is the terrible thing that is not spoken. But it is remembered.'[5] Gunn can paint the force of the silence through which one cannot break, when one just cannot find a word no matter how much depends upon it; a silence that one experiences as a force, a black madness choking one. In *The Grey Coast*, the boy 'could not as yet bring himself to the point of considering any action in its bearing on Maggie. He could not do it....'[6]

Consequently the real life is that which is lived inside the mind. This life gets its vivid signals through all the senses—and Gunn's writing is full of wonderfully poetic impressions of the outside world, such as 'the hiss-hiss of the milk muffled now by the froth coming through the silence'.[7] The magic of the senses is a constant fascination:

'Scent, taste, hearing and seeing—how rich the body in what so miraculously is! The fifth, the sense of feeling, the fingers touching—the boy's hand on a rabbit's back, on a bird's closed wings . . . with its fine claws now digging into his skin, its beak having a real sharp peck at him, so that he cries out in a sharpened delight. . . .'[8] But these innumerable minute impressions have no objective value, they are the highly personal elements out of which the mind creates its own reality. Gunn does not give us sense-impressions as such, but the vivid signals that eye, ear, nose, tongue, feet, hands of a given character receive, signals that are flashed to the mind where they trigger the reflexes. Follow Kenn, in *Highland River*, stalking up the strath with his friends:

> Eyes flash to earth to guide feet. Primroses, anemones, delicate green leaves of the wood-sorrel. Bite the leaves; chew them. Cuckoo's spit. Red bells of the blaeberry. A good crop. Dead bracken. Violets. Living bracken with bowed heads. Dandelions. A trickle of water. Orchis and marsh-mallows. Grey grass. Broken sticks and stones. Hazel-shoots—for rabbit-snares. Green grass. Young rabbits. Galloping little rabbits. A black rabbit!
>
> "A BLACK RABBIT!"
>
> And back along the wood the answering yell: "WHERE?"
>
> The sun comes through.[9]

Here everything is measured against the boy's immediate experience; we see, hear, smell, taste, breathe with his heightened senses. We feel with his small, frail, warm body, both the electrifying spark of seeing a black rabbit—and the dark and intangible fears that seem to lurk around him: 'At the sound, as at a signal in a weird fairy tale, the whole world changed. . . . Fear had him by the throat.'[10] Compare with this the more rationalised sense-life of an adult:

> Something of this can be experienced in daylight, but in darkness, in a cave, there is touch, deliberate conscious touch, a hand grips, even the inside of the head *feels* the near approach of solid mass; while ears hear what is lost in the light and nostrils discriminate a smell into its sources lest there be one dangerous source. It is an elemental traffic which cannot be carried much farther. It generates in time the cold glow of a thin fine delight. That was his first insight.[11]

Gunn, we see, does not merely enumerate the impressions flashed to the mind; he follows them into the mind and registers the picture they evoke there. It may still be a fairly objective comparison when a character says, 'There were smaller clouds coming up out of the east after it, puff-cheeked like the angels of an old master';[12] but mostly these images or projections go far beyond comparisons and are highly subjective, as when Gunn says of the rising rage within a boy, 'The surge boiled up inside, the surge that could hardly contain the wet spindrift of rage.'[13] Who does not know the fleeting impression that a voice, in a special light, seems to be disembodied or separated from the speaker: 'His voice and himself disappeared in the glimmering night'?[14]

This penetration into the mind is not only a dominant trait in Neil Gunn's own style—as it is in so much of Scottish literature; with their keen observation based on their vivid sense-impressions, his characters, too, are endowed with this faculty. By sheer subjective intensity his characters visualise their objects inside their mind: 'So

of English fiction.

The best essay on this is Mr J. D. Scott's on 'R. L. Stevenson and G. D. Brown; The Myth of Lord Braxfield', which appeared in *Horizon*, May 1946.

> Francis Jeffrey, in a review of Galt's novels in the *Edinburgh Review*, noted—'The author of the Parish Annals seems to have sought chiefly to rival the humorous and less dignified parts of his original . . . with traits of sly and sarcastic sagacity, and occasionally softened and relieved by touches of unexpected tenderness and simple pathos.' How well the reader of Galt learns to know these touches, and how he winces from them; they are what prevent a serious comparison of *The Entail* with, shall we say, *César Birotteau*. Yet *The Entail* is a considerable novel, the rather terrible story of an old man's obsession about money and land, with its streak of genuine and moving fantasy, and its *genre*, its picture of a kind of life which had good qualities, and which no longer exists. We see the same picture in Scott, but in all Galt's novels except *The Entail* it is obscured by the 'touches', and after 1832 the national inspiration failed altogether. For more than sixty years, sixty years that saw the publication of *Les Fleurs du Mal* and *L'Education Sentimentale*, of *Middlemarch* and *Erewhon*, of *On the Eve* and *The Idiot*, of *Leaves of Grass* and *Daisy Miller*, and of the *Origin of Species* and *Das Kapital*, no Scottish writer attempted to forge in the smithy of his soul the uncreated conscience of his race. The country of Dunbar and Burns was silent. It was not until the end of the century that the silence was broken. It was in 1893 that Stevenson's last unfinished novel, *Weir of Hermiston*, was published. Eight years later George Douglas Brown, a young Scot living as a journalist in London, published *The House with the Green Shutters*. A year later, he too was dead.

-Hugh MacDiarmid

Asserting that these two novels, *Weir of Hermiston* and *The House with the Green Shutters*, have certain claims to greatness, Mr Scott proceeds to examine the nature and the strength of these claims. He points out that they are both historical novels, and goes on by looking behind the character of Hermiston at the original upon which Stevenson modelled him, at the archetypal figure of Lord Justice Clerk Braxfield. Mr Scott retells several of the well-known stories illustrative of Braxfield's brutality or, as Cockburn called it, his 'cherished coarseness'. For the roots of the Braxfield stories are deep in the soil of Scotland.

> To put the matter briefly, it is the reaction of a Scot to these stories which is the equivalent of what an Englishman calls his sense of humour. . . . In analysing the national character of which these stories are a reflection there are certain elementary facts which must be borne in mind. The geographical situation of Scotland is such that life is a harder struggle, than, for instance, in Dorset or the valley of the Seine. The life that is lived there is the hard life of all inhospitable northern lands, and we need look no further for the origin of the dour thrawn quality which is commonly supposed to be predominant. There is also, however, present in this character—I do not seek to explain it—perhaps it is Highland—a quality which is gay, vain, gracious and fantastical. No one would pretend, of course, that this quality either is peculiarly Scottish, although it does occasionally occur in some purity. Stevenson's Alan Breck Stewart is an example of one aspect of it, the sweet maturedness of it appears in Scott himself, and another aspect appeared in Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie, the translator of Rabelais, who died in a fit of laughter on hearing of the restoration of Charles II. What is, I think, to some extent peculiar to Scotland is the presence of these two very different qualities in what we call 'one person'.

> It is a fusion, or it might be more accurate to say, a clash between them, which is at the root of the Braxfield touch. . . . He was decidedly *not* one of the things that 'blooms in our kailyard', and there was no place for him in the Scotland which was coming into being in the years following his death (1799), the Scotland in which Stevenson was born and grew up. This was a very fine specimen, a laboratory specimen, of bourgeois society, and Mr Edwin Muir, in a brilliant essay, has indicated its effects on Stevenson. Such a society, passionate in its suppression of truth, can hardly permit the existence of a serious writer, but it is prepared to allow certain writers, those whose conception of themselves as light entertainers precludes any unfortunate preoccupations with reality, to exist under licence.

After dealing with some of the faults of *The House with the Green Shutters* (which nevertheless, as he says, leaves us with the impression that its author has produced an important novel) and asserting that like *Weir* 'both novels may be considered as attempts to realise the demonaic quality of the national character, to unfasten the bonds of religion, respectability, sentimentality and success, which lived it down', but 'Stevenson made a better job of it, more explicit and never irrelevant, his is the novel of the demoniac in action, the release of the authentic and suppressed', Mr Scott goes on to say:

> Compared to this, Brown fumbles. He is writing simultaneously about Scotland *embourgeosié*—Presbyterian, respectable, back-biting, full of ability and success, and the Scotland of Braxfield, the repressed, forgotten, demoniac Scotland. . . . The Braxfield type lacks the essential hypocrisy of the nineteenth-century Scotland. That Brown fails to make clear the historical nature of this process of suppression is, I think, the fundamental defect of his novel. . . . It is not the sordidness which I think Brown fails to balance, but the emotionalism. And, as I suggest, this failure arises from his inability to see the full implications of the suppression of Braxfield's Scotland.

Mr Scott ends his invaluable essay, saying:

> We are not all Scottish: but the *House*, which is, like *Weir*, 'pretty Scotch,' is not parochial. Indeed, when it is most Scottish it is almost universal. And if we look from the novel itself to the man who wrote it and the circumstances in which it was written, we find that the forces which are hostile to art are universal too. . . . If we are successful in delivering ourselves from the man who reached for his revolver when he heard the word culture, we must still keep an eye on the weapons for which the bourgeoisie reach when they become aware of creative talent. If these weapons are more subtle and less dangerous than the revolver, the literary careers of Scott, Galt, Brown and Stevenson [and, I would add, Gunn, MacColla, and Lewis Grassic Gibbon] show that they can be very dangerous indeed.

I have written elsewhere that after the sixty years' silence was broken by *Weir of Hermiston*, then *The House with the Green Shutters*, there came in this sequence Lewis Grassic Gibbon's *A Scots Quair*. We may add to that tiny tally some Tobias Smollett and the best of Eric Linklater. Fionn MacColla's *The Albannach*, belonging, however, to Gaelic Scotland, also deserves mention alongside these, and so, more conspicuously, does Sydney Goodsir Smith's *Carotid Cornucopius*. They all, in some measure, link up with the best of the Makars and of Fergusson and Burns and with Sir Thomas Urquhart's translation of Rabelais. If

it is objected that this is a Lowland Scots tradition, and not a Highland one, it must be replied that it is the only distinctive tradition of the novel in Scottish literature, and that Gaelic literature has no tradition of the novel at all.

I should not write about the novel because, though Gunn and the memory of our days together forty-odd years ago are very dear to me, I have never been able to see the novel as an art form and agree with what J. M. Cohen says in his *A History of Western Literature*, namely, that ' the novel is only the youngest of artistic forms, and it is easy to imagine that even its commercial varieties may decay in the next fifty years, destroyed by the competition of television and the televised film. . . . In poetry, therefore, remains the hope for Literature's survival. . . . That there is some new poetry, concerned on the whole with the serious subject of man's isolation, with his need of a myth by which to understand the universe, and of some change in his own states of mind, is the most hopeful sign at this mid-century '. Poetry of this kind in Scotland is mostly to be found not in volumes of verse but in novels, and in Gibbon's *Scots Quair* it is abundant and expresses fully the three concerns Mr Cohen indicates in the above passage. Gunn's novels are even more full of it, and in a higher quality. Still, in so far as they are novels and not volumes of poetry, Dr David Craig is right when he says they are flawed and split by a backward-looking agrarian provincialism, and they are far enough from that species of writing which Compton Mackenzie discerned years ago must come in this age of speed and unprecedented change and which would make the expression of modern man as far removed from that of the average mind as from that of Neolithic man. Sir Compton has not however taken his

adjuration to himself, and neither has any other Scottish (or English) author.

I think the real criticism of Gunn's work as a whole is that he perpetuates the myth of Highland and Island spiritual superiority and does not realise the truth of what the late Dr Anna Ramsay said in her *Challenge to the Highlands* (1933):

> There is a popular belief in Scotland, which has long been carefully fostered, that a sharp differentation has always existed between the two parts of Scotland, the Highlands and the Lowlands, and the character of their inhabitants; and the Highlander, a dreamer and a poet, a mystic and a romantic, is contrasted with the shrewd, keen, pushing, practical Lowlander. In reading Scottish history I have been continually struck by the strange unreality of this conception. Nothing could be more remote from the facts of everyday life, as it appeared in the pages of history. The Highlander has never produced any great poetry or any great art to speak of; and far from being given to dreams, he seemed to be entirely concerned with the more practical aspects of life; money and the ownership of land appeared to be his dominant passions. It has been pointed out, and with perfect truth, that almost every Highland feud took its rise originally from a quarrel about the possession of land. The Highlander excelled in practical work; he made a good colonist, pioneer, soldier, scientist, engineer. *But* for poetry, romance, idealism one must go to the Lowlands.

Neil Gunn has given us a wonderful body of work—greater than Gibbon's, and therefore the greatest achievement of its kind in modern Scottish literature, and since Sir Walter Scott; and, if like Scott's, it has its political and other flaws, and is based on unreal conceptions, it has nevertheless splendid qualities. Dr Kurt Wittig, however,

was wrong, when he said that Gunn more clearly that anyone ' embodies the aims of the Scottish Renaissance '. Dr Wittig forgets that one of the three or four stated aims of the Renaissance Movement was ' to break out of confinement to mere earthly eudaemonism with Christian nuances, that pseudo-religious mental climate which keeps the harmonies and solutions of our writers on so contemptibly shallower a level than the conflicts and tragedies which encompass our lives '.

Gunn's animism—and his personalism, his love of his fellows, his fine human qualities, are all derivative from Christianity. That will not do, as George Steiner says in *In Bluebeard's Castle*—by far the best analysis of the present condition and future of literature known to me—' In our current barbarism an extinct theology is at work, a body of transcendent reference whose slow, incomplete death has produced surrogate, parodistic forms. . . . The " poetry of facts " and realisation of the miraculous delicacies of perception in contemporary science, already informs literature at those nerve-points where it is both disciplined and under the stress of the future.'

I am afraid that is wholly lacking from Gunn's work, and the work of all other Scottish writers. As Francis Grierson—one of the many Scottish writers who have been thrust into oblivion by their inferior successors—said in his essay, ' The Celtic Temperament ' (1913):

> The Celt speaks of Nature with a kind of mystical authority. The Celtic mind, at its best, becomes identified with Nature. It becomes one with the modes, conditions, and symbols of natural things. Other minds recognise the beauties and the forces of Nature, but rarely penetrate to the core of the thing seen; they depict the outward appearance of trees, meadows, rivers and mountains; the Celt speaks for them, interprets the appearance, turns the material form into a spiritual atmosphere, explains the mystery of shapes and shadows, light and darkness, sensation and sound. To the ordinary mind the four seasons mean nothing more than change in health or variation in the conditions of bodily comfort; to the Celtic mind every day, every month, every season has its soul as well as its visible atmosphere.

He might have been describing in anticipation the writings of Neil Gunn. Alas, the survival value of such thoughts or feelings is another matter, not the principal issue today, perhaps, but certainly tomorrow or next day.

The questions I have raised in this essay regarding the significance, present and future of Neil Gunn's work are not questions I could raise with regard to any other living Scottish fictionist. That is Gunn's value. All the others—Robin Jenkins, Nigel Tranter, Alan Sharpe, William McIlvanney—are not discussable in these or any other serious terms. In short, no matter how far we have got away from each other in the forty-odd years that have elapsed since those happy night-long discussions we had in Montrose, Gunn and I in our very different ways have opened up the question of Scottish literature in a fashion that enables such issues to be raised, and there are perhaps no other Scottish writers today of whom that can be said.

more with one of that all too popular pair, Mary Queen of Scots or Bonnie Prince Charlie. For him it is the life of the people that matters, and political, economic or ecclesiastical decisions, whether they be made in London, Edinburgh, Dunrobin Castle, Rome or Iona, acquire importance only because of their impact on the dwellers in the straths or by the seaboard. In this sense Gunn might be described as a Marxist novelist, however remote his own political or social tenets may be from Marxism. What Lukacs said of Scott (*The Historical Novel*, London, Merlin Press, 1962) may be applied to Gunn: 'for him it means that certain crises in the personal destinies of a number of human beings coincide and interweave within the determining contexts of an historical crisis'. Like Scott, too, he 'portrays the great transformations of history as transformations of popular life'. Yet, although Gunn is in one of his aspects an important historical novelist, and hence concerned with the impact of time on human destiny, paradoxically, in the more personal novels, above all in *Highland River*, he is preoccupied with the illusory nature of time. Kenn, the boy, Kenn, the adolescent and Kenn, the mature man are all one; they appear to coexist, and this principle of coexistence applies to the race as well as to the individual. The Pict, the broch builder of the Dark Ages, is one with the crofter-fishermen who now dwells in the strath.

The moments of crisis that he has chosen for his historical novels are: (1) in *Sun Circle* the conflict in the ninth century between paganism and Christianity in the north-east Highlands (a theme that looks forward to later times, just as his contemporary themes look backwards), (2) in *Butcher's Broom* the impact of the Clearances at the beginning of the nineteenth century on the life of the people in a

— James B. Caird

Sutherland strath, and (3) in *The Silver Darlings* the movement of some of the people from the strath down to the seaboard, and the building of the Caithness fishing industry. In a sense his earliest novel, *The Grey Coast*, is a continuation of the story, since it is set on the Caithness sea-coast in the nineteen-twenties when the fishing had gone into decline and poverty and emigration were rife.

In preparation for these works, particularly for *The Silver Darlings*, Gunn did a considerable amount of research, but what resulted was not a lifelessly accurate and over-documented historical reconstruction like George Eliot's *Romola* or Flaubert's *Salammbô*. All three of Gunn's novels are infused with sympathy and imagination. It has sometimes been said of Gunn that his novels lack action, that he is over given to meditation, contemplation, the evocation of 'the particular moment, the arrested scene, that holds a significance difficult to define' (*The Atom of Delight*). This is true particularly of the later novels like *The Well at the World's End*, which is a kind of spiritual picaresque novel, but where the story does not really begin until after the tenth chapter. The pace is often slow: much of what happens happens below the surface and emerges in a glance, an imperceptible movement, a nuance in conversation. There is a great deal of fencing in the attitudes of his characters to one another; words are used more often to conceal than to reveal intention: the unspoken, as in the encounters between Maggie and Tullach in *The Grey Coast*, is highly important. Occasionally things build up carefully and slowly to a climax involving action, but the action itself is sometimes sustained like a note in music held for a perceptibly long time. There is some resemblance between Gunn's art and the art behind a pibroch.

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An82s

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JANE GRAVES

John Graves with his dachshund on the Brazos in 1957.

John Graves, 92, Author Beloved by Fellow Texans

By JOHN SCHWARTZ

A battered maple canoe paddle hangs on a wall at Texas State University in San Marcos, framed like a holy relic, which, to the many admirers of the author John Graves, is not far off.

The paddle, part of the university's Wittliff Collections of papers and artifacts from Southwestern literature, was used by Mr. Graves on a trip down the Brazos River in 1957. The book that resulted from that trip, "Goodbye to a River," established Mr. Graves as a giant in Texas letters and one of the nation's more elegant prose stylists.

Mr. Graves died on Wednesday at his home, Hard Scrabble, outside Glen Rose, Tex. He was 92.

In an article in Garden and Gun magazine, which celebrated the author's 90th birthday, the writer Rick Bass called Mr. Graves "the best-loved writer in Texas and one of the least-known beyond the state lines."

Mr. Graves wrote about nature without being a nature writer, and about Texas and Texans without falling into bluster or cornpone, "never being puffy, never being boosteristic," said William D. Wittliff, the screenwriter who helped bring to TV "Lonesome Dove," a novel by another Texan, Larry McMurtry.

The Brazos Trilogy writer who was never 'boosteristic.'

The novelist Stephen Harrigan (the author, among other books, of "The Gates of the Alamo") said of Mr. Graves's work: "It all starts with the voice, which is so intoxicating. There's a sense of real authenticity and authority."

He pointed to an opening sentence from "Goodbye to a River," which is as meandering as the river itself but which conveys a sense of the place:

"Most autumns, the water is low from the long dry summer, and you have to get out from time to time and wade, leading or dragging your boat through trickling shallows from one pool to the long channel-twisted pool below, hanging up occasionally on shuddering bars of quicksand, making six or eight miles in a day's work, but if you go to the river at all, you tend not to mind."

John Alexander Graves III was born on Aug. 6, 1920, in Fort Worth. He attended what is now Rice University. In 1942 he entered the Marine Corps and served in the Pacific, where he was wounded by a Japanese grenade in Saipan. The injury left him blind in one eye.

He came back to Texas to teach English at the University of Texas at Austin, but left for New York after three years to earn a master's degree in English at Columbia University. He traveled in Europe and wrote articles and a novel, which his agent rejected. When his father became ill in 1957, he returned to Texas, and after several months got into the fateful canoe, accompanied by a 6-month-old dachshund he referred to as "the passenger."

"Even after he was grown he wouldn't be a very practical dog," he wrote, "but he was company, too — more concrete, perhaps, than memories or feelings."

After "Goodbye to a River," two other books, "Hard Scrabble" and "From a Limestone Ledge," formed what became known as the Brazos Trilogy and cemented his reputation as a writer of note.

Mr. Graves "really didn't find his voice until he went back to Texas," said his editor at Knopf, Ann Close.

Back in Texas, he met and married a displaced New Yorker, Jane Cole, who was working as a designer for Neiman Marcus in Dallas. She survives him, as do two daughters, Helen Cole Graves and Sally Graves Jackson, and four grandchildren. An earlier marriage ended in divorce.

The home he named Hard Scrabble is a former farm he took over in 1970. He built a house there by hand and made it a place out of time, where his children could grow up close to their land.

"We took care of the goats, we took care of the gardens — we rode horses all over the place," said Helen Graves, who confirmed the death. "We were completely free out here in a way most kids don't get to be."

Mr. Wittliff, who created the writers collection at Texas State University that has Mr. Graves's paddle and papers, said, "He cared about the things that were worthwhile caring about, and he wrote about them in a way that made you care about them, too."

As he spoke by phone from his office in Austin, Mr. Wittliff said he was looking at a memento: the spare paddle from Mr. Graves's trip, up on his wall.

Dick Kazmaier, Heisman Trophy Winner, Dies at 82

By FRANK LITSKY

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dick Kazmaier passed for 2,404 yards and rushed for 1,950 in three varsity seasons at Princeton.

Dick Kazmaier, a Princeton halfback who won the Heisman Trophy in 1951 as the nation's outstanding college football player, but who rejected a career in the National Football League, saying he had achieved all he wanted in the sport and could make more money in business, died on Thursday in Boston. He was 82.

The cause was heart and lung disease, said Bob Ruxin, the president of Kazmaier Associates, an investment and financial consulting business with a special interest in sports.

Kazmaier, the last Ivy Leaguer to win the Heisman, an athlete who won varsity letters in five sports in high school and graduated second in his class, went from Princeton to graduate school at Harvard and a rewarding, lucrative career. He was chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush and president of the National Football Foundation and Hall of Fame.

But he is best remembered for exploits on the football field that almost surely would have continued in the professional game if he had chosen that path.

At 5 feet 11 inches and 171 pounds, Kazmaier looked too fragile to play high-level college football, especially in a single-wing offense that favored bruising 2-on-1 blocking. Still, he succeeded in the triple-threat role of runner, passer and punter.

As a junior and senior, he led Princeton to undefeated seasons and was named to most all-American teams. As a senior, in separate player-of-the-year polls, he won the Heisman Trophy, the Maxwell Award and the Walter Camp Trophy. He was voted the Associated Press athlete of the year in 1951 — ahead of Ben Hogan and Stan Musial.

But football was not the focus of his life. When Princeton's dean of students told him he had won the Heisman Trophy, he recalled: "I thought it was nice. Then I went back to class."

Kazmaier was drafted by the Chicago Bears but declined to join the team, or any other one. Player salaries then were often less than $5,000 a year. Instead, with a degree in psychology, he pursued a master's in business administration at Harvard, receiving the degree in 1954.

After Harvard came three years as a Navy officer. He then started a career in sports marketing and consulting, and in 1975 he founded Kazmaier Associates. He had no regrets about giving up football.

"I knew I could earn more money in business than I could in professional football," he said, "but there was more to it than that. I had achieved everything I could achieve as an individual and as part of a team. I felt there was nowhere to go but down."

Richard William Kazmaier Jr. was born on Nov. 23, 1930, in Maumee, Ohio, outside Toledo. He grew up there playing many sports.

"I had good coordination and speed," he said, "and I practiced. I shot baskets. I threw a football through a rubber tire. I'd field ground balls. It was just a natural part of life. There were no sports camps, no special training."

Kazmaier won high school letters in football, basketball, baseball, track and golf.

He was recruited by 23 colleges, most offering full scholarships. He chose Princeton, where, like most athletes and nonathletes, he received financial aid, in his case $400 a year. (Tuition was $600.) To cover the rest of his tuition and room and board, he waited on tables, drove laundry trucks and took summer jobs.

BEVERLY SCHAEFER

Kazmaier in 2008.

Rejecting the N.F.L. for Harvard and a business career.

He started his football career at Princeton as the fifth-string tailback on the 1948 freshman team.

"I was about 155 pounds," he said. "I'm not sure they thought I was going to make that big of a difference in my four years there. But we had 120 men at that first meeting freshman year, and only 12 of us would letter as seniors."

Frank McPhee, a teammate, said Kazmaier "was the most determined kid I ever saw."

In his three varsity seasons, Kazmaier passed for 2,404 yards and rushed for 1,950. As a senior, he led the nation with 1,027 yards rushing in nine games.

Time magazine called him "a refreshing reminder, in the somewhat fetid atmosphere that has gathered around the pseudo amateurs of U.S. sports, that winning football is not the monopoly of huge hired hands taking snap courses at football foundries."

His classmates voted him the senior who did the most for Princeton. Years later, The Princeton Athletic News named him Princeton's football player of the century. In 1966, he was elected to the College Football Hall of Fame.

Kazmaier is survived by his wife of 60 years, the former Patricia Hoffmann; five daughters; and several grandchildren. Another daughter died in 1990. Further information about his survivors was not immediately available.

Despite his success, Kazmaier remained self-effacing.

"It's been a long time since someone recognized me as a Heisman winner," he said. "I don't think of it as something I did. I think of it as something we did as a group. Football is a consummate team sport. Nobody does anything of substance unless they do it with everybody else on the team. You have to have the team. The rest? It's just hype."

In 2008, Princeton retired his number, 42, which was also worn by Bill Bradley, the university's basketball great.

At the time, Bradley said: "When I was 9 years old, playing pickup football in the church yard across from my house in Crystal City, Mo., I imagined that I was Heisman Trophy winner Dick Kazmaier, who played for some college I never heard of called Princeton. Other kids wanted to be Hopalong Cassady from Ohio State. I wanted to be Dick Kazmaier."

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Bernadette Lafont, 74, Actress and Muse

By ANITA GATES

Bernadette Lafont, a French actress whose sensuality and ebullience made her a muse of the iconoclastic New Wave that overtook France's film industry in the late 1950s and early '60s, died on July 25 in Nîmes, France. She was 74.

Her death was confirmed by the University Hospital Center in Nîmes. She had been admitted there three days earlier with heart problems, the newspaper Midi Libre reported.

The New Wave, or Nouvelle Vague, is generally considered to have burst onto the scene in 1959, but Ms. Lafont was ahead of the game. At 19, she starred in François Truffaut's seminal 26-minute short, "Les Mistons" ("The Mischief Makers," 1957). In 1958 she appeared as a promiscuous teenager in Claude Chabrol's drama "Le Beau Serge," about a man returning to his hometown. Her co-star in both was Gérard Blain, her husband from 1957 until their divorce in 1959.

Although she appeared in more than 100 films, on French television and onstage, Ms. Lafont was best known for her work with New Wave auteurs.

Her other films with Chabrol included "À Double Tour" ("Leda," 1959), starring Jean-Paul Belmondo; "Les Bonnes Femmes" (1960); and "Les Godelureaux" ("Wise Guys," 1961).

For Truffaut, she played a talkative murderer in "Une Belle Fille Comme Moi" ("A Gorgeous Girl Like Me," 1972). In Jean Eustache's erotic drama "La Maman et la Putain" ("The Mother and the Whore," 1973) she was cast as the mother. She was a vengeful servant in Nelly Kaplan's 1969 satire "La Fiancée du Pirate" (released in English as "A Very Curious Girl") and a cheeky one in Louis Malle's crime film "Le Voleur" ("The Thief of Paris," 1967).

COLUMBIA PICTURES, VIA PHOTOFEST

Bernadette Lafont in "A Gorgeous Girl Like Me" (1972).

A presence who inspired the French New Wave directors.

In 1986 Ms. Lafont won a César, the French equivalent of the Oscar, as best supporting actress for her role as a housekeeper in "L'Effrontée" ("The Impudent Girl"), starring Charlotte Gainsbourg. She received an honorary César, for lifetime achievement, in 2003.

Bernadette Lafont was born on Oct. 28, 1938, the daughter of a pharmacist, in Nîmes. She studied ballet there and performed at the local opera house before beginning her movie career.

She had three children with her second husband, Diourka Medveczky, a Hungarian sculptor.

Survivors include a son, David Lafont, and a daughter, Élisabeth Lafont. Another daughter, Pauline Lafont, died in a climbing accident in 1988.

In dealing with her grief, Ms. Lafont told the Web site purepeople.com, "Film and theater saved me completely."

Her career was a major priority. "My work is the motor of my existence," she wrote in "Le Roman de Ma Vie: Souvenirs," her 1997 memoir. "My opium, my cocaine, my Prozac."

In her final film, Sylvain Chomet's "Attila Marcel," scheduled to open in November, she is a controlling aunt, but in her penultimate picture, "Paulette," a 2012 comedy hit, she played an elderly marijuana dealer. The Guardian of London described her persona in that film as "still insolent after all those years."

Deaths

CANTY—James Jr., Ph.D. on August 1. Loving husband of Eileen Maxwell, Ph.D., devoted father of Anne (m. Victor Quintana), the late Kathleen, James III (m. Mary Herel), Ned (m. Karen Shepherd), and proud grandfather of Katie and Christina. Born in Boston, graduate of Boston College High School, Boston College, and Fordham University, clinical psychologist at Seton Hall, Manhattan College, and Brooklyn, Bronx, and Montrose V.A. Passionate sailor, woodworker, gentleman and scholar. Visitation on Sunday, August 4, 2-5pm and 7 - 9pm at Riverdale Funeral Home, 5044 Broadway at 214th St. Funeral mass on Monday, August 5 at 10am at Corpus Christi Church, 529 W. 121st St., NY. In lieu of flowers contributions to Isabella Geriatric Center, 515 Audubon Ave, NY, NY or your favorite charity.

DWEK—Maurice. It is with great sadness that the Dwek family wish to inform you of the death of Maurice Dwek. The funeral will be held in Tel Aviv at congregation Heichal Haim.
Janet, Julian & Denitza and Edward & Barbara
Leon, Charlotte & Samuel Solo & Jeanette,
Marco & Alessandra and Claudia & Eugenio

FLANIGAN—Peter. Purchase College extends their condolences to the family of Peter Flanigan. Peter was a good friend to Purchase College. Peter's commitment to education and scholarships has made a lasting contribution for which we are eternally grateful.
Lucille Werlinich, Chair,
Purchase College Foundation
Thomas J. Schwarz, President

FLANIGAN—Peter M.
The board, staff and students of Student Sponsor Partners mourn the passing of our beloved founder, trustee and generous benefactor. Peter's indomitable spirit and devotion to SSP are a part of his lasting legacy.
James P. Healy, Chair
Kevin J. Conway, Vice Chair
Robert H. Niehaus, Vice Chair

FLORENTINO—Paula, 84, of Jamestown, RI, formerly of Port Washington, NY. Passed away July 31, 2013. Memorial Mass: Friday, August 9th, 1:30pm, St. Mary's Church, Newport, RI. Memorial contributions to Society of St. Vincent DePaul, St. Peter of Alcantara Church, Port Washington.

KENT—Thomas C, 82, of Ho Ho Kus, NJ. Husband of Charlotte M. (nee Rice) Kent; father of Ginny Dorris, Justine Kent, Lawrence Kent and grandfather of eight. He attended Fordham University, Fordham Law School and New York University School of Law and was a member of the New York Bar Association. Tom was a Senior Tax Attorney with Thalen, Reid and Priest, New York, NY. Visiting, Sunday, August 4, Vander Platt Funeral Home (www.vpfh.com), 257 Godwin Ave., Wyckoff, NJ, 2-5pm. Funeral Mass: Monday, August 5, St Luke's R.C. Church, 340 Franklin Tpke., Ho Ho Kus, NJ, 11am. In lieu of flowers, the family requests donations to be made to St. Joseph's Wayne Hospital Foundation, 224 Hamburg Tpke., Wayne, NJ 07470.

LIPSHIE—Norman.
The New York State Society of Certified Public Accountants mourns the passing of its past president (1990-1991) Norman W. Lipshie and extends its deepest sympathies to the Lipshie family.

LIPSHIE—Norman. With loving memories.
Sheila Kalnick and
the Benson family

Deaths

Canty, James	Lytton, Sidney	Shafer, Nathaniel
Dwek, Maurice	Raff, Emanuel	Slesinger, Jonathan
Flanigan, Peter	Schectman, Oscar	Taynor, Lillian
Florentino, Paula	Scheuer, Thomas	Thomas, Richard
Kent, Thomas	Schwartz, Eugene	York, James
Lipshie, Norman	Selonick, Peggy	

LYTTON—Sidney M., MD, on July 31, 2013. Survived by his wife Carol Panzer, their children, Bill, Larry, Kate, Paula, Sharon, Diane, their spouses and partners, and their grandchildren Rebecca, Jeremy, Paige, Michael, Barry, John, Maible, Kayla, Jonah, Aliza, Isabel, Grace and Beatrice. Graveside service Sunday, August 4, 2013, 11:30am at Cedar Park Cemetery. Donations in his memory to Doctors Without Borders would be appreciated. Shiva at Paula's home.

RAFF—Emanuel, passed away peacefully at 93 on July 17, 2013. Survived by his wife of 65 years, Ruth, his sons and daughters-in-law Joshua Raff and Michele Fillion and Hershel and Judy Raff and his grandchildren, Jonathan Raff, and Simone, Camille and Luc Fillion-Raff. Manny was a quiet, thoughtful and dignified person who lived a long and rich life. He and Ruth loved to read widely, travel extensively and attend the theater, dance, lectures and art exhibits. He served admirably in World War II as an infantryman in the South Pacific, and was awarded a Bronze Star and a Purple Heart, among other commendations. After graduating from Montclair State Teachers College, he earned his M.A. from Columbia University and did post-graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania before starting his teaching career. Manny was for many years Chairman of the English Department at Carle Place High School. In addition to service at several professional organizations, he was a long-time member and one of the founders of the local branch of the Workmen's Circle. After his retirement, he was an active and effective volunteer in his community. Per his wishes, no services were held. He will be greatly missed.

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SCHECTMAN—Oscar (Ossie). The National Basketball Association mourns the loss and celebrates the life of Oscar "Ossie" Schectman, the player credited with scoring the first basket in NBA history, an original New York Knickerbocker and the team's first captain. Schectman passed away Tuesday, July 30. He was 94. On November 1, 1946, the 6-0 guard, who had signed with his hometown team in the fledgling Basketball Association of America (BAA) – the predecessor to the NBA –was on the court in Toronto for the tip off of the league's inaugural game between the Knickerbockers and Toronto Huskies. Moments after the tip, Schectman entered the history books, scoring the league's first basket on an underhand layup. He finished the game with 11 points in a 68-66 New York victory. Schectman appeared in 54 games for the Knicks in 1946-47, his lone season in the league. He averaged 8.1 points and ranked third overall with 2.0 assists per game. He began his professional basketball career in the American Basketball League (ABL), playing five seasons for the Philadelphia Sphas from 1941-46. Following his one-year stint in the BAA, Schectman returned to the ABL as a member of the Paterson Crescents. Born on May 30, 1919, in New Brunswick, NJ, Schectman starred at Brooklyn's Samuel J. Tilden High School and at Long Island University. At LIU, he was a member of the 1939 NIT championship team, and earned Converse First Team All-America honors in 1941, leading LIU to another NIT title. Schectman was inducted into the National Jewish Sports Hall of Fame in 1998 and the Long Island University Athletic Hall of Fame in 2001. The NBA family has lost a true pioneer and we send our condolences to the entire Schectman family. He is survived by his sister Sunny, sons Peter and Stu, sister-in-law Dorothy, daughters-in-law Rotha and Lauren, and grandchildren Imani and Alex, as well as several nieces and nephews. His wife Evelyn, with whom he was married 70 years, preceded him in death. Services will be held Friday at Schwartz Brothers Jeffer Memorial Chapel on 114-03 Queens Blvd., Forest Hills, N.Y., 11375.

SCHEUER—Thomas (Tom). 85, of Greenwich, CT passed away on July 27, 2013. A celebration of his life will be held on Wednesday September 11, 2013 at 11am at the Greenwich Country Club, Greenwich, CT. In his memory please make donations to The Purchase College Foundation Scholarship Fund.

SCHWARTZ—Dr. Eugene, died July 29th at age 92. Memorial tribute at 2:00pm Monday, August 5th, at Temple Emanuel, 150 Hicks Lane, Great Neck, NY 11024.

SELONICK—Peggy.
Died peacefully at home July 30th after a long illness. Loving wife of the late James B. Selonick, mother of Ellen and David Berick, Jamie and Andrea Selonick and Bill Selonick and Sona Wang, grandmother of Rebecca (Lois), Sam, Julia, Rachel, Hannah, Anna and Lillian. Memorial contributions may be made to Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra or Walnut Hills High School Alumni Foundation.

Deaths

SHAFER—Dr. Nathaniel, 85, beloved husband of Eve passed away July 29, 2013. Cherished father to Robert and Jennifer, stepfather to Amy and Julie, proud grandfather of Cosette. He was born in Brooklyn, NY on December 28, 1927 to Jesse and Rebecca Shafer. He graduated from NYU School of Medicine in 1954 and served as Chief Cardiologist at Valley Forge Army Hospital, Pennsylvania between 1956 and 1960. This was followed by a long career in private practice of Internal Medicine in NYC until his retirement in 2012. Dr. Shafer was active with the New York County Medical Society, served as a consultant to the US Public Health Service and was affiliated with several NYC hospitals, including Beth Israel Hospital, Cabrini Medical Center and Lenox Hill Hospital. Among his numerous honors, he was appointed Honorary Co-Chairman of a Congressional Health Committee and honored by the Medical Society in the State of New York in recognition of 50 yrs devoted service to the public in the practice of medicine. His work ethic was greatly inspired by a lifelong commitment and dedication to his patients. Funeral Service 11:30am Friday, August 2, 2013 at Frank Campbell's, 81st and Madison Ave., NYC.

SLESINGER—Jonathan A.
Son of Dorothy and Donald Slesinger, died at 88 of cardiac complications on April 29, 2013 in San Diego, CA

TAYNOR—Lillian, May 8, 1920 - July 31, 2013, devoted and loving wife (Irving); mother Elliot (Kathleen), Leslie (Arthur); grandmother Arielle (Carl), Martine (Paul), Lara (Masa); great-grandmother to Carl, Sara, Ben and Luc. Devoted, loving sister, aunt and trusted friend. Respected teacher for 60 years, committed to human rights, justice and the State of Israel. Lifelong Democrat and lover of politics, opera and all things family. Her vibrant spirit will be with us forever.

THOMAS—Richard.
To Dick classical ballet as taught or performed was a high calling, an attitude he absorbed from his own revered teacher, Bronislava Nijinska; "She made you, he said believe in the nobility of the profession" - as did he.

YORK—James. The New York Times records with deep sorrow the passing of James York, associated with The New York Times from July 5, 1967 until retiring on August 1, 2005.

In Memoriam

ACKERMAN—Martin S. 8/2/93
Twenty long years, missed and loved. You fill our hearts - now, then, always.
Diane and Kelly

FISHMAN—Harry.
You are forever in our hearts and minds. Our wonderful memories are blessings that continue to inspire us. We miss you so much!
Your Devoted and Loving Family

GOLDBERG—Lisa Ellen.
37 years ago, we, having fallen in love, signaled it formally to the world – and then loved each other more every day.
John

PERLMUTH—Loretta. Loving and loved wife, mother and grandmother. Five years of missing you every day.

WIENER—Michael A.
Dearest Mikey,
It's hard to know how I go on without you. You mean so much to so many. People talk about you with affection, emotion and loss even now. I thank the angels for giving me so much time with you. Of course, it's never enough. Each day I say a loving prayer for you. I will always love you and you will always be mine.
Love, Zee