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Collecting the Nation: Scottish History, Patriotism and Antiquarianism after Scott (1832-91)

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the interface between the expansion of the Scottish historical collection in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (hereafter SoAS) and the development of modern Scottish historiographical practices in the period 1832 to 1891. The sixty-year period from 1832 to 1891 was key to the development of the SoAS during which ownership of its collection of archaeological and historical artefacts was transferred to the nation, and when the disciplines of history and archaeology placed greater authority on primary source analysis using original texts and material culture. This thesis is an interdisciplinary study analysing the relationships between collecting, representing and writing about the Scottish past to assess how these practices influenced (and were influenced by) conceptions of Scottish, British and European histories. It focuses on the development of the SoAS, but the activities of the Society are contextualised through comparisons with the British Museum, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Royal Irish Academy, as well as through referring to wider British and European antiquarian and museological practices. This thesis combines quantitative and qualitative analyses of collection, exhibition and publication data held within the archive of National Museums Scotland to provide a nuanced discussion of the ways in which the professionalization of history, archaeology and curatorship were shaped by antiquarian/archaeological ideas and practices. Key to the antiquarian approach was the importance of antiquities as primary source material (manuscripts, objects and monuments) and the new forms of knowledge that could be extracted from material culture for widening Scotland's national narratives by incorporating social, cultural and material-culture history.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Julie Holder

Definitions/Abbreviations

BAA: British Archaeological Institute

BM: British Museum

GAS: Glasgow Archaeological Society

HES: Historic Environment Scotland

NAVSR: National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights

NMS: National Museums Scotland

NRS: National Records of Scotland

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

PSAS: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

RAI: Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

RIA: Royal Irish Academy

SHRA: Scottish Home Rule Association

SHS: Scottish History Society

SoAL: Society of Antiquaries of London

SoAS: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

Chapter 1   Scottish History and Antiquarianism: Context, Historiography and Approach

Introduction

This thesis will critically examine the interface between the expansion of the Scottish historical collection in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (hereafter SoAS) and the development of modern Scottish historiographical practices in the period 1832 to 1891. This interdisciplinary study encompasses the disciplines of History, Museum Studies, History of Archaeology, and Material Culture Studies and will analyse the relationships between the activities of collecting, representing and writing about the Scottish past. It will assess how these practices influenced (and were influenced by) conceptions of a Scottish national past forming a dialogue regarding Scottish, British and European history. This will be done specifically within the context of the development of the SoAS, the activities of its members (known as Fellows) and the utilisation of its collections.

The chronological parameters of the project (1832 to 1891) were defined by two key events. Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), who played a prominent role in promoting a distinctive Scottish national past, died in 1832, only three years after the SoAS's founder David Steuart Erskine (1742-1829) died in 1829.[1] The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland opened in Queen Street, Edinburgh, in 1891, with the catalogue of its entire Scottish collection published in 1892. Scott's house museum at Abbotsford has been identified by Hugh Cheape and Lucy Linforth as operating in direct competition with the SoAS museum until Scott's death, with many important historical items gifted to Scott rather than the Society.[2] At the same time, Scott's role as a Romantic novelist, poet and historian were key influences on perceptions of Scottish history and nationalism across Europe both during his lifetime and after his death.[3] The sixty-year period from 1832 to 1891 was key to the development of the SoAS during which ownership of its collection of

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[1] R. G. Cant, 'David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan: Founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*, ed. A. S. Bell (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 1-30; D. Hewitt, 'Scott, Sir Walter (1771-1832)', *ODNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/24928?docPos=6 [accessed 20 Jul 2020].

[2] H. Cheape, 'The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and their Museum: Scotland's National Collection and a National Discourse', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 14:3 (2010), p. 367; L. Linforth, 'Fragments of the Past: Walter Scott, Material Antiquarianism, and Writing as Preservation' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2016), pp. 91-3; H. Cheape, T. Cowie & C. Wallace, 'Sir Walter Scott, the Abbotsford Collection and the National Museum of Scotland', in *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence,* ed. I. C. Brown (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), pp. 49-89.

[3] M. Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 187-210.

archaeological and historical artefacts was transferred to the nation, and when the disciplines of history and archaeology placed greater authority on primary source analysis using original texts and material culture.[4] During this time, the preservation of the historical remains of the Scottish "nation" increasingly became perceived as the responsibility of the state, rather than private collectors such as Scott. This thesis will analyse the events that occurred between 1832 and 1891 to examine the interrelated development of the SoAS museum collection, the Society and wider Scottish historiography.

The definitions of antiquarianism, archaeology and history are key aspects of this thesis. During the nineteenth century there were often no clear distinctions between those who described themselves as archaeologists, historians or antiquarians in terms of practice, even when scholars themselves argued they were different. Indeed, as this study will demonstrate, the interdisciplinarity of 'antiquarianism' was key to the way that the SoAS developed as a learned body that could incorporate a wide range of interests and methods for investigating the Scottish past. Fellows of the Society used the terms 'antiquarian' and 'archaeologist' interchangeably (and more occasionally 'historian') to describe themselves as scholars studying the past using 'antiquities' as primary sources. These sources could be objects, monuments, or manuscripts, and Fellows investigated the full range of Scottish history from early prehistoric communities up to contemporary societies. This thesis will demonstrate how antiquarian activities produced a body of literature of Scottish material-culture history that was influenced by the broader national narrative of Scotland. In addition, the activities and ideas of antiquarians/archaeologists influenced and widened the Scottish national narrative prompting scholars to approach the study of Scottish history from new perspectives and ask different questions of their sources. To put this study in context the following sections provide an overview of the history of the SoAS and the key debates with which this thesis engages.

Collecting the nation: Scottish history and nationalism

The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was founded in 1780 by the 11th Earl of Buchan, David Steuart Erskine. The Royal Charter granted to the Society in 1783 stated that the aim of the Society was 'to investigate both antiquities and natural and civil history in general, with the intention that the talents of mankind should be cultivated and that the study of

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[4] R. B. K. Stevenson, 'The museum, its beginnings and its development', in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*, ed. A. S. Bell (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 31-85 and pp. 142-211; R. A. Marsden, *Cosmo Innes and the Defence of Scotland's Past c.1825-1875* (London: Routledge, 2017).

natural and useful sciences should be promoted'.[5] In the first meeting, Buchan expressed his concerns that Scotland's history and antiquities were not being investigated to a sufficient extent and that such a society as he proposed would provide a forum for interested scholars to share and advance their knowledge.[6] An important aspect of this endeavour was a museum where antiquities, manuscripts, books and natural history specimens could be deposited to ensure their future preservation.

The museum initially received many donations to its collections, but its survival was not assured until after the mid-nineteenth century. Financial instability led to several moves of accommodation between 1780 and 1844.[7] Eventually in 1851, the SoAS made an agreement with the British government, called the Conveyance, whereby the SoAS transferred the ownership of the museum collection to the nation in exchange for rent-free accommodation and salaries for staff to manage the museum.[8] The additional funds provided by the Conveyance allowed the SoAS to start printing regular yearly transactions (the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* hereafter known as the *Proceedings*) whilst also placing the collection in a financially stable situation. Before this, the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* had been published infrequently, but these larger volumes were continued and renamed *Archaeologia Scotica* and contained more substantial papers than in the *Proceedings.* As part of the Conveyance, the museum moved to premises at the Royal Institution in 1858 and opened to the public in 1859. However, the museum's collection soon outgrew its space and by 1875 the SoAS were petitioning for larger premises.[9] Finally in 1891, owing to the donation of funds by newspaper owner John Ritchie Findlay (1824-98), the museum moved to newly built accommodation in Queen Street which it shared with the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The museum remained in Queen Street when it amalgamated institutionally with the Royal Scottish Museum to form the National Museums of Scotland in 1985. In 1998, it moved one last time to occupy the new Museum of Scotland building, connected to the Royal Scottish Museum on Chambers Street, where it remains as part of the fully

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[5] 'Our History', http://www.socantscot.org/about-us/our-history/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020]; 'Royal Charter and Laws of the Society, http://www.socantscot.org/about-us/royal-charter-and-laws-of-the-society/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020]; see also A. S. Bell, ed. *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981); 'History of National Museums Scotland', http://www.nms.ac.uk/about-us/history-of-national-museums-scotland/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020].

[6] W. Smellie, 'Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland,' *Archaeologia Scotica,* 3 (1831), Appendix I.

[7] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 31-85.

[8] National Museums Scotland, SAS Minute Books, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 6 Nov 1851, pp. 409-15.

[9] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1888, Committee Meeting, 6 Jan 1875, pp. 294-300.

integrated National Museum of Scotland and institutionally part of National Museums Scotland (NMS), which also includes the National War Museum, the National Museum of Flight, the National Museum of Rural Life and the National Museums Collections Centre.

In 1891, the SoAS museum was named the 'National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland' and was promoted as Scotland's national collection. However, definitions of the nation in relation to Scotland have specific connections to perceptions of a distinct Scottish past and its relationship to other parts of Britain. Definitions of what constitutes a nation have been (and continue to be) contested. In 1882, Ernest Renan proposed that nations were not based on dynastic principle, ethnography, language, geography, religion, trade interests or military necessity, but contended that,

> A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle… A heroic past. Great men, glory (by which I understand genuine glory), this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea. To have common glories in the past, and to have a common will in the present.[10]

Renan argued that a nation is formed from a group of people identifying a shared past and forming a positive intention to continue as a group entity in the future, therefore *visualising* themselves as a nation.[11] Benedict Anderson defined this visualisation of a nation as 'an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.'[12] The definitions of a nation proposed by Renan and Anderson resonate particularly with Scotland, since they do not presume the primacy (or even necessity) of a nation state. A national imagined community could be legitimised by what Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger and Hugh Trevor-Roper described as, 'invention of traditions' with new practices only partially (and sometimes dubiously) based on previous traditions and history.[13] This involved a process of 'myth-making' which Anthony Smith claimed was essential for building group identity through the utilisation of shared historical cultural memories by means of appropriation or invention.[14]

But the 'invention of tradition' thesis does not mean that there are no valid or 'true' interpretations of the Scottish past. Social scientist David McCrone evaluated how

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[10] E. Renan, 'What is a nation?' in *Nation and Narration,* trans. by M. Thom, ed. H. K. Bhaba (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 19.
[11] Ibid.
[12] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 5-6.
[13] E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, eds, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1983); H. Trevor-Roper, *The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
[14] A. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

traditions in Scotland changed over time through the appropriation of aspects of earlier traditions into new ones, forming a process whereby society connected past traditions to present societal and political needs. He argued that in this sense there can be no 'real' or 'invented' traditions but that research into the use of history in the formation of ideas about a nation's past can give insights into the concerns of the society under study.[15] Expanding on the 'imagined communities' thesis of Anderson, McCrone illustrated that since national (and regional) identities are symbolically constructed within people's minds, Scotland provides an interesting example of how multiple cultures have competed and been acknowledged throughout its history of identity-formation, reflecting the diversity of cultures that have inhabited its territory.[16] He highlighted that the cultures of Scotland included many 'peoples' including people from different areas of Scotland, people of the past, people with Scottish heritage in their family, as well as Scots who had emigrated abroad.[17] The development of these interpretations informs the present study, not least in that the multiplicity of cultures that were (and still are) connected to the idea of 'Scotland' and would have been reflected in the objects deposited in the SoAS museum and used within research. Therefore, an analysis of the practices of collecting, representing and writing about the Scottish past (and the relationships between them) will provide information on the nineteenth-century understanding of 'Scottishness' and how those engaged in the study of history used material evidence to define and represent a Scottish national history.

There are significant debates surrounding 'history' and Scotland's 'missing nationalism' in Scottish historiography.[18] In Marinell Ash's *The Strange Death of Scottish History* she proposed that the enthusiasm for the study of Scottish history, nurtured by Sir Walter Scott and the publishing clubs, had disappeared by the 1870s.[19] She identified that the formation of book clubs and antiquarian societies was 'patriotically' motivated and that there was a growing political nationalism mobilising Scottish history in its arguments during the 1850s. However, Ash claimed that the divisions caused by the 1832 Reform Act and 1843 Disruption contributed to the representation of Scottish history descending into

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[15] D. McCrone, 'Tomorrow's Ancestors: Nationalism, Ideology and History', in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past,* ed. E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 253-71; D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992); D. McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002).

[16] McCrone, *Sociology of a Nation*, (2002), pp. 49-52, p. 144.

[17] Ibid., p. 49.

[18] G. Morton, 'What if? The Significance of Scotland's Missing Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century', in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages,* ed. D. Broun, R. J. Finlay & M. Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), pp. 157-76.

[19] M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1980).

meaningless nostalgia using selected images from history, which demonstrated a 'failure of nerve'.[20] Tom Nairn, Colin Kidd and Michael Fry also supported this view by claiming that the lack of modern political or constitutional history written in the nineteenth century reflected a move towards 'romantic' Scottish history.[21] They argued that this romantic history focused on personalities of the past, such as Mary Queen of Scots and Prince Charles Edward Stuart. Kidd and Fry's assessment described this as the 'Whig Interpretation of Scottish History', which was an Anglo-British unionist version of history that interpreted Scottish medieval history as backward and tyrannical with the 1707 Parliamentary Union contributing to the progress of modern Britain.[22] But this thesis argues that just because Scottish history was 'romantic' does not mean it was any less analytical or important.

It can be argued that the theory of 'Romantic' historiographical practices in Scotland exhibiting a sentimental failure of nerve contains an internal contradiction. Nineteenth-century nationalism manifested in different ways throughout Europe, with one aspect being the importance of Romantic history that appropriated the past for political purposes to define individual national communities with a shared identity, culture and history.[23] Stefan Berger identified that in 'direct response to the universalist aspirations of Enlightenment historiography and the French Revolution, Romantic narratives employed history to establish the unique character of nations, legitimate their existence in history, and justify their alleged superiority over other nations.'[24] In Scotland, Susan Pearce argued that a romantic emotional interest in the medieval period, promoted by novelists such as Sir Walter Scott, contributed to interest and active engagement with Scotland's past.[25] This interest in Scotland's past underpinned many of the arguments by organisations such as the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR), established in 1853, which utilised the concept of Scottish historical equality and distinctiveness in its political arguments against further institutional assimilation with England.[26] Scottish history was

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[20] Ibid., pp. 10-1.
[21] T. Nairn, *The break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-nationalism,* 1st Edition (London: New Left Books, 1977), pp. 92-195; C. Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity 1689 – c. 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); M. Fry, 'The Whig Interpretation of Scottish History', in *The Manufacture of Scottish History,* ed. I. Donnachie & C. Whatley (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), pp. 72-89.
[22] Fry, 'Whig Interpretation'; Kidd, *Subverting Scotland,* p. 274.
[23] T. Blanning, *The Romantic Revolution* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2010); S. Berger, ed. *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); M. Pittock, ed. *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).
[24] S. Berger, 'Introduction: Towards a Global History of National Historiographers', in *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective,* ed. S. Berger (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 9.
[25] S. M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 193.
[26] C. Kidd, *Union and Unionisms,* 2nd Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 270.

also employed by the Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA), established in 1886, to assert a positive interpretation of Scottish institutions and laws before the parliamentary union.[27] Even if the utilisation of history in nineteenth-century Scotland did not lead to a co-ordinated independence movement, it appears it was connected to the assertion of a distinctive Scottish identity, Scottish political rights and representations of Scotland as an equal partner to England within the United Kingdom.

Graeme Morton proposed the concepts of unionist-nationalism and civic-nationalism to explain nationalist sentiment and action in nineteenth-century Scotland. This was in the context of the activities of voluntary organisations in Edinburgh between 1830 and 1860 through which, he argued, Scottish patriotic engagement with the past persisted in the nineteenth century within the framework of a self-governing Scottish civil society.[28] Unionist-nationalism combined an Imperial British identity with Scottish distinctiveness and pride that placed Scotland as equal to England through its contribution to the democratic and economic progress of nineteenth-century Britain.[29] Civic-nationalism expressed this patriotic Scottish identity through the activities of civic institutions, associations and charitable bodies. The SoAS was one of these civic voluntary organisations which were specifically engaged with investigating the Scottish past and how this related to the development of contemporary Scottish society. James Coleman's study of nineteenth-century memorialisation in Scotland demonstrated how Fellows, such as librarian of the Signet Library David Laing (1793-1878) and artist Sir Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901), were involved in erecting historical memorials during this period which represented unionist-nationalist interpretations.[30] These interpretations of Scottish history portrayed figures, such as William Wallace, with pride as contributing to the success of the 1707 Union, since it allowed a partnership of equal nations rather than a conquest of Scotland by England.[31] Pride in national figures of the Scottish past influenced private and

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[27] Scottish Home Rule Association, *The Scottish Home Rule Debate of 19th and 20th February, 1890: Analysis of the Divisions and Remarks on the Debate; Also Sir Archibald Alison's Article on the Old Scottish Parliament, &c. &c. &c.* (Edinburgh, 1890).

[28] Morton, 'What if? pp. 157-76; G. Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999).

[29] Morton, 'What if?' pp. 160-1. Other historians have analysed the idea of multiple identities in Scotland such as in C. Kidd, *Union and Unionisms* and R. J. Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain', in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages,* ed. D. Broun, R. J. Finlay & M. Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), p. 149.

[30] J. J. Coleman, *Remembering the Past in Nineteenth-Century Scotland: Commemoration, Nationality and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014); for the unionist-nationalist commemoration of Burns see P. Mackay & M. Pittock, 'Beyond Text: Burns, Byron and Their Material Culture Afterlife', *Byron Journal,* 39:2 (2011), pp. 149-62 and M. Pittock & C. Whateley, 'Poems and Festivals, Art and Artefact and the Commemoration of Robert Burns, c.1844 - c.1896', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 93:1 (2014), pp. 56-79.

[31] Coleman, *Remembering the Past*, pp. 51-8.

public collecting practices in Scotland. More intensive research into this period offers a greater understanding of how and why the Scottish past was interpreted in the way it was and what meanings were ascribed to past events and historical figures.

Sir Tom Devine, Catriona Macdonald and Robert Anderson have challenged the argument that Scottish history died in the late-nineteenth century. They asserted that the contrary was evident within the associational culture of antiquarian and archaeological societies operating outside universities. Devine argued that there was not a cultural crisis in Scotland, but rather that there has been a lack of contemporary historical study of the nineteenth century which has presented a distorted picture of the past.[32] Through her study of Andrew Lang (1844-1912), Macdonald demonstrated that by considering the interpretation of Scottish history outside the universities there can be found revisionist interpretations of the Scottish past during this period that challenged British and Scottish master narratives.[33] Anderson identified that although Scottish history was marginal within universities, it continued to develop within associational culture after the publishing clubs dissolved, with the Scottish History Society (SHS) and *Scottish Antiquary* (later the *Scottish Historical Review*) being founded in 1886.[34] The SoAS was part of this associational culture and even Ash wrote highly of the way Fellows preserved and critically investigated the documentary and material remains of the Scottish past.[35] This included the revived interest in Highland history, with Fellows such as William Forbes Skene (1809-92) publishing *The Highlanders of Scotland* (1837) and *Celtic Scotland* (1876-80).[36] This thesis intends to expand on the research of these historians. This will be achieved by analysing the practices of a self-governing antiquarian association, whose members operated outside of universities, to assess how the Fellows of the SoAS assigned and articulated meaning to the Scottish past through their collecting, exhibiting and writing practices.

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[32] T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History,* 3rd Edition (London: Penguin, 2012), pp. 295-6.

[33] C. M. M. Macdonald, 'Andrew Lang and Scottish Historiography: Taking on Tradition', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 94: 2 (2015), pp. 207-36, Lang was a prolific independent scholar of Scottish history.

[34] R. D. Anderson, 'University History Teaching, National Identity and Unionism in Scotland 1862-1914', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 91 (2012), pp. 16-17.

[35] M. Ash, ''A fine, genial, hearty band': David Laing, Daniel Wilson and Scottish Archaeology', in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*, ed. A. S. Bell, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 86-113; E. Hulse, ed. *Thinking with Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); M. Ash, 'Patriots who put Scotland's heritage in safe keeping', *The Weekend Scotsman,* 5 Oct 1985, photocopy held at NMS, accession no. (StEdNMS) D85:937.

[36] Anderson, 'University History', pp. 16-17; W. F. Skene, *The Highlanders of Scotland, their origin, history, and antiquities,* 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1837); W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Alban,* 3 vols (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1876-80).

Antiquarianism and nineteenth-century museums

The museum of the SoAS evolved as part of broader national museum development across
Europe. The European National Museum (EuNaMus) Project explored the past and present
power and development of national museums in Europe.[37] As part of this project, Stefan
Berger argued that in many places in Europe 'archaeological museums were the archetypal
national museums of the nineteenth century.'[38] Articles both within, and prior to, the
EuNaMus project asserted that museological development in Scotland followed unionist-
nationalist ideas, with Scottish distinctiveness and equality promoted within a British
framework. Linda Andersson Burnett, Andrew Newby and Sheila Watson proposed that
efforts to preserve the Scottish past in the SoAS museum were connected to ensuring
Scotland's equal treatment within the union, with the museum entitled to the same
financial support from the government as received by institutions in London and Dublin.[39]
Watson also noted that museum staff in London and Edinburgh had a significant amount of
control over acquisitions and displays, with little government involvement in either
England or Scotland.[40] She proposed that this curatorial control led to a promotion of
Scottish exceptionalism and distinctiveness in the SoAS museum. In contrast, Alima
Bucciantini claimed that the museum's policy of 'collecting everything and anything
[meant] … There was no cohesive narrative of Scottishness within the collection'.[41] The
SoAS had a large degree of freedom to decide what they collected and how they
represented the material evidence of Scotland's past. Analysis of these practices in this
thesis will add substance to the knowledge on where the SoAS placed its interpretation of
the Scottish past within the narratives of British and European history and to what extent
the Society developed targeted collecting strategies.

Existing publications on the SoAS and NMS provide general histories of institutional
development rather than in-depth investigations of the relationship between the collection

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[37] *Eunamus,* http://www.ep.liu.se/eunamus/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020].

[38] S. Berger, 'National Museums in between Nationalism, Imperialism and Regionalism', in *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe 1750-2010: Mobilization and legitimacy, continuity and change,* ed. P. Aronsson & G. Elgenius (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 14.

[39] L. Andersson Burnett & A. G. Newby, 'Unionist Nationalism' and the National Museum of Scotland, c. 1847–1866', https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1f3e/52c8e9dba93a1f190b2375af005c3dc659bf.pdf [accessed 18 Jul 2020]; A. Clarke, 'From Royal to National: The Changing Face of the National Museum of Scotland', *Eunamus,* https://ep.liu.se/ecp/contents.asp?issue=078 [accessed 18 Jul 2020], Report No 4, pp. 169-78; S. Watson, 'National Museums in Scotland', *Eunamus,* https://ep.liu.se/ecp/contents.asp?issue=064 [accessed 18 Jul 2020], Report No 1, pp. 747-78.

[40] Watson, 'National Museums', pp. 756-9 and 771-2.

[41] A. Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland: Objects, Identity, and the National Museum* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2018), p. 17.

and interpretation of the Scottish past.[42] These provide a historical context on which to base further study. The collected essays, edited by A. S. Bell, in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition* are still considered an important synthesis of the Society's history and development.[43] The chapters analysed the development of the SoAS and its museum to show how the collecting and establishing of an archaeological and historical museum of Scotland contributed to the representing and writing of the prehistory of Scotland. However, with their focus on prehistory, the chapters only briefly touch on how the *historical* collection was utilised as evidence in Scottish history in the nineteenth century.[44] For the purpose of this thesis, the chapters identify key Fellows within the Society and outline areas that warrant additional investigation. These include the Society's links with antiquarians from other countries, the influence these connections may have had on campaigns to gain government funding, as well as the ways in which European museums provided ideas on interpretation and display.[45] The research in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition* gives a reliable basis and understanding of the context of the activities of the SoAS in the nineteenth century, as well as an indication of where relevant archives are located. It contains an analysis of how the collections were used as evidence for representing the Scottish prehistoric past through its material culture. But it is the premise of this thesis that this research needs to be expanded on, and deepened, in order to examine how the historic collection specifically was utilised in relation to national narratives of the Scottish past.

More recently, researchers have provided in-depth analyses of the connection between the activities of the Society, the museum and Scottish identity.[46] This has been undertaken by curators who have worked at the museum and are Fellows of the SoAS. Hugh Cheape outlined the development of the SoAS and its museum in relation to its patriotic mission to preserve Scottish history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[47] Cheape argued that the SoAS promoted a distinctive Scottish identity based on its cultural artefacts that illustrated that Scotland and England were equal partners within Britain, but that they did

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[42] J. Calder, ed. *The Wealth of the Nation in the National Museums of Scotland* (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1989); D. Souden, C. Holden & X. Mazda eds, *Scotland to the World: Treasures from the National Museum of Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2016).

[43] A. S. Bell, ed. *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981).

[44] I. Stewart, 'Two Centuries of Scottish Numismatics', in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition,* ed. A. S. Bell (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 227-65; Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 31-85 and pp. 142-211.

[45] Stevenson, 'The museum'; M. Ash, 'genial, hearty band'.

[46] J. M. Fladmark, ed. *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity* (Dorset: Donhead, 1999); H. Cheape, "Convivial and anomalous conversations': the Society of Antiquaries and their Museum', *Review of Scottish Culture,* 21 (2009), pp. 3-14.

[47] Cheape, 'The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and their Museum'.

not promote an anti-unionist stance.[48] David Clarke specifically assessed the ideas and activities of keeper of the SoAS museum Joseph Anderson (1832-1916) in relation to the development of debates on Scottish exceptionalism.[49] He argued that Anderson's scholarship took into account the similarities of Scottish artefacts to other British and European materials and that Anderson was actively involved in the international network of scholars working in museums. However, he contended that Anderson may have over-emphasised Scottish distinctiveness in order to support the argument that there was a traceable development of Scottish art from prehistoric times into the Middle Ages.[50] Anderson's main publications, based on his Rhind lectures, were concerned with prehistory but he extended the use of material evidence into early historical periods, which is a key concern of this thesis.[51] Clarke's paper is one of a series in the *Proceedings* that analysed the activities of key figures in the history of the Society and provide the basis for further investigation.[52] Through the lead provided by this research, this thesis will identify Fellows of the SoAS who negotiated ideas on the Scottish nation in their interpretations of the Scottish past and will proceed to analyse the methods that they developed in their written work to employ material culture as evidence of historical periods.

Broader studies of nineteenth-century antiquarianism in Britain, Ireland and Europe have been conducted by Susan Pearce, Damien Murray and Peter Miller.[53] These studies allow Scottish practices to be compared to wider contexts but provide limited information on activities within Scotland. Detailed research into the ideas and methodologies of Scottish antiquarians has only recently started to emerge. One such study is Richard Marsden's research on Cosmo Innes (1798-1874), who was a Fellow of the SoAS and Professor of Civil History at the University of Edinburgh.[54] Marsden demonstrated how Innes was one of a number of nineteenth-century Scottish scholars who aimed to prove that the Middle Ages were vital to the development of the distinctive character of the Scottish people, and in doing so he provided a positive interpretation of Scotland's medieval Catholic past.[55]

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[48] Ibid., p. 366.

[49] D. V. Clarke, 'The foremost figure in all matters relating to Scottish archaeology': aspects of the work of Joseph Anderson (1832-1916)', *PSAS,* 132 (2002), pp. 1-18.

[50] Ibid., pp. 13-5.

[51] Ibid., p. 15; Ash 'genial hearty band', pp. 108-10.

[52] J. N. Graham Ritchie et. al., 'Presenting the Scottish Past: the Rhind Lectures for the Sessions 1999-2000', Parts 1 and 2, *PSAS,* 131 (2001) pp. 1-55; 132 (2002) pp. 1-64.

[53] S. M. Pearce, ed. *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007); D. Murray, *Romanticism, Nationalism and Irish Antiquarian Societies, 1840-80* (Maynooth: The Department of Old and Middle Irish, National University of Ireland, 2000); P. N. Miller, *History and its Objects: Antiquarianism and Material Culture since 1500* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2017).

[54] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* p. 25.

[55] Ibid., p. 297.

Marsden detailed how Innes examined records and architecture to investigate a variety of types of history: including social, legal, political, ecclesiastical and architectural history. By focusing on one person, Marsden was able to scrutinise Innes' ideas on the value of studying history for the benefit of Scottish society and how this manifested in his historical publications. He provided a comprehensive overview of Innes' record scholarship at Register House, his influence as a university professor, his involvement in the associational culture of Scotland and the methodologies he adopted to analyse different types of sources. However, Innes did not use many objects in his research and was only one of many scholars involved in investigating the Scottish past in this period. Therefore, it is the premise of this thesis that there needs to be further analysis of the methodologies of other Fellows in the SoAS who utilised objects in their research.

Susan Manning argued that there was a tension between those that considered themselves antiquarians and those who considered themselves historians in the eighteenth century, which persisted to an extent into the nineteenth century.[56] This can be understood as a difference of perceptions of each other, since as the nineteenth century progressed, they often pursued similar methods. Manning argued that eighteenth-century philosophical historians perceived the role of history as providing grand moralising narratives, which benefited contemporary society and therefore they denigrated the activities of antiquarians as trifling, amateur and confusingly focused on detail.[57] The value of this philosophical or "conjectural history" was promoted by Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, Dugald Stewart (1753-1828), of whom Sir Walter Scott had been a student.[58] Scott was himself an antiquarian, but he also caricatured the pedantic, obsessive aspects of antiquarianism through his character Johnathan Oldbuck in *The Antiquary*.[59] However, attention to detail and the focus on documentary and material sources associated with more rigorous manifestations of antiquarianism became the basis of academic and professional historical and archaeological methods that are still utilised in the twenty-first century. Roey Sweet argued that antiquarians were pioneers of modern historical methods since they based their research on what the manuscripts or objects could tell them, rather than making objects fit an ulterior argument.[60] In addition, the method of studying objects of everyday

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[56] S. Manning, 'Antiquarianism, the Scottish Science of Man, and the emergence of the modern disciplinarity,' in *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism,* ed. L. Davis, I. Duncan & J. Sorenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 57-76.
[57] Ibid.
[58] M. P. Brown, 'Stewart, Dugald (1753–1828), philosopher', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/26471 [accessed 25 Oct 2019].
[59] W. Scott, *The Antiquary* (Edinburgh: Archibald, Constable & Co, 1816).
[60] R. Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. xvi- xxi.

life, as well as objects of power and authority, opened up new fields of historical enquiry that analysed the social organisations and cultural productions of past societies.[61] There was a European-wide renewed interest in collecting material sources for the study of national histories within learned societies and universities, as the work of Margarita Díaz-Andreu has demonstrated.[62] This thesis intends to assess how the SoAS perceived itself in relation to the disciplines of history and archaeology by examining the views articulated in SoAS anniversary addresses and lectures. The views of Fellows regarding 'antiquarianism', 'archaeology' and 'history' will be considered with respect to the methods they adopted when researching historic objects and will be analysed for information on how nineteenth-century methodological ideas were applied in practice.

The history of antiquarianism has traditionally been part of the historiography of archaeology.[63] However, the historiography of historical archaeology (or material-culture history) is often marginal within this literature. This study is situated within moves towards a broader understanding on the development of material-culture history in Scotland and its influence on the narrative of Scotland's national past. Within Bruce Trigger's overview of the history of archaeology there is reference to the theory of cultural evolution developing in the nineteenth century. Cultural evolution was an extension to Enlightenment ideas of progress and stadial development, which proposed that all human societies followed universal stages of civilisation progressing from hunter-gatherers to agriculturalists to civilised societies.[64] The narrative of progress had been a key aspect of eighteenth-century conjectural history and the universality of progress, promoted by Dugald Stewart.[65] In archaeological terms, objects that displayed a sequence of technological progress were perceived as tangible evidence of each society's 'cultural' progress.[66] Cultural progress fitted into Whig interpretations of wider liberal progress and, as Fry noted, this was the

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[61] R. Sweet, 'Antiquarian Transformations in Historical Scholarship: the history of domesticity from Joseph Strutt to Thomas Wright', in *Revisiting the Polite and Commercial People: Essays in Honour of Professor Paul Langford,* ed. P. Gauci & E. Chalus (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 153-70.

[62] M. Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 318.

[63] V. Brand, ed. *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1998); Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*; J. L. Hare, *Excavating Nations: Archaeology Museums, and the German-Danish Borderlands* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); S. Lawrence, ed. *Archaeologies of the British: Explorations of identity in Great Britain and its colonies 1600-1945* (London: Routledge, 2003); P. Rowley-Conwy, *From Genesis to Prehistory: The Archaeological Three Age System and its Contested Reception in Denmark, Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); A. Schnapp, *The Discovery of the Past: The Origins of Archaeology,* trans. by I. Kinnes & G. Varndall (London: British Museum Press, 1996); B. G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought,* 2nd edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[64] Trigger, *Archaeological Thought,* pp. 99-102.

[65] Manning, 'Antiquarianism', p. 60.

[66] Trigger, *Archaeological Thought,* pp. 99-102.

dominant view of the Scottish past in nineteenth-century Britain.[67] In addition, Trigger argued that the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of the Species* in 1859 provided further support for cultural evolution, since natural selection was viewed as equivalent to capitalist competition, 'which was believed to be the driving force behind economic and cultural advancement.'[68] Trigger proposed that the middle-classes, who were disproportionately prominent in nineteenth-century archaeology, saw themselves as the pinnacle of this evolution of civilisation.[69] However, biological evolution was also utilised to support racist ideology, which argued that different races were at different stages on the evolutionary journey. Both Trigger and Díaz-Andreu highlight how evolutionism was steeped in racism and fuelled archaeological theories of nationalist white supremacy.[70] This thesis examines how the dominant theory of cultural evolution influenced the study of Scottish historical objects and the relationship between Enlightenment notions of progress and archaeological methods of material-culture analysis. This study does not include objects from other countries but touches on how theories on race impacted on perceptions of the material culture of the different 'peoples' of Scotland, particularly those of the Highlands and Islands.

Material culture and the study of the Scottish past

The role of material culture in human societies has been debated by scholars from a range of disciplines.[71] These debates centre round the meaning and influence of material culture on human thought and activities. One prominent theory is that material culture is imbued with meaning by the society that creates and interacts with it, thereby becoming a symbolic form of communication i.e. having a semiotic function.[72] This has been expanded on with the argument that objects have a certain level of agency over human behaviour.[73] The influence of the tangible world on human behaviour can combine both symbolic and practical considerations. Manuel Charpy contended that 'objects are not mere witnesses of social and anthropological phenomena or arbitrary social indicators, they are instruments

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[67] Fry, 'Whig Interpretation'.
[68] Trigger, *Archaeological Thought,* p. 147.
[69] Ibid., pp. 145-7.
[70] Ibid., pp. 170-210; Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology,* pp. 369-97.
[71] D. Hicks & M. Beaudry, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[72] S. M. Pearce, ed. *Objects of Knowledge,* (London: The Athlone Press, 1990); Pearce, *Museums, Objects*; S. M. Pearce, ed. *Interpreting Objects and Collections,* (London: Routledge, 1994).
[73] A. Brower Stahl, 'Material Histories', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies,* ed. D. Hicks & M. Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 150-72; D. Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010); C. B. Lake, *Artifacts: How We Think and Write about Found Objects* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2020).

and tools through which individuals and groups define themselves on a daily basis.'[74] The study of objects required different analytical approaches to documents, since historical information was embedded in their material forms and decoding them required the development of more in-depth examination and interpretation skills. In addition, the exhibition of objects in the SoAS museum was a symbolic representation of the Scottish past, which was physically constrained by the available space, size of the objects and the extent of the collection. Therefore, this thesis will examine how Fellows of the SoAS utilised objects as both symbols and tools for investigating, exhibiting and articulating a national history of Scotland.

This thesis is primarily focused on the collection and interpretation of objects and their relationship to Scottish historiography. Due to the broad range of objects that *could* be connected to the Scottish past some parameters have been established. These are constructed as research tools and therefore need explaining. Hence, this thesis will investigate the ways in which material culture connected to Scotland (as it was geographically bounded in the nineteenth century) was utilised in research on Scottish history from the twelfth to nineteenth centuries. This study will not extend to analysis of the collecting of non-Scottish artefacts by Scots or to the study of prehistoric to early medieval material culture (taken here as pre-AD1100). The focus on historical objects, rather than prehistorical, is because the former is under-researched in comparison to the latter. The twelfth century has been chosen as a starting point because this periodisation reflects the traditional departmental subdivisions at NMS whereby prehistory, Roman and Early Medieval periods were defined as pre-AD1100 with historical periods being defined as post-AD1100.[75] Objects manufactured pre-AD1100 that were still in use at later historic periods have been included in this study as their use extended into our period. For example, ecclesiastical bells have been included since they were used in Scottish society up to the nineteenth century. The methods of Fellows investigating historical objects will be examined in relation to the development of prehistoric archaeological ideas concerning material culture as evidence. It should be noted that the collecting and study of ethnographic materials was an important part of the development of comparative archaeology during the nineteenth century and this subject is addressed within the study where relevant.

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[74] M. Charpy, 'How things shape us: Material culture and identity in the industrial age', in *Writing Material Culture History,* ed. A. Gerritsen & G. Riello (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), p. 199.

[75] These departmental subdivisions have been revised and refined in the twenty-first century.

This thesis is arranged chronologically to show how thinking and curatorial practices changed from 1832 to 1891. It is divided into twenty-year periods, comprising two chapters for each period covering the years 1832 to 1851, 1852 to 1871 and 1872 to 1891. Occasionally when discussing the methods of a specific author the parameters of the twenty-year period are relaxed, avoiding repetition. The first chapter of each period discusses the historical context, key events, composition of the membership and an analysis of collecting practices. The membership analysis is based on a sample of three membership lists from 1851-2, 1871-2 and 1891-2 from the *Proceedings* (Appendix I, Tables 1 to 4).[76] These lists were cross-referenced with earlier membership lists, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Post Office Directories* to gather information on the occupational backgrounds of Fellows.[77] The occupations are divided by category and the overall membership is compared to the composition of the SoAS Council (Appendix I, Tables 2 and 3). This study did not include corresponding members because the annual lists did not include this category of member.[78] The geographical composition of Fellows who paid annual membership fees is also noted, so excludes corresponding members, Honorary Fellows and Lady Associates (Appendix I, Table 4 and Appendix III).[79] This data represents a sample of the Fellows who were still members at these three dates, rather than an analysis of all members elected from 1832 to 1891. The second chapter of each period discusses display practices and examines the methods utilised by Fellows in their published papers and selected monographs. Throughout the thesis the practices in Scotland are compared to other parts of Britain and Europe where relevant, primarily focusing on comparisons with museums that were perceived as containing 'national' collections, such as the British Museum (BM) in London and the museum of the Royal Irish Academy (RIA) in Dublin. A more detailed explanation of the ideas that underpin this study's approach is given below.

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[76] SoAS, 'Preliminaries – vol. i – part i', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. i-xvi; SoAS, 'Preliminaries – vol. ix – part ii', *PSAS,* 9 (1873), pp. i-xxviii, SoAS, 'Preliminaries – vol. xxvi', *PSAS,* 26 (1892), pp. i-xxxvii.

[77] *Scottish Post Office Directories,* https://digital.nls.uk/directories/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020]; SoAS, 'List of Members of the Society 1831 to 1851', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 (1857), Appendix, pp. 1-12; *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* https://www.britannica.com/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020].

[78] SoAS, 'List of Members of the Society 1831 to 1851', included corresponding members; SoAS, *General Index and Index of the Illustrations to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1851-1890* (Edinburgh: Neill & Company, 1892) listed the details of corresponding members elected from 1851 to 1890. From 1831 to 1890, only 182 corresponding members were elected, the majority of which resided outside of Scotland. The addresses of corresponding members were not included in these lists in the same way as Fellows so information on occupations could not be obtained from Post Office directories. See membership spreadsheets for data on corresponding members.

[79] Honorary Fellows and Lady Associates were nominated by the SoAS Council and did not pay admission or annual fees. Corresponding Fellows were nominated and balloted in the same way as Fellows but did not pay admission or annual fees, see SoAS, 'Laws of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', *PSAS,* 11 (1876), pp. xv-xvi. See chapter four of this thesis for a discussion of Lady Associates.

Collecting, representing and writing about the Scottish past

This thesis analyses collecting practices to demonstrate the changing objectives and influences in the SoAS related to collecting and the expansion of the museum. This study takes into consideration the multivocality of objects i.e. that objects mean different things to different people at different times, but tries to isolate some of the identifiable meanings that these objects represented.[80] In order to do this, information was collected into Excel spreadsheets to track which historic objects came into the collection from 1832 to 1891, what associations were recorded as warranting their acquisition and whether patterns of categories of object could be identified throughout the period under investigation. Other information that was recorded was whether an object had been exhibited prior to (or after) it came into the collection, whether the object was donated or purchased, from whom the object was acquired and whether it appeared in written research (Appendix I, Tables 5-12, Figures 1, 2 and 3 and Appendix II). This entailed collation of various museum archives to compile information not held together in the NMS collections management system, where no more than basic identification information is to be found. The meanings that were assigned to objects were based on what information was linked to an object when it was acquired. This was obtained from the minute books and registers that recorded their acquisition and from papers that accompanied the acquisition where relevant. The limitation of this method is that assigning a meaning required an element of subjective interpretation of the data. To standardise this procedure, this study formulated interpretive functions to provide a way of assessing meaning-making based on Susan Pearce's identification of how objects were/are used in museums.[81] The three interpretive functions of objects that can be identified from acquisition information are objects viewed as: 1. National relics, 2. Material witnesses, and 3. Material evidence, and can be explained as follows.

Hugh Cheape, Trevor Cowie and Colin Wallace each noted that both Sir Walter Scott and the SoAS museum collected objects based on a concept of history that was often equated with 'personalities and events.'[82] When the SoAS acquired an object linked to a famous person from Scottish history, this study has assigned it as a "national relic". Pearce highlighted how museums often display objects as 'relics' connected to a person of the past, which were revered in a similar manner to saints' relics of the medieval period. With

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[80] D. Preziosi, 'Myths of Nationality', in *National Museums: New Studies from around the World,* ed. S. J. Knell et. al. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 56-7.

[81] Pearce, *Museums, Objects,* pp. 196-210.

[82] Cheape, Cowie & Wallace, 'Sir Walter Scott, the Abbotsford Collection', pp. 72-3.

these objects the connection to a historical person gave them a quasi-religious value.[83]
Jacobite objects often acquired this meaning, particularly due to the religious aspect of the
Jacobite opposition, while relics linked to prominent Scottish figures such as poet Robert
Burns (1759-96) were also revered in this way.[84] For this thesis, it is the connection to a
Scottish *national* historical personality that imbued these objects with value, making them
"national relics", such as the chamber bagpipes purported to have belonged to Prince
Charles Edward Stuart (Figure 1-1).[85] Well-known Scottish historical personalities would
have been familiar to Fellows in the SoAS and other visitors to the museum. A related
interpretive function was when objects were linked to historic events, which this study has
defined as "material witnesses".[86] These objects were often ordinary items, but it was their
physical association with or "witnessing" of past events that gave them meaning. An
equivalent example in the SoAS museum was a flintlock pistol said to have been used by
the donor's uncle during the Jacobite uprising in 1745-6, but not with any specific relic
properties.[87] The two categories of national relics and material witnesses link back to the
practice of collecting objects connected to personalities and events that was popularised
and promoted by Sir Walter Scott and his domestic museum at Abbotsford.

Figure 1-1 French bellows bagpipes, NMS, H.LT 6.
Associated with Prince Charles Edward Stuart. Image © National Museums Scotland.

When an object was not connected to a personality or event but appeared to be collected
due to its value as a primary source of the past, then it has been assigned as "material
evidence". This can be as evidence of the development of the object itself i.e. its functional

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[83] Pearce, *Museums, Objects,* pp. 197-202.
[84] G. Dalgleish, 'Objects as icons: Myths and realities of Jacobite relics', in *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity,* ed. J. M. Fladmark (Dorset: Donhead, 1999), pp. 91-102; Pittock & Whateley, 'Poems and Festivals', p. 75.
[85] NMS, Bagpipes H.LT 6.
[86] Pearce, *Museums, Objects,* pp. 203-7.
[87] NMS, SAS.MB.1827-1840, Meeting, 28 Jan 1839, p. 365; NMS, Flintlock pistol H.LH 9.

development, or as evidence of the relationship that people had with these objects. This category has been assigned to objects that seemed to have no connection to famous people or events and where acquisition was supported by information articulating its value for the study of an aspect of social, ecclesiastical, craft, military or architectural history. This study is not employing Pearce's category "art and treasure", applied to objects of artistic skill and workmanship made of expensive materials and collected for their aesthetic and financial value.[88] This category was omitted because there was insufficient information to ascertain whether an object was primarily collected due to its financial/aesthetic value or one of the other functions. In addition, Geoffrey Swinney and Sheila Watson noted that "art and treasure" items were primarily collected by dedicated art museums in Scotland during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[89] Objects often fitted into more than one of these functions, but the identification of which function was prioritised at the point of acquisition helps form an understanding of how meaning was assigned to justify their preservation in the museum (Appendix I, Figure 2 and Table 6).

Other fields in the Excel spreadsheets related to collecting are also discussed in the relevant sections. This data is compared with wider acquisition policies that can be identified from archival sources and published addresses. Firstly, the method of acquisition is compared to calculate how many of the objects in this study were donated, purchased or were acquired through Treasure Trove, allowing assessment of the percentage of public donations versus those donated by SoAS members or staff in the museum (Appendix I, Table 5 and Figure 1). An analysis of acquisition methods allows this study to understand what the Society was actively seeking to acquire and how the SoAS exercised its agency over the composition of the collection. Secondly, the objects in this study were assigned an "object category" based on categories originally used in the SoAS catalogues (Appendix I, Tables 7 to 12 and Figure 3). These are detailed in the table below (Table 1-1). Acquisitions by the museum between 1832 and 1891 will be analysed by category in order to understand what types of objects the SoAS prioritised and to what extent this reflected the explicit collecting policies they advocated.

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[88] Pearce, *Museums, Objects,* pp. 202-3.

[89] G. N. Swinney, 'Towards an Historical Geography of a 'National' Museum: The Industrial Museum of Scotland, the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art and the Royal Scottish Museum, 1854-1939' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2013); Watson, 'National Museums'.

Table 1-1 List of object categories that the historic collection was divided into for the purposes of this study.

Object Category	Types of object
Arms and Armour	All forms of weapons or armour
Buildings and Features	Fragments of buildings or items of interior decoration e.g. doors, locks, ceilings, wooden panels and keys to doors
Charms	Any item used as a charm
Coin Dies and Medals	Coin dies, punches, trading tokens and medals
Domestic Utensils	Tools, implements, objects of household economy, lighting, clocks and storage.
Dress and Personal Ornaments	Clothing, shoes, jewellery, watches and any form of uniform or insignia
Ecclesiastical Buildings	Fragments of churches or items of interior decoration from churches
Ecclesiastical Objects	Objects from churches or connected to religious practices
Horse-trappings	Spurs, saddles and horse furniture
Instruments of Punishment	Objects used to restrain or punish people
Seals and Stamps	Any form of seal or book stamp
Tobacco and Snuff	Pipes and snuff boxes
Miscellaneous	Any items not in other categories

Source: Adapted from categories in SoAS, *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1892).

A connected aspect of collecting that this study examines is the representation of objects through display, whether in the museum itself or at SoAS meetings. Simon Knell argued that museum displays are interpretations that communicate both explicit and implicit meanings that are 'performed'.[90] Meanings are performed not only through interpretive labels and texts, but also conceptually and physically through the practices of classification and modes of arrangement. The concept of performing meaning was equally relevant to the precursors of the modern public museum. The princely and aristocratic Renaissance cabinets of curiosity implicitly showcased the wealth and intelligence that the owners wished to present to the world. This was achieved by demonstrating that a person had the financial means to acquire these objects and the intellectual proficiency to arrange them in a way that demonstrated their own classical, humanist learning.[91] The concern for popular education and self-improvement, which developed in conjunction with the rise of public museums in the nineteenth century, influenced the change towards didactic displays that arranged collections by type or evolutionary development. Evolutionary displays were shaped by Darwinian theories of human evolution being applied to objects 'performing'

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[90] S. Knell, 'National Museums and the National Imagination', in *National Museums: New Studies from around the World,* ed. S. J. Knell et. al. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 3-28. See also T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995).

[91] Bennett, *Birth of the Museum,* pp. 40-1, p. 73 and p. 93; A. MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 11-30.

the contemporary belief that human societies passed through predetermined successive stages from a primitive to civilised state and reinforced earlier Enlightenment theories of stadial development.[92] Rather than showcasing the wealth of an individual person, nineteenth-century museum displays showcased the 'cultural wealth' of a country through the development of its material culture.[93] In addition, nineteenth-century curators believed that objects, and their relationships to each other, could be understood fundamentally through classification since their meaning was an integral part of them.[94] It has since become accepted that meaning is attached to objects through the way that people perceive and interact with them, as much as in any integral quality, and therefore analysing changing methods of classification and display is a valid way of understanding the priorities of the SoAS and its curators.

Examining methods of material-culture analysis and their application to Scottish historiography is the focus of the final discussions of each period. These parts of the thesis will analyse how material culture was utilised as a primary source and how it related to narratives of Scottish national history. Within historical scholarship, historians were continuing to develop methods of source criticism for analysing textual sources to demonstrate that history, like science, could be based on empirical methods.[95] However, this thesis focuses on the way that the study of the Scottish past in the Society was linked to the development of antiquarian/archaeological ideas and the ways in which the investigation of objects contributed to this study. Papers that were presented at meetings was one type of written research produced by Fellows from 1832 to 1891. These were published in the *Transactions,* later renamed *Archaeologia Scotica,* and then from 1851 also in the regular *Proceedings*. This study has chosen to use the term 'paper' for communications over three pages in length, since this was one of the ways Fellows described their longer communications, with others of shorter length described as 'notes', 'communications' and 'notices'. Shorter papers are described as 'communications' in this study. This study did not include short notes, SoAS reports or reprints of manuscripts if there was no analysis of sources within them. Archival copies of some of the papers

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[92] Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, pp. 179-86; D. Hicks 'The Material-Culture Turn: Event and Effect', in *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies,* ed. D. Hicks & M. Beaudry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 30-4.

[93] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment,* pp. 281-9.

[94] L. Thatcher Ulrike, et. al. *Tangible Things: Making History through Objects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 8; Hicks, 'The Material-Culture Turn', pp. 33-4.

[95] Berger, 'Introduction', in *Writing the Nation*, p. 11.

suggest that, as a standard format, a written document was read out at the meeting and later submitted to the editor of the *Proceedings* to be published.[96]

A comprehensive analysis of the communications of the Society from 1780 to 1930 was conducted by Angus Graham.[97] His research provides a reliable basis for understanding the trends and development of antiquarian and archaeological thought within the Society throughout the nineteenth century. Graham described the varied sources utilised by Fellows, which included records, architecture, topography, literature and objects. He provided the proportions of the subjects of communications and assessed how research interests and methods changed within the Society over 150 years.[98] As with much of the existing literature on the history of the Society, Graham's analysis focused on the development of archaeological methods for the study of prehistoric remains. Although he referred in passing to the continued presence of historical papers utilising documentary sources in the *Proceedings,* he did not analyse the development of historical archaeology/material-culture history as a distinct area of antiquarian research. The current study builds on and departs from Graham's research by approaching the development of the SoAS from an alternative perspective to examine what meanings *historic* objects embodied when utilised in papers, how this related to acquisitions by the museum, what types of evidence objects represented for studying the Scottish past and how methods of material-culture analysis were applied to historic objects during the nineteenth century.

One way that this thesis identifies trends in methods of material-culture analysis is by applying a set of categories to the published papers in the *Proceedings* and *Archaeologia Scotica*. These bespoke categories were formulated and adapted from Pearce's categories of museum interpretation and Giorgio Riello's material-culture history methods.[99] In these categories the word 'thing' is used instead of 'artefact' or 'object' but is interchangeable with these terms and essentially indicates some form of man-made, tangible, material culture. The five categories of writing history that this study employs are summarised as follows: 1. History from and of things 2. History from architecture 3. History from things in texts 4. History and things as illustrations, and 5. History without things (Table 1-2). The first two categories were assigned to papers utilising material-culture sources. "History

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[96] NMS, SAS Communications 1842-1852. Not all communications were published.
[97] A. Graham, 'Records and Opinions: 1780-1930', *PSAS,* 102 (1970), pp. 241-84.
[98] Ibid., pp. 246-7.
[99] Pearce, *Museums, Objects,* pp. 196-210; G. Riello, 'Things that shape history: Material culture and historical narratives', in *History and Material Culture: A student's guide to approaching alternative sources,* ed. K. Harvey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 24-46.

from and of things" was the definition employed for papers which used objects as the primary source of evidence or subject of investigation. "History from architecture" were papers which analysed architectural remains, primarily those that survived within the landscape of Scotland. The three further categories were assigned to papers utilising documentary sources. "History from things in texts" were papers which investigated objects through their appearance in documentary sources, rather than at first hand. "History and things as illustrations" were papers where objects were referred to (occasionally described) but without any analysis. Finally, "History without things" was the category ascribed when papers were based solely on documentary sources for past events or practices, without any reference to "things". Each type of history writing will be explained in more detail to illustrate why this method is particularly suited to answering the research question.

Table 1-2 Methods and 'type' of history.
Description of the methods used in a paper and the category of type of history that was assigned as part of this study.

Method	Type of History	Sources
Investigation of objects or the relationship people had with objects by analysing material-culture sources	History from and of things	Material culture
Description/analysis of buildings or architectural features	History from architecture	Material culture
Document analysis to investigate objects without reference to material-culture sources	History from things in texts	Documentary
Document-based history and descriptions of connected objects without analysis of them	History and things as illustrations	Documentary
Document analysis (no objects)	History without things	Documentary

Sources: Adapted from Riello and Pearce. Full details at S. M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 196-210; G. Riello, 'Things that shape history: Material culture and historical narratives', in *History and Material Culture: A student's guide to approaching alternative sources,* ed. K. Harvey (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 24-46.

The categories that utilised material-culture sources are "history from and of things" and "history from architecture". These categories covered both specific and comparative studies, as well as wider historical assessments that combined the study of material *and* documentary sources. The key characteristic was that the "thing" was valued as a source of evidence within itself or as equal to documentary sources. This type of writing analysed the physical attributes of objects or the relationships that people had with them to provide information on past societies and practices. An example of history from architecture were papers on Scottish grated doors that not only described them, but analysed their structures

and locations to show how they were used in conjunction with locking systems, types of building, and to consider what class of person would use them, as well as offering comparison to similar gates in European countries.[100] An example of "history from and of things" was the paper on the Maiden by William McCulloch (1815-69) who was keeper of the SoAS museum from 1858 to 1869. The Maiden is a sixteenth-century instrument of execution constructed in Scotland, a beheading machine of the type later called a "guillotine" and it has featured repeatedly in national narratives of Scotland's history (Figure 1-2).[101] In McCulloch's 1868 paper he described and compared the construction of the Maiden with other beheading machines, as well as consulting documentary sources, to provide evidence to dispute the historical myth of James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton, being responsible for its construction and then becoming its first victim.[102] It was in fact constructed following orders by the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh in 1564-5.[103] This thesis specifically focuses on examining how material-culture histories, such as the above, supported or challenged 'traditions' within Scottish historical narratives, and whether objects appeared as sources within published narrative histories.

Figure 1-2 The Maiden, NMS, H.MR 1.
A guillotine used in Edinburgh, 1564 - 1710 AD. Image © National Museums Scotland.

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[100] D. Christison, 'On the Grated Iron Doors of Scottish Castles and Towers', *PSAS,* 17 (1883), pp. 98-135; D. Christison, 'Additional Notices of Yetts, or Grated Iron Doors, of Scottish Castles and Towers', *PSAS,* 22 (1888), pp. 286-320.

[101] NMS, The Maiden H.MR 1.

[102] W. T. McCulloch, 'History of the 'Maiden,' or Scottish Beheading Machine, with Notices of the Criminals who suffered by it', *PSAS,* 7 (1870), pp. 535-60. Morton was the last of the Regents of Scotland during the minority of James VI of Scotland and was executed for his role in the murder of the King's father, Lord Darnley.

[103] Ibid., pp. 548-9.

Figure 1-3 Dagger associated with François Thurot, NMS, H.LC 4.
Found in Luce Bay, Wigtownshire, 1760. Image © National Museums Scotland.

The categories of paper that utilised documentary sources are "History from things in texts", "History and things as illustrations" and "History without things". "History from things in texts" were papers where the author investigated objects by examining documents but without analysis of material-culture sources. Objects were still the prime subject of investigation, but they were examined through information found in documents. David Laing presented one such paper, discussing the monument of the Earl of Murray that had recently been re-installed into St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh.[104] Laing analysed a document that provided details of the materials and masons who had constructed the original monument, thereby providing additional historical information related to the monumental brass but acquired through a documentary source. When an object was described but not interpreted the paper was assigned "History and things as illustrations". Therefore, the main historical information came from documentary sources with material illustrations tacked on, often demonstrating a connection to a person or an event. For example, George Cuninghame's (d. 1872) paper of 1864 on the French naval officer, François Thurot (1727-60), was a history of Thurot taken from accounts in the Scots magazine and the memoir of antiquarian Joseph Train (1779-1852). The paper recounted Thurot's involvement in attacking British shipping during the Seven Years War and the retrieval and presentation to the museum of a dagger believed to have been owned by him.[105] A brief description of the engraving on the dagger was used as justification for believing the dagger was genuine, but as a whole the dagger was an illustration of the story of Thurot, rather than the prime subject of investigation (Figure 1-3). The final category of "History without things" was research based purely on documentary sources without

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[104] D. Laing, 'Notice respecting the Monument to the Regent Earl of Murray, now restored, within the Church of St Giles, Edinburgh', *PSAS,* 6 (1868), pp. 49-55.
[105] G. C. Cuninghame, 'Notice respecting Francois Thurot, a French naval officer, buried at Kirkmaiden, Wigtonshire, in the year 1760', *PSAS,* 5 (1865), pp. 364-8; NMS, Dagger H.LC 4.

objects as illustrations, as the subject of research, and without touching on people's relationship with objects.

Using these five categories of "historical methods", this thesis will examine how the SoAS collection was utilised in papers and monographs, comparing these practices with the original collecting motivations and methods of display. A quantitative analysis of the *Proceedings* and *Archaeologia Scotica* will demonstrate how approaches to Scottish history developed over time.[106] During the sixty-year period under investigation, there were noticeable changes in how material-culture history was approached, the depth of research undertaken, and the volume of papers published by the Society. The quantitative analysis of the publications of the SoAS is then extended through a closer examination and discussion of selected papers and monographs of key individuals. The in-depth discussion of specific papers, objects and authors demonstrates the changes in research and writing practices from 1832 to 1891 and presents how the development of the Society and its museum influenced (and was influenced by) narratives of Scotland's history.

In order to examine the relationships between the museum, the Society, and wider Scottish historiography, this thesis identified seven authors who utilised objects as primary sources in their writing. These authors were chosen by identifying which Fellows contributed regular papers to meetings or had significant publication output between 1832 and 1891. The list was further refined by reviewing Fellows' publications to find authors who were referring to objects as part of their research on Scottish history, rather than documentary sources alone. Robert Chambers (1802-71), Daniel Wilson (1816-92), James Drummond (1816-77), John Alexander Smith (1818-83), Joseph Anderson (1832-1916), Alexander James Steel Brook (1842-1908) and Robert William Cochran-Patrick (1842-97) employed museum objects in their papers and/or monographs produced between 1832 and 1891. Brief biographies of each of these authors is given in the respective chapters where their work is discussed. The examples of Fellows incorporating material culture into their writing is then compared with the inclusion (or indeed absence) of objects in the national histories of Scotland written by Patrick Fraser Tytler (1791-1849), John Hill Burton (1809-81) and Peter Hume Brown (1849-1918), to assess what role objects represented for writing a narrative of Scotland's past. These historians were all Fellows of the Society and

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[106] Scottish archaeology and history articles by SoAS Fellows also appeared in the publications of regional antiquarian societies and more occasionally in *Archaeologia* and the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. These other publications have not been included in the quantitative analysis because this thesis is specifically focusing on the relationships between collecting, displaying and writing about the Scottish past within the SoAS.

are identified within Scottish historiography as representing some of the main nineteenth-century national histories of Scotland.[107] A few material-culture histories published outside of the Society are also touched upon to place the Society's historical writing practices into the wider context of nineteenth-century antiquarian publishing.[108]

Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis will demonstrate the relationships between the development of the SoAS museum collection and Scottish historiography from 1832 to 1891, facilitated through the practices of collecting, representing and writing about the Scottish past. It is unique in its focus on history rather than prehistory and its original contribution to knowledge is that it follows a multi-faceted approach to investigating the development of the Society, the historic collection and related material-culture historiography. Richard Dunn argued that many objects currently in museums have no record of their provenance or historical significance. He identified that the 'failure to provide such a justification can lead to a very common situation – the presence of objects in a collection with no knowledge of what they are doing there or how and why they got there in the first place.'[109] The data utilised by this thesis has been collated from disparate archival sources into Excel spreadsheets to re-connect contextual information with objects. The data has allowed the author to map the relationships between the practices of collection, exhibition, and written research in the SoAS, and contextualise these practices as part of wider British and European antiquarian activities. The archival information now re-attached to objects will significantly add to the current catalogue database at NMS and provide a basis for future research by historians and curators. The broader analysis and discussion in this thesis will expand current knowledge on the following topics: the history of associational culture, the development of nineteenth-century public museums, Scottish material-culture historiography, the influence of archaeological/antiquarian ideas on historiographical practices, and the relationships between tangible and intangible representations of the nation.

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[107] Ash, *Strange Death;* W. Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: an Historic Quest* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998).

[108] Details of publications are within the relevant chapters.

[109] R. Dunn, 'The future of collecting: lessons from the past', in *Museums and the Future of Collecting,* 2nd edition, ed. S. Knell (New York: Routledge, 2016), p.71.

Chapter 2   Collecting the Scottish Nation (1832 to 1851)

Across Europe, the early-nineteenth century was a time when Romantic ideas about the past were part of popular and scholarly engagement with history and the arts. The medieval past was particularly important for locating the beginning of the historic nations who were establishing new borders and vocalising shared identities.[110] An emphasis on studying the Classical civilisations of Greece and Rome in the eighteenth century was gradually overtaken by an interest in national history and antiquities.[111] It was during this period that the stereotypical image of Scotland was being crystalized and disseminated internationally. Representations of Scotland revolved around the Highland ideal, based on kilts, bagpipes, wild sublime landscapes and heroic histories.[112] James Macpherson's (1736-96) Ossianic publications were eagerly consumed by British and European readers; contributing to Scotland's distinctive national literature and heroic past.[113] By the early-nineteenth century, Sir Walter Scott's novels, such as *Waverley* (1814) and *Rob Roy* (1817)*,* and Jane Porter's (c.1776-1850) *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810), promoted the heroic, tartan-clad Scotland that inspired the young Queen Victoria's (1819-1901) own enthusiasm for all things Scottish.[114] The nineteenth-century stereotype of Highlanders as romantic, martial heroes contrasted with eighteenth-century perceptions of Highlanders as primitive and rebellious Jacobites.[115] However, within the growing body of literature there was sometimes a tension between the celebration of Highland culture and prevailing prejudice against contemporary Highland communities.[116] The SoAS was part of the promotion of Highland and Gaelic culture, with Donald Gregory's (1803-36) *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland* published in 1836.[117] As the nineteenth century progressed histories of Scotland and the

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[110] Díaz-Andreu, Nineteenth-Century Archaeology, pp. 318-30.

[111] MacGregor, Curiosity and Enlightenment, pp. 281-9.

[112] M. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 99-110; M. Pittock 'The Jacobite Cult', in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past,* ed. E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 191-208; P. Watt & R. Waine, *Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Ltd, 2019), I assisted on this exhibition from 2018 to 2019 at NMS, which addressed these themes.

[113] Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation,* pp. 227-49, details the rise and spread of Macpherson's publications and the key critics of its authenticity as a genuine product of the Gaelic Bard Ossian.

[114] R. J. Finlay, 'Queen Victoria and the Cult of the Scottish Monarchy', in *Scottish History: The Power of the Past,* ed. E. J. Cowan & R. J. Finlay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), pp. 209-24; G. Morton, *Ourselves and Others: Scotland 1832-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 189-281; G. Morton, 'The Social Memory of Jane Porter and her *Scottish Chiefs', The Scottish Historical Review,* 91:232/2 (2012), pp. 311-35.

[115] E. A. Cameron, 'Embracing the Past: The Highlands in Nineteenth Century Scotland', in *Image and Identity: The Making and Re-making of Scotland Through the Ages,* ed. D. Broun, R. J. Finlay & M. Lynch (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1998), pp. 195-219.

[116] Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*, pp. 250-300.

[117] D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland, from A.D. 1493 to A.D. 1625* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1836); C. Lodge, 'Gregory, Donald (1803–1836), antiquary', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/11459 [accessed 20 Mar 2018], Gregory was secretary of the SoAS from 1829 and the Iona Club from 1833; Highland and Agricultural Society of

Highlands, often from Fellows of the Society, gained a growing public readership and these publications included more positive and assertive interpretations of Highland culture and Scottish history.[118]

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period when the middle-classes gained significant political and economic power in Scotland with the 1832 Reform Act, which increased the number of adult men eligible to vote in Scotland from under 4500 to 65,000.[119] In Europe, the liberal revolutions during the 1830s and 1848 provided the platform through which the middle-classes also fought to gain their political voice.[120] In Britain, this newly enfranchised middle-class saw themselves as the pinnacle of civilised progress. Self-improvement through education was perceived as not only intellectually beneficial, but also as being of social benefit for 'civilising' the working-classes and 'improving' the nation.[121] Learned societies and educational exhibitions were considered valid forms of middle-class self-improvement, whilst also promoting an ideal of progress within a specific nation. The 1851 Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in London was a significant event in nineteenth-century Britain, with its displays combining a representation of British manufacturing achievements with the aim to provide educational instruction for the lower-middle and working-classes.[122] From the impetus created by the 1851 Exhibition, several museums were established across the UK with the aim of providing visitors with useful forms of entertainment that could be a means of moral, intellectual and practical self-improvement. These included the South Kensington Museum in London and the Industrial Museum of Scotland.[123] Previous to 1851, museums were mainly established by private collectors and learned societies.[124] But, as the century progressed the provision of museums was increasingly perceived as the responsibility of the state, with the Museum

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Scotland, 'List of Members of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland at 20th February 1847', in *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland July 1845 – March 1847* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons), pp. 843-906, a number of Fellows were members of the Highland Society of Scotland.

[118] Finlay, 'Queen Victoria', pp. 215-6; Morton, *Ourselves and Others,* p. 3; Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles.*

[119] W. Ferguson, 'The Reform Act (Scotland) of 1832: Intention and Effect', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 45:139/1 (1966), pp. 105-14; G. Pentland, 'The Debate on Scottish Parliamentary Reform, 1830-1832', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 85:1/29 (2006), pp. 100-30, similar laws were passed in England and Wales which also extended the franchise.

[120] Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology,* pp. 338-41.

[121] B. Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 104-6; Sweet, *Antiquaries,* pp. 118-9.

[122] L. Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire, and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[123] Later renamed as the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art.

[124] A. MacGregor, 'Collectors, Connoisseurs and Curators in the Victorian Age', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum,* ed. M. Caygill & J. Cherry (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pp. 6-33.

Act of 1845 permitting local councils to establish new galleries and museums.[125] By 1870, over 60% of UK museums founded in the nineteenth century were run by the government or municipal authorities.[126] Sir Walter Scott, the epitome of the private collector with his house-museum at Abbotsford, died in 1832 and in 1851 the Conveyance transferred the SoAS collection to the British nation, establishing it as a government-funded museum.[127] This chapter will consider the challenges that affected the Society from 1832 to 1851 and identify Fellows that influenced the Society's development. It will discuss what type of museum the SoAS aimed to develop and how this affected the categories of object that they collected.

The Society and its membership

By 1832, the Society and its museum had been in existence for 50 years. In 1782, William Smellie (1740-95) wrote an account of the establishment of the SoAS, within which he listed an impressive array of subjects that were considered the disciplinary foci of the Society.[128] These subjects included topography, natural history, music, philology, antiquities, and manuscripts, as well as a range of types of history including domestic, social, agricultural, legal, economic, military, ecclesiastical, 'and, in general, everything that may tend to compare our antient [sic] with our modern attainments.'[129] This resulted in an extremely varied collection accumulating in the museum such as Scottish charms, Egyptian artefacts, classical Mediterranean objects, ethnographic material and Roman remains found in Britain.[130] By the 1820s, there was a reassessment of the types of objects considered suitable for the museum to collect in response to the activities of rival collecting institutions such as the Royal Society of Edinburgh.[131] In 1828, the SoAS and the Royal Society exchanged objects that were more relevant to the priorities of the other institution. The Royal Society was regarded as a more appropriate vehicle for collecting natural history, while the SoAS was more suitable for antiquities.[132] Yet despite the relinquishing of natural history collecting, the subjects of investigation undertaken by the

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[125] Bennett, *Birth of the Museum*, p. 72.
[126] MacGregor, 'Collectors, Connoisseurs and Curators', pp. 21-2.
[127] The collection is now financed by the devolved Scottish government.
[128] Smellie, 'Account', pp. 17-8; S. W. Brown, 'Smellie, William (1740–1795), printer, editor, and author', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/25753 [accessed 24 Oct 2019], Smellie is famous for being the writer and compiler of the first *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1768–71). He was a founder member of the SoAS, appointed as its keeper of natural history in 1781 and SoAS secretary in 1793.
[129] Smellie, 'Account', p. 18.
[130] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 31-85.
[131] Ibid., pp. 46-7 and 57-66. Collecting natural history was a key subject of contention when both societies applied for their Royal charters in 1782.
[132] Ibid., p. 69.

SoAS remained wide-ranging and interdisciplinary. In 1826, the museum moved to rented apartments in the new Royal Institution building and was experiencing an upturn in popularity and fortunes, with increased membership and donations.[133]

But by 1832 the financial burden of maintaining a museum, decreasing membership and low meeting attendance were major issues.[134] It was not until 1844 that the museum's situation substantially improved. By this date membership numbers were increasing and the more urgent financial problems were resolved through a move to cheaper premises at 24 George Street, above the offices of the Edinburgh Life Assurance Company.[135] This improvement in fortunes mirrored the wider enthusiasm for archaeology and antiquities in the 1840s throughout Britain and Ireland, which resulted in the establishment of new national and regional societies.[136] For example, the British Archaeological Association (BAA) was founded in 1843, the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (RAI) was founded in 1844, the Cambrian Archaeological Association was founded in Wales in 1847 and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland was founded in 1849.[137] However, the financial situation of the SoAS was problematic with insufficient funds to pay rent, maintain the museum and publish transactions of the Society's meetings. The only way of resolving these financial insecurities appeared to be to secure government funding. This was eventually achieved through the Conveyance in 1851 that transferred the collection to the nation.[138] During this transition towards national museum status there were key Fellows who utilised their skills, wealth and networks to promote the Society's interests. In what follows, a sample of the membership is analysed to better understand the composition of the Society's membership and the backgrounds of Fellows who are discussed throughout this thesis.

William Lubenow argued that learned societies in nineteenth-century Britain contained members of a range of social classes and that status was based on intellectual ability rather

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[133] Ibid., p. 71.

[134] NMS, SAS.MB.1827-1840 and SAS.MB.1840-1853; Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 73-4; NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 8-42 and 323-89. The number of meetings discussing applications for funding significantly increased after 1842 in SAS.MB.1840-1853.

[135] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 75-9.

[136] P. Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 45-6; D. Westherall, 'The Growth of Archaeological Societies', in *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age,* ed. V. Brand (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1998), pp. 21-34; P. Ní Chatháin, S. Fitzpatrick & H. Clarke, eds, *Pathfinders to the past: The antiquarian road to Irish historical writing* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012).

[137] Westherall, 'Archaeological Societies', p. 24; V. E. Nash-Williams, *Cambrian Archaeological Association: A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology Centenary Volume, 1846-1946* (Gloucester: John Bellows Ltd, 1946), p. 11.

[138] Ash, 'genial, hearty band', pp. 96-105.

than wealth or land ownership.[139] However, Richard Hingley demonstrated that the Society of Antiquaries of London (SoAL) valued rank and social standing above intellectual ability and maintained an exclusive membership.[140] In both the SoAS and SoAL Fellows were elected by existing members, so they were not open-admission societies. Despite this, the SoAS contained a broad range of occupational backgrounds and these Fellows had an important impact on the development of the Society based on their skillsets, networks and wealth (Appendix I, Table 2).[141] Roey Sweet identified that a high proportion of eighteenth-century antiquaries in Britain were lower gentry, lawyers and clergymen. [142] Sweet highlighted that although antiquarian societies needed the support of the upper gentry who held positions of political power, the most active members tended to come from the lower land-owning gentry as well as the professional classes. Rather than investigating the social class of Fellows (which can be difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with sufficient accuracy), the following sample-analysis examines the occupational backgrounds of Fellows. Such an approach aims to consider whether Sweet's categories of dominant 'types' of backgrounds continued to apply to the Society in the nineteenth century, what other backgrounds can be identified, and to compare the composition of the overall membership with the active members of the SoAS Council.

The membership analysis demonstrates that the SoAS membership by 1851-2 contained Fellows from a wide range of occupational backgrounds (Appendix I, Tables 1 and 2). In 1852, there were 238 Fellows and 25 Honorary Fellows in the SoAS. Compared to the SoAL, which contained 484 Fellows in 1851, this was a healthy number considering the population in Scotland was only 2.9 million compared to a population of 17.9 million in England and Wales.[143] The largest groups in the SoAS were Fellows from clerical and legal professions and those with no listed occupation, presumably with some form of independent wealth. These figures agree with Sweet's assessment of the dominant forms of background within antiquarian societies. However, there was also an interesting breadth of

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[139] W. C. Lubenow, *'Only Connect': Learned Societies in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 130-4.

[140] R. Hingley, 'The Society, its Council, the Membership and Publications, 1820-50', in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1707-2007,* ed. S. M. Pearce (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), pp. 173-8.

[141] Ibid., Hingley discusses the relative exclusivity of the SoAL compared to the new archaeological societies of the 1840s, including the BAA and RAI.

[142] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 44-51.

[143] J. Bruce, *Letter addressed to The Lord Viscount Mahon, M. P., President of the Society of Antiquaries, on the propriety of reconsidering the resolutions of that society which regulate the payments from Fellows* (London: J. B. Nichols & Son, 1852), p. 20; J. Gray, ed. *Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population 1755* (Edinburgh: Scottish University Press for Scottish History Society, 1952), p. xxiii.

other backgrounds within the membership, including Fellows who worked in universities, medicine, publishing and printing, artistic professions, architects, bankers, accountants, the military, museums, libraries and archives, and craftsmen. The Society's occupational composition mimics that of the middle-class labour market in Edinburgh at this time, which was unique in Scotland and reflects how the SoAS was Edinburgh-centric with 61% of Fellows with an Edinburgh address (Appendix I, Table 4).[144] Indeed, it would have been those that lived in Edinburgh that attended the regular meetings of the Society and therefore more willing to pay the membership fee when printed transactions were not a prominent part of the Society's activities. It is impossible to chart accurately the influence of every single Fellow of the Society, but these membership lists have been cross-referenced with papers given at meetings, allowing greater insight into how the occupations of Fellows corresponded with the subjects they were interested in and how they brought this interest into the Society.

The most active members of the SoAS were its council members who managed the Society and its museum. The occupations of council members again show a predominance of lawyers and those of independent wealth (Appendix I, Table 3). But there were also five artists, two publishers and two Fellows who worked in medicine, again echoing prominent Edinburgh occupations. Stevenson argued that Daniel Wilson and James Drummond were two of a group of influential artists who employed the SoAS historic collection as evidence of art and architectural history in their research during the 1840s and 1850s.[145] However, Fellows not only brought their professional skills to the study of the museum collection, but they also drew on their social networks to promote the Society. Stevenson proposed that older antiquaries such as David Laing connected the Society to Edinburgh's cultural scene and helped improve the popularity of the SoAS in the late 1840s.[146] In addition, Fellows who were from the upper land-owning classes and held political influence were important for raising the status of the SoAS and representing the Society's interests to the British government, as the following discussion demonstrates. This sample overview of the membership from 1851-2 invites questions on the extent of influence that Fellows exerted on the development of the museum and the investigation of its collection. The skills,

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[144] T. M. Devine, 'Urbanisation', in *People and society in Scotland,* ed. T. M. Devine & R. Mitchison (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1988), pp. 39-40.

[145] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 78-84.

[146] Ibid; M. Simpson, 'Laing, David (1793–1878), antiquary and librarian', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/15886 [accessed 21 May 2018], Laing was a bookseller before becoming the librarian for the Signet Library in 1837. He was close friends with Sir Walter Scott and one of the most prominent bibliophiles in nineteenth-century Edinburgh. Laing was the secretary of the Bannatyne Club from 1823 to 1861 and provided organisational and editorial assistance for many of the other historical and publishing clubs.

wealth and networks of Fellows will underpin discussions on collecting, representing and writing practices throughout this thesis. The backgrounds and biographies of members will be referred to where relevant to better demonstrate the level of individual versus institutional influence that affected the development of the SoAS and its museum.

The Conveyance of 1851: from private to national collection

From the 1830s to 1848 the Society had issued repeated requests for a grant from the British government to help fund the museum, which were all rejected.[147] The shift towards asking for funded premises, plus gaining the support of prominent MPs, was crucial to the final resolution agreed.[148] In 1848, the council of the Society sent the final unsuccessful petition to the Treasury, in which they broached the subject of rent-free accommodation in the new buildings planned for the Royal Scottish Academy and National Gallery of Scotland as an alternative to a grant.[149] Daniel Wilson delivered the petition and was told that although there were insufficient funds available to provide a grant, the idea of providing accommodation was now under consideration.[150] While Wilson was in London, he discussed the Society's claims with Sir William Gibson-Craig MP (1797-1878). Wilson noted in June 1848, 'Mr Gibson Craig heartily acknowledges the reasonableness of our claim, and holds out fair though indefinite promises for the future.'[151] Gibson-Craig was a Scottish Liberal MP who held one of the seats for the city of Edinburgh from 1841 to 1852. From 1846, he was the Lord of the Treasury responsible for Scottish affairs and was prominently involved in the plans for the National Gallery of Scotland. It was through Gibson-Craig's initiative that the documents of Register House, the Privy Council Records of Scotland and the final parts of the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland were published by Cosmo Innes between 1866 and 1875.[152] Gaining the approval of Gibson-Craig was the first step towards gaining state-support for the museum. A number of MPs were targeted, and the case made that Scottish culture and history ought to be supported and preserved more generously, at levels equivalent to that found in England. Following Wilson's discussion with Gibson-Craig, a memorial was sent to the Prime Minister Lord John

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[147] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 11 Jan 1840, pp. 7-11; NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 8-42; Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 76.

[148] Ash, 'genial, hearty band', pp. 96-105.

[149] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 3 Apr 1848, pp. 214-6, copy of the petition.

[150] University of Edinburgh, The Laing Collection, La.IV.17.10128-9 Daniel Wilson to David Laing, 23 Jun 1848.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 80; T. F. Henderson, 'Craig, Sir William Gibson, second baronet (1797–1878), politician and civil servant', *ODNB,* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6582 [accessed 19 Apr 2018]; Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* pp. 55-6.

Russell (1792-1878) in 1850 accompanied by a letter of support from Radical Scottish MP for Montrose, Joseph Hume (1777-1855).[153]

During the preparation of the memorial, the support of other MPs was expressed including, Radical MP for Edinburgh Charles Cowan (1801-89) and Conservative MP for Perthshire Henry Home Drummond (1783-1867), who wrote assuring their backing for the Society's claims.[154] The memorial was then signed by SoAS President the Marquess of Breadalbane (1796-1862) along with council members Wilson, Laing and Robert Chambers.[155] Breadalbane was a Whig politician, courtier and enthusiastic bibliophile and his collection was housed at his Perthshire seat, Taymouth Castle, where Queen Victoria had visited in 1842.[156] Throughout the 1840s, Queen Victoria's support for Scottish culture and history was an important influence on British society and culminated in the purchase of Balmoral estate in Deeside in 1852.[157] Breadalbane was one of several Scottish aristocrats that contributed to fuelling Victoria's passion for Scotland.[158] Breadalbane, Wilson, Laing and Chambers drew on the support of their networks of bibliophiles and antiquarians, while Breadalbane also utilised his position at court and in government to build support for the Society's request.[159]

[153] V. E. Chancellor, 'Hume, Joseph (1777–1855), radical and politician', *ODNB,* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14148 [accessed 19 Apr 2018], Hume was a former surgeon and intelligence officer of the East India Company. He held the seat of Montrose from 1846 to 1855. Hume's support of free popular education and a secular national education system in Scotland was particularly relevant to the Society's interests; J. Prest, 'Russell, John [formerly Lord John Russell], first Earl Russell (1792–1878), prime minister and author', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/24325 [accessed 21 May 2018], Russell was Prime Minister from 1846 to 1852 and 1865-6 and his aim to improve the national educational system was again relevant to the Society's request.

[154] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fol. 347 Charles Cowan to Daniel Wilson, 10 Apr 1850; NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fol. 346 H. Home Drummond to Daniel Wilson, 8 Apr 1850; T. Jenkins, 'HOME DRUMMOND, Henry (1783-1867), of Blair Drummond, Perth and 22 Fludyer Street, Mdx', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832,* http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/home-drummond-henry-1783-1867 [accessed 21 Jul 2020], Henry Home Drummond was elected a Fellow in 1828 and was an SoAS vice-president 1850 to 1851. He was MP for Perthshire from 1840 to 1852; I. Machin, 'Cowan, Charles (1801–1889), paper manufacturer and politician', *ODNB,* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47109 [accessed 19 Apr 2018], Cowan was elected a Fellow in 1849. He was a paper manufacturer and MP for Edinburgh from 1847 to 1859.

[155] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 11 Jun 1849, pp. 289-91.

[156] W. G. Blaikie, 'Campbell, John, second marquess of Breadalbane (1796–1862), politician and courtier', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/4522 [accessed 20 Apr 2018]; Breadalbane was elected President of the SoAS in 1844.

[157] Finlay, 'Queen Victoria, p. 216.

[158] A. Tyrell, 'The Queen's 'Little Trip': The Royal Visit to Scotland in 1842', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 82 (2003), pp. 47-73.

[159] Hulse, ed. *Thinking with Both Hands,* various chapters; the scope of Laing's acquaintances can be ascertained from the vast collection of correspondences held at the University of Edinburgh, The Laing Collection; National Library of Scotland, Dep 341 W & R Chambers contains correspondences between Robert Chambers and his antiquarian networks.

The memorial fed into nineteenth-century concerns over Scottish equality within the union. The Society argued that they were merely requesting to receive government support such as was enjoyed by similar institutions in England and Ireland. The SoAS collection had not received financial assistance equivalent to that enjoyed by the Royal Society of Edinburgh who had, 'for several years obtained an annual grant of £300'.[160] Hume proposed that, 'I suggest to the Committee the propriety of them… requesting only to be put on the same footing as the Society of Antiqs in London'.[161] Therefore, the memorial requested 'suitable accommodation, such as has long been enjoyed by the Society of Antiquaries of London, in Somerset house'.[162] It asserted that the SoAS was already operating as a, 'National Institution similar to those maintained by public money in nearly every other capital in Europe, [and therefore] they have established a strong claim to national aid'.[163] As previously noted, the government were already considering a proposal to build a National Gallery of Scotland. Hume argued that by providing a new Scottish gallery and museum, 'the Scottish Nation will thankfully appreciate your Lordship's aid both to the Fine Arts and to the Antiquarian Society'.[164] Hume meant the general population of Scotland when he referred to the 'Scottish Nation' and that assistance for the museum would receive public appreciation. But he also was referring to the Scottish political classes who were increasingly concerned with Scotland's status within Britain.[165] Hume's rhetoric was unionist-nationalist in tone since it asserted Scotland was an equal nation *within* Britain. Considering the recent uprisings in Europe in 1848, it was an even greater imperative that the government maintained the support of the professional and political classes and was seen as treating the constituent parts of Britain equally. It is significant that financial support for Scottish institutions was forthcoming within the wider context of political unrest in Europe and suggests that more explicit support for the arts and education in Scotland was linked to consolidating political support from Scots more generally.

Part of the argument that the SoAS presented to the government was that the museum collection was nationally important to Britain. The museum was defined as an

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[160] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, pp. 214-6, copy of the petition.
[161] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fol. 333 Joseph Hume to Daniel Wilson, 4 Nov 1849, original underlining.
[162] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 9 Nov 1849, pp. 299-303, a copy of the memorial sent to Joseph Hume was transcribed onto pp. 301-2, although it should be noted that collections of British antiquities were generally under-funded across Britain.
[163] Ibid., p. 302.
[164] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 350-1 Joseph Hume to Lord John Russell, 28 Mar 1850.
[165] A. Tyrell, 'The Earl of Eglinton, Scottish Conservatism, and the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights', *The Historical Journal,* 53:1 (2010), pp. 87-107, discusses the specific political grievances of this period and their contribution to the development of the NAVSR in 1853.

archaeological collection that reflected growing contemporary interest in preserving British antiquities, rather than being purely a Scottish collection. As had been asserted in the 1848 petition, the SoAS collection contained, 'illustrations of early British Art and National Customs'.[166] The memorial described the SoAS collection not as a national museum of Scottish antiquities, but 'a National Museum of Archaeology in the Scottish Capital.'[167] Hume's letter stated that, 'More attention has of late years been given to the Antiquities of our Country; and, in Scotland, the collection is very valuable and ought to be preserved.'[168] Hume was referring to how collections of British antiquities were forming in both private hands and museums across England, Wales and Ireland.[169] Neither the memorial nor Hume's letter over-emphasised 'Scotland' or 'Scottish' antiquities, and the term 'national' was used ambiguously to refer to both Scotland and Britain. Significantly, Scotland was never described as a region or province of Britain and the 'national' importance of the SoAS museum was that it contained a collection of Scottish antiquities that was presented as an integral part of British history and archaeology.

The arguments that underpinned the Society's application to the government also fed into mid-nineteenth century interests in public spaces that facilitated educational leisure activities and forms of rational recreation.[170] The value of the SoAS museum as a public educational institution was heavily stressed and it was presented as an instrument of what would now be termed 'public history' i.e. as a means of providing public instruction on the Scottish past.[171] Hume's support for the public value of the museum was in-keeping with his own democratic tendencies and contemporary debates in parliament for improving educational provision in Scotland.[172] The SoAS memorial focused on the popularity of the museum (including free admission) but asserted that the George Street premises were

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[166] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, pp. 214-6, copy of the petition.

[167] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, pp. 301-2.

[168] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 350-1.

[169] A. MacGregor, 'Antiquity Inventoried: Museums and 'National Antiquities' in the Mid Nineteenth Century', in *The Study of the Past in the Victorian Age,* ed. V. Brand (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1998), pp. 125-37; T. Ó Raifeartaigh, ed. *The Royal Irish Academy: A Bicentennial History 1785-1985* (Dublin: Mount Salus Press Ltd, 1985); Nash-Williams, *Cambrian Archaeological Association*.

[170] C. G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp. 52-3 and 109-12, for the role of *Chambers' Journal* as part of self-improvement and rational recreation; T. Griffiths, 'Work, Leisure and Time in the Nineteenth Century', in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1800 to 1900,* ed. T. Griffiths & G. Morton (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 170-95, examines leisure activities in nineteenth-century Scotland.

[171] P. Hamilton & J. B. Gardner, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Public History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[172] Hume contributed to the 1851 parliamentary debate on improving education in Scotland and establishing a national education system; J. Stevenson, 'Scottish Schooling in the Denominational Era', in *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland,* ed. R. Anderson, M. Freeman & L. Paterson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 140-4; *Hansard,* 'School Establishment (Scotland) Bill', House of Commons, Volume 117, Columns 402-42, 4 June 1851, https://bit.ly/2Rmce7L [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

insufficient for accommodating increasing visitor numbers.[173] Visitors needed to request an order (akin to a ticket) from Fellows or office-bearers, but even with this restriction over 6000 people had visited the museum in 1849 alone.[174] Hume expanded on the argument for access by stating that, 'all exhibitions of this nature may be considered as training schools for the mass of the working population.'[175] Hume had already successfully campaigned for the entry price to the Tower of London armoury to be lowered in 1838 to allow more people to benefit from the instruction provided by such displays.[176] The educational value of museums to the working classes would later be a key argument for establishing the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, nationally funded and opened in Edinburgh in 1866.[177]

The arguments of the Society and its supporters were accepted by the government and in 1851 the Conveyance transferred the SoAS collection to the nation. The provision of state-funding for the SoAS museum would ensure that Scottish antiquities could be preserved in a similar way to collections in other European museums. The secure financial situation also facilitated the expansion of the collection, which could be studied to provide the materials for what Wilson described as the 'unwritten history' of Scotland in his anniversary address to the Society in 1851.[178] The 'unwritten history' of Scotland was a phrase that was repeated throughout the nineteenth century by Fellows of the Society as a way of describing the SoAS collection. Objects were seen as being 'unwritten history' as opposed to documentary sources which were written. So, what Wilson meant was that the 'tangible history' of Scotland could be studied and represented through the museum's collection. Wilson maintained that the relationships between archaeologists and the governments elsewhere in Europe had, up to this point, been more conducive to the preservation and study of their 'unwritten history' than in Britain.[179] In Europe, some governments had already established state-funded museums containing national antiquities and provided services for the protection of monuments.[180] For example, France created the first civil service post of General Inspector of Antiquities in 1830, which was filled in 1834, and set

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[173] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, pp. 301-2.
[174] SoAS & D. Wilson, *Synopsis of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1849), p. x.
[175] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 350-1.
[176] I. Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament 1839* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1986), pp. 127-8.
[177] Swinney, 'Towards an Historical Geography', pp. 54-76.
[178] D. Wilson, 'Anniversary Address', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), p. 3.
[179] Ibid., pp. 3-4.
[180] Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, p. 336.

up a Commission of Historical Monuments in 1837.[181] In Britain, although the government funded the British Museum as a 'national' museum, this did not include explicit funds for collecting and maintaining British antiquities. It was not until the 1851 Conveyance in Scotland and the appointment of Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-97) as curator of British and medieval antiquities at the BM in the same year that more funding went to supporting British antiquities.[182] In 1858, the SoAS moved to their new premises in the Royal Institution buildings as part of the Conveyance agreement.[183] After 1851, the Society's collection was financially secure; it was the property of the state, with the SoAS retaining curatorial control to decide what areas of Scotland's 'unwritten history' were to be collected in future and how objects were to be displayed.

Collecting practices 1832 to 1851

Before the museum became state-funded in 1851, the Society operated as a private antiquarian association that relied on the subscriptions and voluntary support of its Fellows to expand the collection. There were three paid staff who managed the museum and Society affairs, but most tasks were performed by Fellows on a voluntary basis.[184] Objects were regularly donated by Fellows and the public to the museum. This thesis analyses the meanings attached to objects when they entered the SoAS museum and the relationship these had to Scottish historical narratives. What follows is a quantitative analysis of acquisition method, categories of object collected and assessment of interpretive functions (i.e. national relics, material witnesses or material evidence). The figures are based on objects that were historic (i.e. post-AD1100) and excludes coins and works of art.[185] The sources from 1832 to 1851 are fragmentary compared to later periods, so this analysis gives an idea of different trends within the parameters of the information that is available.

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[181] Ibid., p. 357.

[182] M. Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum – the Cuckoo in the Nest', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum,* ed. M. Caygill & J. Cherry (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pp. 57-63.

[183] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 80-1; NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 8 Aug 1851 and 9 Nov 1851, pp. 407-15.

[184] NMS, SAS Treasurer's Book 1845-1867, gives details of pay and names of the three paid staff members before the Conveyance. At this date James Johnstone was the Officer and William McCulloch was the Clerk. The Housekeeper is not identified but was most likely Mrs Johnstone, see NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868; See Council Meeting, 4 Feb 1859, pp. 135-7 where she was voted £10 in recognition of her long service as keeper.

[185] Works of art are defined here as being paintings, prints or engravings. Architectural art, such as painted panels and ceilings, are included in this analysis. Coins were not included because they came into the SoAS collection in their thousands and were often not individually described. Numismatic collections are generally treated as separate collections in many museums. However, the study of coins is included in the analysis of papers and publications.

The museum acquired only 60 objects from 1832 to 1841 compared to 280 objects from 1842 to 1851 (Appendix I, Table 5). This significant increase reflects the growing popularity of the Society in the 1840s with greater numbers of members and donations. Of the 280 objects acquired in the latter decade; 36% were purchased, most of which were from the sale of one private collection which will be discussed later in this chapter. The main form of acquisition from 1832 to 1851 was by donation, and this trend suggests that the Society passively collected what was considered of historical interest by donors rather than proactively targeting specific categories of object. Donations were mainly from members of the public between 1832 and 1841 (77%), but there was an even balance between public donations and members of the Society from 1842 to 1851 (Appendix I, Figure 1). The analysis of the first decade is only based on a small data set of 60 objects, so this may overemphasise the number of non-SoAS donations in this period. However, across 1832 to 1851, there was a considerable quantity of donations from outside the SoAS membership, supporting the Society's claim that they were engaging with visitors to the museum as a public educational institution, even before the Conveyance of 1851.

A considerable number of items that were acquired from 1842 to 1851 were from secular and ecclesiastical buildings, such as fragments of architectural features and interior decoration. The two other categories that were prominent in both decades were 'arms and armour' and 'domestic utensils' (Appendix I, Tables 7 and 8). Noticeably absent was the collecting of tartan and Highland dress accoutrements. From 1832 to 1851, objects came from a spread of geographical locations throughout Scotland with no noticeable focus on objects connected to the Highlands, despite the growing interest in Highland history and culture in the early-nineteenth century. For both Lowland and Highland areas, dress and personal ornaments remained a small percentage of acquisitions, particularly from 1842 to 1851 representing only 2% of acquisitions, so may have been perceived as less historically important at this point (Appendix I, Figure 3). This trend changed after 1851 and will be discussed in subsequent chapters when Highland brooches, powder horns and weapons became popular acquisitions.

The comparison of interpretive functions indicates that collecting practices differed in 1832 to 1841 compared to 1842 to 1851. From 1832 to 1841, there was an even spread between this study's three categories of 'national relics', 'material witnesses' and 'material evidence' (Appendix I, Table 6 and Figure 2). However, from 1842 to 1851 material evidence started to predominate at 77% of the total, with national relics and material witnesses being acquired in lower numbers. This indicates that there was a continuing

interest in acquiring objects linked to famous people and events from 1842 to 1851, but that a greater proportion of objects were valued as general evidence of the way people lived and worked in the Scottish past. In both decades, objects classified here as material witnesses were often arms and armour, some of which had been found at battle sites, such as the basket hilt of a sword dug up on the battlefield of Prestonpans.[186] National relics could be from more varied categories of object and included an ivory snuff-grater alleged to have belonged to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, a marble quaich used by Breck (one of Prince Charles' guards) at Culloden and a silver brooch found in the tomb of King Robert the Bruce in Dunfermline.[187] It is within the categories of national relics and material witnesses that various Highland objects came into the collection due to their association with famous Jacobites or the Jacobite uprisings between 1690 and 1746.

One of the most prominent categories acquired from 1842 to 1851 was that of objects from demolished or decaying buildings which were connected to famous people from Scottish history. Fragments of buildings from across Britain held meanings as 'national relics' and 'material witnesses' linked to historical people and events, as well as providing 'material evidence' for architectural history.[188] In addition, since many Catholic ecclesiastical objects had been destroyed (or taken out of Scotland) during the Reformation, buildings were rare sources of evidence of Scotland's medieval Catholic past. During this period objects connected with the Old Tolbooth, Edinburgh Castle, Linlithgow Palace, Dunfermline Abbey and the Old Scottish Mint were acquired.[189] Two historic Edinburgh buildings that were demolished in this period were a building at Blyth's Close believed to have been Mary of Guise's Palace and Trinity College Church commissioned by Mary of Gueldres.[190] The first was demolished to make way for New College at the University of Edinburgh and the second for warehouses for Waverley railway station.[191] The acquisition of objects linked to historic buildings could be described as 'salvage collecting' in reaction to their destruction and reflects the Society's aim to collect tangible evidence of the Scottish past which was in danger of disappearing.

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[186] NMS, Basket-hilt of Sword H.LA 72. The Battle of Prestonpans was the first significant military engagement in the 1745 Jacobite uprising.

[187] NMS, Snuff-grater W.SF 2; Quaich H.SJA 13; Silver Brooch H.NGA 24.

[188] M. Carter, P. N. Lindfield & D. Townshend, eds, *Writing Britain's Ruins* (London: The British Library, 2017).

[189] See object data spreadsheets.

[190] Mary of Guise (1515-60) was married to King James V of Scotland and was the mother of Mary Queen of Scots. Mary of Gueldres (1434-63) was married to King James II of Scotland and served as Queen-Regent for her son James III for the last three years before her death.

[191] SoAS, *Synopsis*, pp. 73-4.

Discussions recorded in the minute books indicate that the Society was proactively salvaging fragments from buildings that were being demolished during the nineteenth century. In some cases, the Society was also trying to prevent this destruction. Historic buildings in Edinburgh had been swept away as part of civic improvements since the eighteenth century.[192] This practice continued into the nineteenth century through a series of acts starting in 1827, to join the Old and New Towns of Edinburgh.[193] As a result, many objects from historic buildings were acquired for private collections, such as the cell-door from the Old Tolbooth prison in Edinburgh that was acquired by Sir Walter Scott.[194] In 1844, the Society sent a memorial to Edinburgh Town Council petitioning to prevent the impending demolition of the thirteenth-century Trinity College Church and Hospital.[195] The petition was ultimately unsuccessful, but the Society negotiated to have the masonry blocks numbered so that they could be rebuilt elsewhere, and the Town Council offered a selection of decorative stones from the church for the museum.[196] However, there was insufficient space to accommodate larger sculptures in the museum.[197] The blocks were left on Calton Hill until reconstruction of the apse took place on a new site in 1872 and unfortunately many blocks were taken or damaged in the interim.[198] Two gargoyles, a mason's chisel, a portion of the coffin of Mary of Gueldres and casts of architectural details were the only objects that were acquired by the museum.[199]

Fragments collected from buildings were important material evidence of Scottish architectural history and were valued by practising architects. The petition to save Trinity College Church included explicit articulation of this type of meaning-making. Although the petition stated the church's historical value was its link to Mary Gueldres, it also argued that 'The College Church… remains nearly in its original state, and although never

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[192] H. Coghill, *Lost Edinburgh: Edinburgh's Lost Architectural Heritage* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005).

[193] Ibid., pp. 87-110; PP 1827 II, *An Act for carrying into Effect certain Improvements within the City of Edinburgh and adjacent to the same. [14th June 1827.],* ProQuest, https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/docview/t70.d75.lpa-004434?accountid=14540 [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[194] Coghill, *Lost Edinburgh*, p. 23.

[195] SoAS, 'Memorial from Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, against the proposed Demolition of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, presented to the Town Council, 12th November 1844', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 (1857), pp. 448-50.

[196] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 15 May 1848, pp. 224-6, reply letter from North British Railway inviting SoAS to choose items for the museum; M. Ash, 'Antiquarian of Edinburgh: A Sense of Place', in *Thinking with Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New*, ed. E. Hulse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 48.

[197] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 11 Jun 1849, p. 294.

[198] Ash, 'Antiquarian of Edinburgh', p. 48.

[199] SoAS, *Synopsis,* 73-4, 78 and 86; NMS, Gargoyle H.1992.1; Gargoyle H.1992.2; Mason's Chisel W.QU 1; Cast of a Shield H.KG 13; coffin fragments could not be identified. Plus, a coin attached to a letter found by myself in the SAS Comms 1842-1852, fol. 97 A. Milne to Daniel Wilson, 31 May 1848.

completed, exhibits an interesting specimen of our [Scotland's] early Architecture'.[200] The petition quoted English architect, Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), who described the architectural features of the church as being, 'all of a good Decorated character, and is deserving of minute examination and study.'[201] Marsden's study of Cosmo Innes highlighted how during the nineteenth century there was a growing antiquarian interest in Scottish historical buildings and architectural history.[202] If we look back to the membership analysis, there were a number of Fellows who were architects and could bring their professional expertise to the study of historical buildings including William Henry Playfair (1790-1857) and David Bryce (1803-76) (Appendix I, Table 2).[203] Architectural histories in turn influenced contemporary Gothic Revival architectural styles in mid-nineteenth century Scotland by allowing practitioners to identify 'national' styles and apply this knowledge to new castles, churches, and civic and domestic buildings.[204]

In comparison to Trinity College Church, there were more objects salvaged from Mary of Guise's Palace in Blyth's Close, which was demolished with no prospect of restoration. This was a large structure, divided into apartments and was linked to other buildings on Todd's and Nairn's Closes.[205] Some of the objects from this building were acquired by the museum before 1832 and others between 1832 and 1851. For example, the oak door and the wax head and hand of a figure of an infant Jesus were in the museum by 1832 (Figure 2-1).[206] Other items seem to have been acquired due to the demolition of the building in 1845, including the sculptured ambries and the painted ceiling.[207] Although more fragments from buildings were acquired by the SoAS museum after 1841, it was continuing

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[200] SoAS, 'Trinity College Church', p. 448.

[201] Ibid., p. 450; 'Thomas Rickman', *Dictionary of Scottish Architects,* http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=202417 [accessed 21 Jul 2020], Rickman was one of the leading scholars on English, French and Scottish Gothic architecture.

[202] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* pp. 241-6.

[203] See membership spreadsheet; C. McKean, 'Playfair, William Henry (1790–1857), architect', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/22371 [accessed 20 Apr 2020]; S. O'Reilly, 'Bryce, David (1803–1876), architect', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/3797 [accessed 20 Apr 2020].

[204] M. Glendinning & A. Mackechnie, *Scotch Baronial: Architecture and National Identity in Scotland* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), pp. 163-201.

[205] D. Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time,* 1st edition, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1848), i, pp. 146-57.

[206] SoAS, *Synopsis,* p. 75; NMS, Oak Door H.KL 38; Wax Head and Hand H.KJ 23; *Synopsis,* pp. 90-1, the wax head and hand was acquired in 1828. The oak door appears to have come to the museum between 1825 and 1848 as Chambers noted it was removed in 1825 in his *Traditions of Edinburgh,* 1825 edition, 2 vols (Edinburgh: William Chambers, 1825), i, p. 80. Wilson stated it was in the museum in *Memorials of Edinburgh,* 1848, i, pp. 147-8.

[207] SoAS, *Synopsis,* pp. 74-5 and 14; SoAS, 'List of Donations 1830-51', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 5 (1890), Appendix; NMS, Sculptured lintels H.KG 37-9; Painted Ceiling H.KL 45-7. A third of the ceiling had been cut up for firewood before the SoAS rescued it. The ambries came to the museum between 1845 and 1848 but they are not in the donation list for these years.

eighteenth-century collecting practices by salvaging objects from decaying historic
structures. However, in the 1840s the Society was in a stronger position and could draw on
the networks and generosity of its growing membership to secure such items for the SoAS
collection.[208]

Figure 2-1 Sixteenth-century oak door, Blyth's Close, NMS, H.KL 38.
From Mary of Guise's Palace. Image © National Museums Scotland.

Part of the value assigned to the objects from Blyth's Close was that they were linked to
prominent people from the Scottish past and so in the terms employed here had the
combined value of national relics and material witnesses. They also provided evidence of
the crucial juncture between Scotland's Catholic and Reformation past. Wilson's
description of the building at Blyth's Close in *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*
(1848)*,* gives an impression of the romance attached to these historic structures. In
Wilson's description he stated,

> Here we have good reason for believing the widow of James V took up her
> residence during the first years of her Regency;- here, in all probability, the
> leading churchmen and Scottish nobles who adhered to her party have met in
> grave deliberation, to resist the earlier movements that led to the Reformation;-
> in this mean and obscure alley, the ambassadors and statesmen of England and
> France, and the messengers of the Scottish Queen have assembled, and have
> been received with fitting dignity in its once splendid halls; while within the
> long desecrated fane, royal and noble worshippers have knelt around its altar,
> gorgeous with imposing ceremonials of the Catholic church.[209]

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[208] The items from Blyth's Close came to the museum through donations from various Fellows and the
ceiling was donated by the Directors of the Commercial Bank.
[209] Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh,* 1848, i, pp. 155-6.

By acquiring fragments from Blyth's Close, the SoAS was acquiring tangible links to the tumultuous events of the Scottish Reformation, material witnesses of the debates held within their rooms, and relics connected to Mary of Guise. But, as much as Wilson evinced the nostalgia of the past, he was equally interested in this building as primary source evidence and devoted more space to describing and analysing architectural features than to recounting historical associations. For example, Wilson's artistic background came through in his treatment of the painted ceiling, which he identified was painted *after* the Regency of Mary of Guise (Figure 2-2).[210] He focused on describing the symbolism in its decoration, with one panel in particular depicting an allegory of the Christian life, which 'possesses peculiar interest, as a specimen of early Scottish art.'[211] For Wilson, and other artists and architects in the SoAS, fragments from buildings were not only tangible links to people and events, but were material evidence of developments in Scottish art and architecture and represented a distinctive Scottish aesthetic.

Figure 2-2 Fragment of ceiling panel from Blyth's Close, NMS, H.KL 45. Decoration depicting the Edinburgh skyline with St Giles' Cathedral. Image © National Museums Scotland.

In addition to fragments from buildings, the SoAS acquired a high proportion of domestic utensils and arms and armour from 1832 to 1851 (Appendix I, Figure 3). These acquisitions appear to have been actively solicited rather than received passively as accidental accumulations. A circular sent out to Fellows in January 1849 indicates that the museum was aiming to acquire new objects, 'to render as complete as possible its examples of British, and more especially Scottish, Antiquities, of all periods.'[212] The circular asked for donations of objects from the Celtic (Stone and Bronze Age), Romano-

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[210] Ibid., p. 156, this was based on what buildings were depicted on the panel showing an Edinburgh skyline. See chapter three for Wilson's biography.

[211] Ibid., p. 157.

[212] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 87/22.

British and Anglo-Saxon periods, since these earlier periods were considered a new branch of enquiry and reflects the increasing interest in prehistoric archaeology in the Society and the subsequent expansion of the prehistoric collection. But the circular also requested medieval objects in the categories of pottery, domestic utensils, armour, wood carvings, furniture, painted glass, encaustic and raised floor tiles, rubbings of sepulchral brasses and miscellaneous objects (i.e. from later historical periods) 'Illustrative of Obsolete Scottish Manners' (Figure 2-3).[213]

This list indicates which categories of object were deemed deficient in the collection. Some of these objects, such as painted glass from pre-Reformation churches, were extremely rare, whilst others, such as medieval and modern pottery, domestic utensils, spinning equipment, and dress and personal ornaments, may not have previously been considered the type of object the Society ought to collect. There was a popular and scholarly interest in the medieval past in mid-nineteenth century Britain.[214] For Scotland, the medieval period was when the kingdom of Scotland emerged as a distinct independent polity. Objects representing Scotland's medieval history were valued by the Society as tangible illustrations of how people had lived, worked, fought and worshipped. Notably, there was no request for tartan or Highland dress accoutrements in this circular. This was probably seen as a more appropriate focus for the Highland societies of London and Edinburgh at this point.[215] The circular included categories of object that the Society were more likely to be gifted by private collectors who would be hesitant to part with prized 'national relics' connected to famous people. It therefore displays a practical acceptance of the limitations of what the SoAS could expect people to donate. This document suggests that the dominant object categories collected between 1832 and 1851 of domestic utensils, arms and armour and architectural fragments were deliberately sought out after 1849, rather than merely representing an aggregate of the personal collecting interests of Fellows (Appendix I, Tables 7 and 8 and Figure 3). This circular marked the beginning of more deliberate collecting practices within the Society and, as this thesis will show, these strategies became more explicit and targeted as the nineteenth century progressed.

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[213] Ibid.

[214] K. Stevenson & B. Gribling, 'Introduction: Chivalry and the Medieval Past', in *Chivalry and the Medieval Past,* ed. K. Stevenson & B. Gribling (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 1-14.

[215] The Highland societies of London and Edinburgh were founded in the late-eighteenth century by wealthy gentlemen concerned with improving the living conditions of communities in the Highlands and Islands and promoting Highland culture. Collecting and documenting tartan and Highland dress were key concerns of both societies.
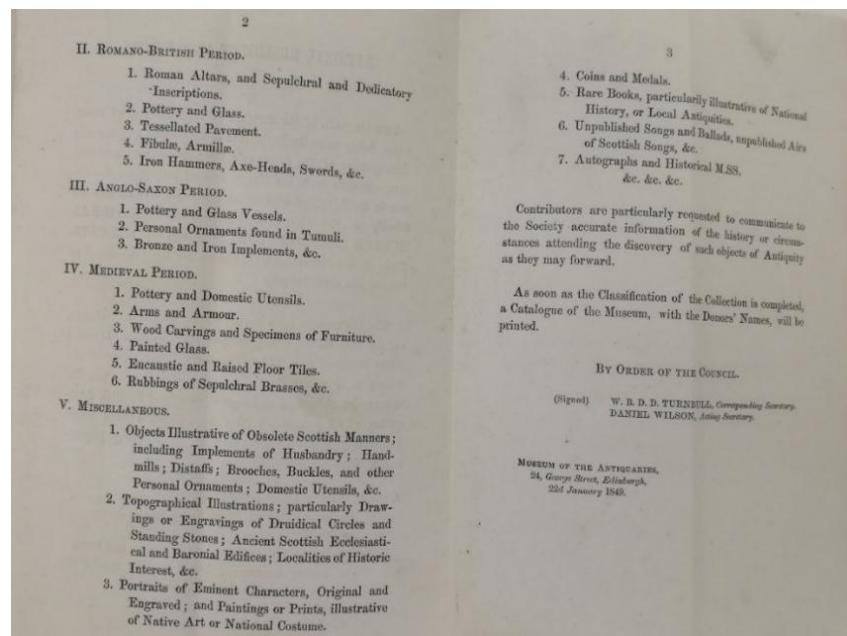
Figure 2-3 Circular 22 January 1849, NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 87/22.
List of objects requested for the museum.

An anonymous article in the *Scotsman* in November 1849 articulated some of the meanings attached to the objects in the museum already discussed.[216] The article began by explaining the scholarly value of the prehistoric collection as evidence of Scotland's early civilised development but then proceeded to describe some of the meanings that the historic objects might hold for visitors to the museum. The author stated that, 'The more obviously interesting and popular contents of the Museum… are probably those that rank under the title of Medieval, or under the still more comprehensive one of Miscellaneous. Memorials of many important events in Scottish history are here to be seen'.[217] Specific objects were listed within domestic, social and ecclesiastical categories, as well as key objects linked to famous historical figures such as, John Knox, Jenny Geddes, Deacon Brodie, Prince Charles Edward Stuart and Flora Macdonald. In addition, the author notes, 'Almost every battle of any note – after Bannockburn, at least – is represented by something in the shape of a sword or bit of armour picked up on the field'.[218] Only briefly at the beginning of the article does the author state their view of objects as primary source evidence. Here they stated that, 'the true value and significance of monuments of antiquity [is] as illustrations of the history, political, ecclesiastical, moral, and especially social, of

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[216] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-1856, press-cutting, 'Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', *The Scotsman,* 10 Nov 1849. This article advertises the museum's recently published catalogue, so was printed after the *Synopsis* had become available. The author provides a detailed account of the museum's contents and the Society's efforts to gain state funding, so was likely written by a Fellow of the SoAS.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid.

past ages'.[219] The author argued that these objects were not just material links to well-known historical people and events, but sources through which the entirety of the Scottish past and society could be studied. Objects illustrated the way people of the past had lived, how society in Scotland had changed and were a way of studying both prehistoric and historic periods. Objects (as much as archives) were central to the way that the disciplines of history and archaeology professionalised in the nineteenth century. But the scholarly perception of objects as historical sources within the Society was possibly at variance with the more common public view that objects provided emotional and tangible links to historical people and events.

Challenges to collecting

From 1832 to 1851, there were significant challenges to collecting for the Society. These challenges included lack of funding and the limitations of Treasure Trove laws in Scotland (and elsewhere in Britain) governing the treatment of ownerless objects found by chance, usually in the ground.[220] The problem with Treasure Trove was that if finds were declared, the Crown could take them without giving the finder any financial remuneration.[221] Wilson claimed that this led to important objects being melted down for their metal value or hidden from public display for fear that they would be taken.[222] In comparison, in Denmark all finds were reported to the national museum in Copenhagen and a reward was offered to the finders, which ensured most objects of archaeological value were preserved and placed in a public museum.[223] Before the Conveyance of 1851, the SoAS museum was occasionally presented Scottish Treasure Trove objects by the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, but not many items were acquired through this system.[224] From

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[219] Ibid. The 'new social history' as a discipline was defined in the 1960s. However, in the nineteenth century this subject was presented as the study of customs, manners, daily life and social conditions and was called 'social and domestic history'.

[220] Scotland had different definitions of Treasure Trove compared to England, Wales and Ireland, see J. Anderson, 'Treasure Trove', *The Scottish Historical Review,* 1:1 (1903), pp. 74-80. Scotland's law applied to all ownerless objects, whereas elsewhere in Britain it was limited to objects of gold, silver or bullion. When the law changed in Scotland in 1859 to provide rewards to finders, this was not officially applied elsewhere in Britain until 1886 but in practice finders were rewarded after 1858, see R. Bland, 'Treasure Trove and the case for reform', *Art. Antiquity and Law,* 1:1 (1996), pp. 11-26. The British Museum rewarded finders before 1858. See National Records of Scotland, Register House, E872 Treasure Trove Papers 1840-1979, E872/13/1 Mr Hawkins to John Henderson, Jul 1853.

[221] D. Wilson, 'Scottish Treasure Trove', *The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, Arts and Sciences*, 6 July 1850, pp. 456-7.

[222] D. Wilson, *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox, 1851), pp. xix-xx.

[223] Ibid.

[224] Wilson, 'Address', p. 5; Wilson, 'Scottish Treasure Trove'; Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 61 and 72; D. Laing & S. Hibbert, 'Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 3 (1831), Appendix III, various entries in the donation list within this account

1832 to 1851, only four Treasure Trove items were presented to the museum (Appendix I, Table 5).[225] However, since many objects were not declared to the Crown and hidden in private collections, the museum had no way of acquiring them. A second impediment to expanding the collection in the nineteenth century was that the Society did not have sufficient income to purchase objects. As was seen in the object analysis, no objects in this study were purchased before 1841, and the majority that were purchased after 1841 were bought at the sale of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe's collection. The sale of the Sharpe collection encapsulated some of the challenges the SoAS faced as a private society and museum.

Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe (c.1781-1851) was an eccentric Edinburgh gentleman with ties to some of the most important nobility in Scotland. Wilson described how Sharpe was related by collateral descent to the Stuart royal family through Lady Marie Stewart and was, 'Peculiar in tastes, striking in personal appearance [this related to him often wearing eighteenth-century dress], and with a curiously-pitched falsetto voice'.[226] Sharpe's important collection came up for sale in 1851, from which the Society acquired approximately 69 out of the 329 objects (21%) it acquired in total from 1832 to 1851.[227] Sharpe had been a friend of Sir Walter Scott and was involved in Scott's retrieval of Scottish songs and poetry.[228] For most of his life he kept his distance from the SoAS, whom he perceived as rival collectors who indulged in 'indiscriminate shows of miscellaneous relics'.[229] Sharpe claimed to dislike antiquarians generally but, despite this, he was friendly with many prominent antiquaries of the SoAS including Wilson, Laing, Thomas Thomson (1768-1852), Chambers and Innes.[230]

Sharpe's collecting combined an interest in Scottish history with objects that were tangible links to past events, people and historical gossip. In his lifetime, Sharpe had accumulated an impressive collection of objects connected with Scottish history and prehistory, including eleven of the Lewis chess pieces (Figure 2-4).[231] Wilson's description of

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[225] NMS, Bronze seal H.NM 64; Weight, hay W.PC 2; Iron chisel W.QU 2; Lance head, no current object number identified.

[226] D. Wilson, *Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1878), i, p. 15.

[227] Lord Murray purchased two more objects and donated them to the SoAS, the full list of objects acquired at the Sharpe sale are in, SoAS, 'Antiquities Purchased', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. 9-11.

[228] Wilson, *Reminiscences*, i, p. 4.

[229] Ibid., p. 32.

[230] Ibid., p. 21-2; T. Clarke, 'Thomson, Thomas (1768–1852), record scholar and advocate', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/27324 [accessed 21 May 2018], Thomson was a record scholar who started the editing of the *Acts of Parliament of Scotland* at Register House that were completed by Innes. Chapter three of this thesis provides biographies of Wilson and Chambers.

[231] This study is concentrating on the historic objects he collected.

Sharpe's collection described how, 'His house partook in no degree of the character of a museum; but was the dwelling of a gentleman of refined antiquarian fancies'.[232] Sharpe loved to show guests different objects from his collection and relate stories attached to them, 'He dearly loved a bit of scandal, especially when it had any historical significance, or was calculated to unmask the pretentious shams of fashionable society.'[233] Sharpe eventually became a Fellow in 1845, only one year after Chambers with whom he had been on terms of friendship since Chambers was working on *Traditions of Edinburgh,* first published in 1824.[234] Sharpe displayed some of his collection at SoAS evening conversaziones, then on his death his collection was advertised for sale by the Edinburgh auction-room Messrs Tait and Nisbet.[235] Sharpe had not offered to donate his collection to the museum during his lifetime and in this sense he was similar to many private collectors of the period who amassed large, important collections of antiquities, which were dispersed through sale on their deaths.

Figure 2-4 Lewis chess pieces, NMS, H.NS 19-29.
Sharpe acquired eleven of the chess pieces found on the island of Lewis in 1831, which are now in the NMS collection. Image © National Museums Scotland.

The Society formed a committee and collected a subscription from Fellows that amounted to just over £60 as a fund to buy the Lewis chess pieces and other key items from the Sharpe collection.[236] Wilson, Drummond and Laing were sent to the sale with a list of items that the Society wished to acquire. A contemporary newspaper reported that, 'This sale is remarkable, inasmuch [sic] as we believe such a collection of antiquarian and Jacobite relics of every description never were brought under the auctioneer's hammer

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[232] Wilson, *Reminiscences,* i, p. 27.
[233] Ibid., p. 25.
[234] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 7 Apr 1845, pp. 120-1, Sharpe elected; W. Chambers, *Memoir of Robert Chambers with Autobiographical Reminiscences of William Chambers,* 2nd edition (London: W. R. Chambers, 1872), pp. 170-83, describes the writing of *Traditions* and the input of Scott and Sharpe in later editions.
[235] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 28 May 1851, pp. 385-6; Wilson, *Reminiscences,* i, p. 27.
[236] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 7 Jul 1851, pp. 391-6.

before.'[237] The list of the highlights of the collection indicate that objects linked to Mary Queen of Scots, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, Flora Macdonald and Viscount Dundee were considered extremely desirable by buyers.[238] The Lewis chess pieces sold for £105 to Mr W. Forrest, antique dealer and brother of the original dealer who sold them to Sharpe.[239] Many of the other items the SoAS made bids for were also not secured, as they sold for prices beyond the Society's means.[240] Nevertheless, the committee bought several other objects from Sharpe's collection and used the remaining money to buy items from other collections on sale that day.

Unfortunately, the list of items that the Society was aiming to purchase at the Sharpe sale has not been preserved; many of the objects in the sale linked to famous people and events may have been on it. Clearly at this time the Society did not have the funds to compete against private collectors with large personal fortunes, or even with rival museums such as the BM who could apply for government funding for acquisitions.[241] This situation may be contrasted with events in 1888, when the SoAS not only received £300 from the government to purchase these same chess pieces at the Londesborough Sale held in London, but also was assured that the BM, the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art and the South Kensington Museum would not compete with them on the basis that the chess pieces were, 'found in Scotland & have a Scottish historical & Archaeological value'.[242]

At the Sharpe sale the Society acquired several decorative pieces including painted panels, carved woodwork, sculptured stones and the ceiling from the Great Hall of Dean House (Figure 2-5). A predominance of objects of architectural art being acquired by the Society links back to earlier discussions on the value of these items for Scottish art history. Wilson and Drummond were present at the sale and as artists they were interested in such objects as primary sources for art and architectural history. In addition, the Society purchased the same categories of object outlined in their circular for donations from 1849, while the ceiling from Dean House had previously been on loan to the museum and was therefore

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[237] NMS, Circulars and Billets 1848-1856, press-cutting, 'Mr Kirkpatrick Sharpe's Collection', *Edinburgh Evening Post & Scottish Record,* 18 Jun 1851.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Ibid.; D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland,* 2nd edition, 2 vols (London: Macmillan & Co, 1863), ii, p. 342, indicates that the chess pieces were afterwards acquired by Lord Londesborough, a prominent collector in England.

[240] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 1 Aug 1851, pp. 396-406.

[241] NMS, Circulars and Billets 1848-1856, 'Sharpe's Collection', reports that the BM was bidding for the chess pieces as well.

[242] NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, Council Meeting, 30 Jun 1888, p. 70; Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Collection of Armour and Arms, Carvings in Ivory, Celtic and Saxon Antiquities, &c., of the Right Hon. The Earl of Londesborough* (London: Christie, Manson & Woods, 1888).

already deemed to be of interest.[243] But, even though the objects purchased at the Sharpe sale reflected the categories of object that the Society was aiming to develop within the museum (ecclesiastical, domestic and architectural), this in part may be explained by the fact that the SoAS could not afford the 'national relics' that formed such a significant part of Sharpe's collection. The Society's lack of funding meant they were limited in what they could purchase for the museum, therefore relying on the generosity of donors. Sharpe's collection was one of many important private collections in Scotland that contained items that would have been desirable to the Society but were never offered to the museum. But, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, after 1849 the SoAS turned their limitations into a strength by focusing on collecting everyday objects that could illustrate different facets of Scottish social and domestic life of the past and widened what was considered Scotland's national history.
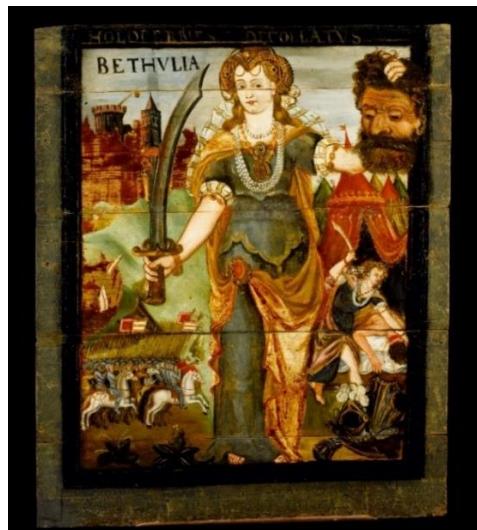
Figure 2-5 Ceiling panel from the Great Hall of Dean House, NMS, H.KL 71. Seventeenth century. Image © National Museums Scotland.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that there were critical changes in the Society from 1832 to 1851. The final six years before the Conveyance were the most significant in providing a platform for arguing the Society's public educational role and ambition to preserve and display the national antiquities of Scotland's past. This coincided with the mid-nineteenth century concern with promoting the didactic purpose of museums and UK-wide interest in collecting and preserving British antiquities. The Society's existence and the importance of its museum was framed in reference to the government supporting the arts and museums in

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[243] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 78.

Scotland and was replicated across the UK with new museums and galleries opening after the enabling measure of the 1845 Museum Act and inspiration from the Great Exhibition in London in 1851. However, although the government funded the SoAS museum, it had given the Society curatorial control of the collection and, as the following chapters demonstrate, acquisition decisions continued to be made by the SoAS after 1851, with the development of the collection firmly controlled by the Society.

The debates surrounding the Conveyance had led the Society to more clearly define who they were, what they wanted to collect, and why they were collecting. This resulted in the museum promoting itself as a museum of archaeology or 'antiquities'. The aim of the museum was to collect objects that contributed to understanding the 'unwritten' or tangible history of Scotland within a wider interest in the antiquities of Britain. As part of this, the Society started to promote their aim to collect antiquities from all levels of society and time periods in Scotland, encompassing prehistory and history and extending from the stone-age up to the nineteenth century. As subsequent chapters in this thesis will demonstrate, the SoAS museum utilised this collection to provide evidence of the relationships between humans and objects in both pre-literate and literate societies within the specific geographical location of Scotland and aimed to provide a history of all the past inhabitants of Scotland. From 1832 to 1851, the Society chiefly collected domestic items, arms and armour and objects connected to secular and ecclesiastical buildings. This was mainly reactive collecting whereby the Society received donations that members offered to the museum, as well as collecting salvaged fragments from historic buildings being demolished. Meanings attached to fragments of buildings combined an interest in national personalities and events with the investigation of a distinctive Scottish cultural history. The relationship between material-culture analysis and national narratives of Scottish history is examined in greater depth in subsequent chapters to determine the role of objects for investigating the Scottish past during the nineteenth century.

This chapter has noted that despite general public interest in Highland history in the early to mid-nineteenth century, the Society did not express an active collecting policy for Highland dress accoutrements or weaponry between 1832 and 1851. However, the Society did collect objects connected to famous people and events, including well-known Highland Jacobites. 'National relics' were not the most prominent part of the collection by 1851. This was because these 'relics' were prized by private collectors and rarely donated or were too expensive to purchase when they came onto the market. Therefore, many objects that would be considered valuable parts of a Scottish national collection were dispersed in

private hands and not even accessible to the public. The circular of 1849 suggests that the Society recognised the shortcomings of the SoAS collection, and the limitations of what people would willingly donate. They sought to expand those parts of the collection that could illuminate aspects of Scotland's social history by requesting objects that were more likely to be relinquished by donors from their private collections. In this way, the SoAS started to redefine what a Scottish national collection should contain by moving beyond famous people and 'national relics' towards collecting and representing the history of Scottish society as a whole. The next chapter will discuss how the collecting practices of 1832 to 1851 related to the representation of the Scottish past in the museum, the utilisation of objects in papers and monographs, as well as the role of objects within national narratives of the Scottish past.

Chapter 3   Representing and Writing about the Scottish Past (1832 to 1851)

The previous chapter noted how in the mid-nineteenth century the SoAS defined itself as managing an archaeological museum collecting the 'unwritten history' of Scotland. Therefore, to understand the development of the SoAS historic collection, it needs to be understood within the framework of the development of archaeological theories of this period. During the mid-nineteenth century, the 'Three-Age' system started to become more widely accepted in Europe. The system built on Enlightenment theories of stadial progress whereby the tools humans used reflected the progress of their society; developing from stone to bronze then iron.[244] Peter Rowley-Conwy compared the reception of the three-age system in Denmark, Scotland, England and Ireland.[245] He identified that the system was an in-depth study of the tangible remains of the past to investigate periods for which there were no written records, rather than the theoretical approach adopted by earlier antiquarians.[246] It was first established in Denmark and adopted in Scotland by the mid-nineteenth century but was viewed with suspicion in England and Ireland until the latter part of the century.[247] As part of the 'three-age' approach, the material of an object was compared with an implement's 'use', the form of its decoration, the stratigraphic position where it was found and comparisons were made with contemporary ethnographic objects.[248] As the century progressed, archaeologists endeavoured to extract increasingly complex information on societies of the past by studying the surviving material record. This thesis proposes that the development of more focused studies on the materiality of prehistoric objects resulted in similar approaches being applied to historic collections. This gave rise to historic objects being investigated in greater depth than had been evident in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

During the nineteenth century, there were opposing views concerning Scotland's (and Britain's) medieval past. These views were connected to the way the past was appropriated for contemporary artistic, social and political purposes. The romantic view of the medieval past, held by Conservatives such as the Young Englanders, perceived it as a time of social and moral order when a paternalist and chivalric ruling elite cared for their subjects and

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[244] Trigger, *Archaeological Thought,* pp. 119-35.
[245] Rowley-Conwy, *Genesis to Prehistory*. The three-age system divides the prehistoric past into the materials that were used to make weapons and implements. Different countries went through these 'ages' at various times, so they are not connected to specific dates.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid., pp. 232-80.
[248] Schnapp, *Discovery of the Past*, pp. 299-303.

maintained social cohesion.[249] For some, the beauty of medieval churches, ceremonies and objects were contrasted with modern religious and secular practices as evidence of the declining morality of British society. Annette Carruthers noted that the English architect, Augustus W. N. Pugin (1812-52), believed that architecture revealed the morality of a society and he contrasted modern and medieval buildings to highlight the need for social change.[250] Later in the century, the medieval past inspired the Arts and Crafts Movement that sought to restore the beauty and craftsmanship of the medieval period into contemporary practice.[251] In contrast, Whig historians perceived the medieval feudal past as violent, oppressive and socially-backward and they asserted that the medieval aristocracy and monarchy had ruled by force and the masses were beguiled by superstitious rituals and beliefs.[252] Medieval society was contrasted with nineteenth-century rationalism, modernisation, free trade, widening of education and greater political freedom. Several medieval objects came into the SoAS collection between 1832 and 1851, alongside items from later historic periods, and contributed to interpretations of Scotland's medieval past from a material-culture perspective.

This chapter commences with a comparison of the ways in which historic objects were exhibited in the SoAS museum, the British Museum and the SoAL collection at Somerset House.[253] The methods of display evident in the SoAS *Synopsis of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1849) will be discussed and compared with the catalogue of the SoAL collection (1847) and two catalogues of the BM from 1849 and 1853.[254] The SoAL and BM were chosen as comparative examples because the SoAL was the SoAS's equivalent in England and maintained its own private collection until 1851, after which objects were mainly donated by its Fellows to public museums and the SoAL focused on developing its library.[255] The BM is employed as a comparative museum

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[249] Tyrell, 'The Earl of Eglinton', pp. 92-3; Stevenson & Gribling, 'Introduction', pp. 1-14. The Young Englanders were a political group, mainly active in the 1840s, who opposed modern utilitarianism and argued for social changes modelled on an idealised Christian feudal society.

[250] A. Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland: A History* (London: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 6-7.

[251] Ibid., pp. 14-9. Throughout this publication are specific examples of how medieval objects, architecture and art influenced nineteenth-century practitioners.

[252] B. Gribling, ''The Dark Side of Chivalry': Victory, Violence and the Victorians', in *Chivalry and the Medieval Past,* ed. K. Stevenson & B. Gribling (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp. 123-42.

[253] The SoAL collection was displayed at Somerset House but was not open to the general public.

[254] SoAS, *Synopsis*; A. Way, *Catalogue of Antiquities, Coins, Pictures and Miscellaneous Curiosities, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London: John Bowyer Nichols & Son, 1847); BM, *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1849); BM, *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1853).

[255] B. Nurse, 'The Development of the Library', in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707-2007,* ed. S. M. Pearce (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), pp. 199-225; Society of Antiquaries of London, *The Society of Antiquaries of London: Notes on its history and possessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 19-20; A. W. Franks, 'Account of the additions

throughout this thesis, since it was the main state-funded national museum in England with a collection of 'national' British antiquities, containing items from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.[256] The comparison of permanent displays is followed by an examination of display practices at ordinary meetings and evening conversaziones to identify how exhibiting objects contributed to meaning-making and the Society's collecting activities. The second half of this chapter analyses the types of object-analysis which appeared in Fellows' papers and how these practices related to the meanings attached to historic objects. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the role of objects as primary sources in the published work of Robert Chambers, Daniel Wilson and Patrick Fraser Tytler.

Exhibiting the Scottish past at 24 George Street

There is very little surviving evidence of how the museum was arranged before 1849. Records of the Society contain details of logistical matters such as lighting, heating and types of display cases, but the first published catalogue of the museum was the 1849 *Synopsis*.[257] In 1844 an inventory of the collection was made in preparation for the move to 24 George Street.[258] Joint-curators Robert Frazer (d.1858), Alexander MacDonald (1791?-1850) and a committee chosen from council members initially arranged the collection in the large room at George Street in 1844.[259] Stevenson argued that there were no significant re-arrangements to the museum in 1849.[260] However, a letter from Wilson to Hume dated 26 November 1849 and the article in the *Scotsman* in the same month stated that Wilson had significantly rearranged the museum with the help of other Fellows as part of the process of compiling the *Synopsis*.[261] One can therefore conclude that the *Synopsis*

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made to the Collections of British Antiquities at the British Museum during the year 1864', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Nov 1864 – June 1867,* 2nd series, 3 (1867), pp. 83-94 is one of the reports that Franks presented to the SoAL on new acquisitions at the BM. Although the RIA established a museum of Irish antiquities in 1847, their catalogue was not produced until after 1851. The RIA is employed as a comparative museum for Ireland in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

[256] England has never established a museum of English antiquities and the BM argued that it contained objects from all the constituent parts of Britain.

[257] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 67 and 77-9. Stevenson details number of cases, the use of roof lights and the move from candles to coal and gas.

[258] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 27 May 1844, pp. 81-3.

[259] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 79; Laing, 'Anniversary Address', pp. 24-5; T. F. Henderson, 'Macdonald, Alexander (1791?–1850), antiquary', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/17425 [accessed 11 Jun 2018]. The curators were voluntary and elected by Fellows as part of the council. Frazer was a jeweller and seal-engraver and curator from 1837 to 1858. MacDonald was assistant curator from 1826 then joint-curator from 1837 until his death in 1850. He had previously worked at Register House.

[260] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 79.

[261] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-1856, press-cutting, 'Museum of the Society'; NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 337-8 Daniel Wilson to Joseph Hume, 26 Nov 1849.

demonstrates some of the methods of classification and display that were developing in the mid-nineteenth century among Fellows of the Society.

The SoAS *Synopsis* was published as a guide to the museum aimed at the general museum visitor. Indeed, the author of the *Scotsman* article from November 1849 claimed that, 'The catalogue is not only a pleasant guide, but will be found by visitors an excellent and memory-refreshing record of a visit to the Museum.'[262] Since some of the SoAS display methods were not replicated in other museums in Britain, Wilson described the museum's system of classification in the introduction to the *Synopsis*.[263] He explained what the three-age system was and why it had been chosen to attempt to chronologically arrange the pre-Roman objects in the museum; stating that the rest of the collection was divided into 'Roman and Greek', 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Medieval'.[264] This is relevant because the SoAL and BM did not arrange their prehistoric collection using the three-age system. The SoAL collection of British antiquities was classified under the heading 'Miscellaneous Antiquities of the Earlier Period'.[265] At the BM, the British and medieval antiquities were in the ethnographic gallery until 1851, after which the stone and bronze implements were grouped together within 'British Collections' and separated by material, but it was stated that this did not signify a chronological arrangement.[266] However, although the prehistoric collection was arranged chronologically in the SoAS museum, this was not extended into historic periods. The only historic category in the *Synopsis* was medieval, with no further subdivisions of chronology for the objects in this study: since items from later periods were grouped under 'Miscellaneous'.[267] The SoAL catalogue similarly only identified medieval as a historic category of time and all later materials as miscellaneous, and the BM only identified the medieval period as a historic category.[268] The only section in the SoAS *Synopsis* labelled in a way that connected it to a historical period was 'Jacobite Relics'.[269] It is significant that although the SoAS museum did not apply any form of strict chronology to the historic collection, the Jacobite period was singled out as an important enough part of Scottish history to have its own section and reflects its dominance in Scottish historical discourse at this time.

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[262] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-1856, press-cutting, 'Museum of the Society'.
[263] Rowley-Conwy, *Genesis to Prehistory,* pp. 222-91.
[264] SoAS, *Synopsis,* pp. 1-2.
[265] Way, *Catalogue,* pp. 13-22.
[266] BM, *Synopsis,* 1849, p. 14; BM, *Synopsis,* 1853, pp. 236-8; Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', pp. 58-62.
[267] SoAS, *Synopsis*, pp. xiv-xv.
[268] Way, *Catalogue,* pp. 23-46; BM, *Synopsis,* 1853, pp. 238-9.
[269] SoAS, *Synopsis,* pp. 108-9.

Table 3-1 Synopsis Categories.
Headings and sub-headings of historic sections that include objects in this study.

Section Headings	Locations	Sub-headings
Medieval	Not in cases	Medieval Sculptures, & c. Medieval Carvings, & c.
Medieval	Case XV	Spurs Keys Horse-Shoes Weapons and Implements of Iron, chiefly Medieval
Medieval	Case XVI	Ecclesiastical
Medieval and Miscellaneous	Case XVII	Ancient Shoes, &c. Miscellaneous Fibulae, Rings, &c.
Miscellaneous	Case XVIII	Jacobite Relics Buckles Miscellaneous
Miscellaneous	Case XIX	
Arms and Armour	On the walls	
Miscellaneous	Large objects not in cases	

Source: SoAS & Wilson, *Synopsis of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1849).

The historic collection was subdivided by the 'use' of the object i.e. ecclesiastical, weapons etc., reflecting a focus on the materiality of objects as a valid mode of classification (Table 3-1). There was, however, very little emphasis on Scotland, or any location for that matter, within sub-divisions of the collection. The only section that was classified by location was the stone period, separating the constituent parts of Britain.[270] The medieval sections featured objects from all over Britain, Europe and the world with sub-categories based on what objects were used for e.g. keys, horse-shoes, ecclesiastical objects etc.[271] The medieval sections of the SoAL collection and the BM were also not divided by location, although these collections were significantly smaller than at the SoAS.[272] The BM displayed its medieval collection by material, again showing a focus on the materiality of the collection.[273] The SoAS collection may not have been divided by location to illustrate that the museum contained a range of British antiquities as part of its arguments to gain state-funding, since the catalogue was sent to Hume during the negotiations that led to the 1851 Conveyance.[274] But it is more likely that this arrangement by 'use' reflected the material-culture focus of mid-nineteenth century display practices,

[270] Ibid., pp. 3-9.
[271] Ibid., p. xiv.
[272] Way, *Catalogue,* pp. 23-46; BM, *Synopsis,* 1853, pp. 238-9.
[273] BM, *Synopsis,* 1853, pp. 238-9.
[274] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 337-8; *Synopsis* digitised by the HathiTrust contains Joseph Hume's signature, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007036415 [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

where curators were trying to order diverse museum collections using rational systems of classification.

As previously noted, 'Jacobite Relics' was the only section in the *Synopsis* labelled in a way to explicitly connect it to Scottish history.[275] This included objects linked to Prince Charles Edward Stuart and other prominent Jacobites, plus objects found at the sites of famous battles. But, within the Jacobite section there was also a lady's Union fan from 1707, so objects associated with the union of parliaments in 1707 were also perceived as part of the Jacobite narrative (Figure 3-1).[276] There was what could be interpreted as nationalist sentiment in only two entries. One entry was describing a copy of the address of the Highland clans to George I at his accession in 1714, which the object description claimed 'by Court intrigue, [had] been prevented from being presented to His Majesty, the Clans, in resentment of this neglect, raised the Standard of Rebellion in 1715'.[277] The second referred to the inventory of the Scottish Regalia and described it as the, 'Insignia of National Independence'.[278] However, all the other entries in Jacobite Relics were brief and contained the essential information on the objects without extra commentary that was overtly pro or anti-union; in-keeping with unionist-nationalist thought at this time. The Jacobite collection spoke to a Scott-inspired notion of the past, reflecting ideas of loyalty as well as rebellion, which had been part of interpretations of Jacobite history since the late-eighteenth century. Queen Victoria and literary tourists like her sought out objects and places linked to the romantic, but doomed Jacobite period.[279] Sir Walter Scott's narrative of the 1745 Jacobite uprising in *Waverley* represented it as a noble but ill-fated enterprise, and visitors to the museum would have probably viewed these objects with this interpretation in mind. The Jacobite period was a prominent and well-known part of the history of Scotland, evoked in music, literature and folk memory.[280] But the Jacobite section was only one of several in the museum that relied on famous people and events to assign meaning to objects.

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[275] SoAS, *Synopsis,* pp. 108-9.
[276] SoAS, *Synopsis,* p. 108; NMS, Union Fan H.UI 1.
[277] SoAS, *Synopsis,* p. 108; NMS, Address H.OA 53.
[278] SoAS, *Synopsis,* p. 108; NMS, Document H.OA 80.
[279] Morton, *Ourselves and Others,* pp. 276-81.
[280] Pittock, *Invention of Scotland,* pp. 99-108.

Figure 3-1 Lady's fan, NMS, H.UI 1.
With devices commemorative of the 1707 Parliamentary Union. Image © National Museums Scotland.

Some of the most popular exhibits at the museum were those linked to famous battles or personalities from history.[281] Many of these objects also had distinct links to people and events that visitors would have read about in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. For example, there was a key fished out from near Loch Leven castle where Mary Queen of Scots had been imprisoned in 1567, with a set of keys featuring in her escape in *The Abbot* (1820).[282] There was also a sporran containing hidden pistols, alleged to have belonged to Rob Roy and featured in the novel of the same name.[283] A preoccupation with historical people and events is also found within the spurs section of the *Synopsis*; containing the spurs of Archbishop Sharpe (famously assassinated by Covenanters at Magus Muir near St Andrews) and others found on the fields of Bannockburn and Culloden Moor.[284] Other sections of the *Synopsis* contained objects with more vague historical connections, such as a dagger, 'bearing the date 1415; found in digging on the site of the Dominican Monastery at Perth, where King James I. of Scotland was assassinated, A.D. 1438.'[285] The entry did not specifically say the dagger was used to assassinate James I, but the wording implied a belief that it was involved. Other entries had even more tenuous historical associations, including a 'Grotesque Dutch Figure, which stood over the door of the shop in the West Bow, where the Leader of the Porteous Mob purchased the Rope with which Captain

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[281] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-1856, press-cutting, 'Museum of the Society'.
[282] SoAS, *Synopsis,* pp. 82; W. Scott, *The Abbot* (London: Marcus Ward & Co, 1878), p. 372; possibly NMS Pipe Key H.MJ 56, although this is currently listed as being donated by Robert Annan in 1860.
[283] SoAS, *Synopsis,* pp. 101-2; W. Scott, *Rob Roy* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1893), pp. 341-2; NMS, Sporran Clasp H.NE 12.
[284] SoAS, *Synopsis*, pp. 79-80; NMS, Archbishop Sharpe Spurs H.ML 20-1; Bannockburn Spur H.ML 12; Culloden Spur H.ML 28. Archbishop Sharpe (1613-79) had shifted his allegiance from the Covenanters to supporting Episcopalianism after Charles II was restored to the throne.
[285] SoAS, *Synopsis*, p. 83, purchased 1848. Unable to identify which dagger this is in NMS collection.

Porteous was hanged'.[286] This linked the figure to a known incident in Scottish history in 1736, even though it added no new evidence towards the study of the event.[287] Again, the Porteous Riot was familiar to literary tourists to the museum since it was featured in Scott's *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818).[288] Although 'national relics' and 'material witnesses' only represented a fraction of the collection by 1851, they were important items for drawing visitors into the museum. These items evoked an emotional connection through the human stories they represented and were tangible links to familiar narratives found in Scott's historical novels.

The value of the human stories connected to objects was not limited to the SoAS and similar attributions for objects are found in the catalogues of the BM and SoAL collections. However, in all three collections, historical connections were not presented as coherent narratives of the past. In the SoAL catalogue, there was listed a sword that was conjectured to belong to Oliver Cromwell, a crossbow found on Flodden Field and a spur 'found on Towton field, the scene of the conflict between Edward IV. and the Lancastrian forces'.[289] Similarly, some items in the British historical collection at the BM had connections to known figures, such as 'a crystal ball and wax cakes, used by Dr. Dee in his magical experiments.'[290] Within the SoAS, as elsewhere in mid-nineteenth century Britain, an object's connection to a famous person or event was represented in a fragmentary way within object descriptions in catalogues and presumably display labels to match. The typological arrangement of the SoAS collection, with only the nominal chronological divisions of medieval and miscellaneous, suggests that the museum did not aim to represent a narrative history of Scotland illustrated by objects and this reflected the same mode of display found at the SoAL and BM. As the previous chapter noted, the Society did not have the resources to collect high-value objects linked to prominent people or events from Scottish history. Therefore, there were not enough of these historic relics to construct a display that gave a coherent narrative of the Scottish past, had that been the intention. In the nineteenth century, museums almost exclusively relied on donations to expand their

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[286] Ibid., p. 145; NMS Dutch Figure H.KL 55.

[287] K. J. Logue, 'Porteous, John (c. 1695–1736), army officer and victim of crowd violence', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/22557 [accessed 11 Jun 2018]. Captain Porteous (City Guard of Edinburgh) was accused of giving orders to fire into the crowd during a riot at a public execution on 14 Apr 1736, killing six protestors. He was arrested and sentenced to death, but there were rumours he was to be reprieved. A mob gathered on 7 Sept 1736, broke into the Tolbooth prison and took Porteous to the Grassmarket where he was hung.

[288] W. Scott, *The Heart of Midlothian* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1818).

[289] Way, *Catalogue,* p. 26. The Battle of Flodden was an English victory over the Scottish army in 1513, during which King James IV was killed. The Battle of Towton was fought in 1461.

[290] BM, *Synopsis,* 1853, p. 238. John Dee (1527-1609) was an astrologer, mathematician, philosopher and advisor to Queen Elizabeth I of England.

collection, so curators started with a collection and then decided on the best mode of displaying it. The 1849 arrangement of the SoAS museum represents a starting point from which subsequent chapters will evaluate how the Society re-arranged the collection and what ideas underpinned these changes.

Relationships between collecting and display

Objects were not only displayed in the museum but also at SoAS meetings and evening conversaziones, as was common practice in many antiquarian societies. Exhibiting objects at meetings had been a feature of the social gatherings that constituted an ordinary meeting and encouraged Fellows to donate objects to help expand the SoAS collection. Some Fellows exhibited objects when presenting a paper, others brought objects from private collections to be exhibited without a paper, and many objects were exhibited prior to their donation. Between 1832 and 1841, 2% of objects had been exhibited either before or as part of their acquisition, rising to 14% of acquisitions from 1842 to 1851 (Appendix I, Tables 7 and 8). This increase reflects a more engaged membership immediately prior to the 1851 Conveyance. Sometimes the link between exhibition and acquisition was explicit: an object might be exhibited one week and donated not long afterwards, such as a chisel found at Trinity College Church exhibited by Wilson in December 1848, which was donated by him in January 1849.[291] Other objects were acquired much later, often after the owner died and the museum was able to purchase the objects or receive them by bequest. For example, the wooden, decorative panels from Dean House, acquired in 1851 from the Sharpe sale, had been previously displayed at an evening conversazione in 1848.[292] The relationships between display, discussion and donation were important in encouraging the expansion of the museum's collection, and the commencement of evening conversaziones allowed this social environment of knowledge (and object) exchange to extend outside the parameters of the ordinary meetings.

Wilson proposed starting evening conversaziones in 1847 and they were held approximately three times a year from 1848.[293] There are no complete records of who attended conversaziones, except for a cash book that covered five of them from 1851 to

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[291] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Evening Conversazione, 20 Dec 1848, pp. 261-2; NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 15 Jan 1849, pp. 263-6; NMS, Chisel W.QU 1.

[292] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 78; NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, Evening Conversazione, 3 Feb 1848, pp. 205-6, attended by 30-40 people; NMS, Ceiling Panels H.KL 68-72, these panels were in the SoAS museum on loan when Sharpe died.

[293] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 20 Dec 1847, pp. 186-9; SAS.MB.1840-1853, Evening Conversazione, 3 Feb 1848, pp. 205-6. The number differed each year: five in 1848, three in 1849, two in 1850, one in 1851, three in 1852, three in 1853 and one in 1854.

1854.[294] Tickets were sold in pairs at a cost of two shillings (equivalent to approximately £8 today).[295] The tickets were sold in pairs to allow Fellows to bring a guest, thereby encouraging non-members to attend.[296] Conversaziones were more social than the ordinary meetings since they were held in the evenings with non-members invited. They were also an opportunity to put on larger displays of objects from private collections, with lectures sometimes given by Fellows as part of the event. It was envisaged that these events would encourage non-members to engage with the Society and its museum and donate items to the collection.[297]

Figure 3-2 Engraving of Dunvegan Cup.
Illustration from D. Wilson, *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox, 1851), p. 652. Wikimedia Commons: Sir Daniel Wilson (1816–1892) / Public domain.

Some of the evening conversaziones were themed, with subjects including 'Antiquities of the Scottish Capital', 'The Memorials of the Covenanters and their Times' (83 attendees), and 'Jacobite Relics' (77 attendees).[298] Other conversaziones exhibited a mixture of items; one in 1850 was titled 'Archaeological Conversazione' and included Etruscan pottery,

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[294] NMS, SAS Cash Book 1853-1854, the first conversazione in the cash book is the 1851 conversazione on the Covenanters. Attendance varied from 55 to 80 attendees for four of the conversaziones, but one had only 16 attendees.

[295] Calculated using The National Archives, 'Currency converter: 1270-2017', https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/ [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[296] These conversaziones were therefore not fully public events.

[297] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 20 Dec 1847, pp. 186-9.

[298] NMS, SAS Cash Book 1853-1854; NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-56, 'Third Conversazione', 11 Apr 1849 and 'First Conversazione', 3 Apr 1851.

artillery, Roman pottery, casts from Roslin Chapel, medieval pottery, a Roman altar and various drawings and documents.[299] Recent acquisitions by the museum were displayed alongside objects from private collections, such as in 1851 when the purchases from the Sharpe sale were exhibited.[300] At this conversazione the Dunvegan Cup was displayed and a brief communication presented by Wilson (Figure 3-2).[301] It is probable that the Dunvegan cup was compared with the Irish drinking cup from the Sharpe collection to support Wilson's argument that both were of Irish manufacture, challenging Sir Walter Scott's attribution of it as a Hebridean drinking cup.[302] Just like within ordinary meetings, exhibiting and discussing objects at evening conversaziones meant their value could be explicitly shared with the group and validated what did or did not constitute the types of object that the museum should acquire.

Investigating the Scottish past in the *Proceedings*

The second part of this chapter considers how Fellows applied material-culture analysis to objects from historic periods and the types of evidence that objects represented. These methods will be compared with when Fellows merely used objects to illustrate the histories they wrote based on documentary sources. It contains an examination of papers presented at SoAS meetings, discussion of the published output of Robert Chambers and Daniel Wilson, and finally considers the extent to which objects were integrated into Patrick Fraser Tytler's *History of Scotland* (1828-43).[303]

Presenting papers and communications at meetings had been part of the social practice of knowledge exchange within the Society since its inception. The period from 1832 to 1851 is problematic, because many of the papers read at meetings were not published.[304] Of the 138 communications that this study identified as appearing to cover historical subjects only 29 could be examined, representing 21% of the total. Some unpublished papers were preserved in the Society's archive and others appeared as part of Fellows' monographs. Therefore, this study only included the papers which could be read either in published or

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[299] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-56, 'Archaeological Conversazione', 16 May 1850.

[300] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-56, 'First Conversazione', 28 Nov 1851.

[301] D. Wilson, 'The Dunvegan Cup', *PSAS*, 1 (1855), pp. 8-9; F. T. Macleod, 'Notes on the Relics preserved in Dunvegan Castle, Skye, and the Heraldry of the Family of MacLeod of MacLeod', *PSAS*, 47 (1913), pp. 99-129. The Dunvegan cup is a wooden ceremonial cup that is an heirloom of the MacLeods of Dunvegan.

[302] Wilson, 'The Dunvegan Cup'.

[303] P. F. Tytler, *History of Scotland,* 9 vols (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1828-43).

[304] SoAS, 'List of Communications read at the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1830-1851', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 (1857), Appendix, pp. 13-50, gives just the titles.

archival form, or the general contents of them inferred from versions in monographs, rather than simply analysing the titles.

The quantitative analysis for 1832 to 1851 divided the papers into the 'types' of history described in chapter one above. This study examined twenty papers that were presented at meetings between 1832 and 1851. Four were 'history from and of things', nine were 'history from architecture', three were 'history and things as illustrations' and four were 'history without things' (Appendix I, Table 13 and Figure 3-3 below). These figures demonstrate the interdisciplinarity of mid-nineteenth century antiquarian study, as would be expected at this period. Out of all 29 communications that are included in this analysis, eight were accompanied by the exhibition of objects, of which five were accompanied by objects that were acquired by the museum either at the same meeting or at a later date (Appendix I, Table 14). The nature of the sources for this period precludes the identification of definitive trends, as is possible for later decades. However, the information is sufficient to demonstrate that Fellows were regularly utilising material sources within their study of the Scottish past and that the exhibition of objects with papers was part of assigning and establishing historical meanings.

Figure 3-3 Types of history in twenty papers presented 1832-51.
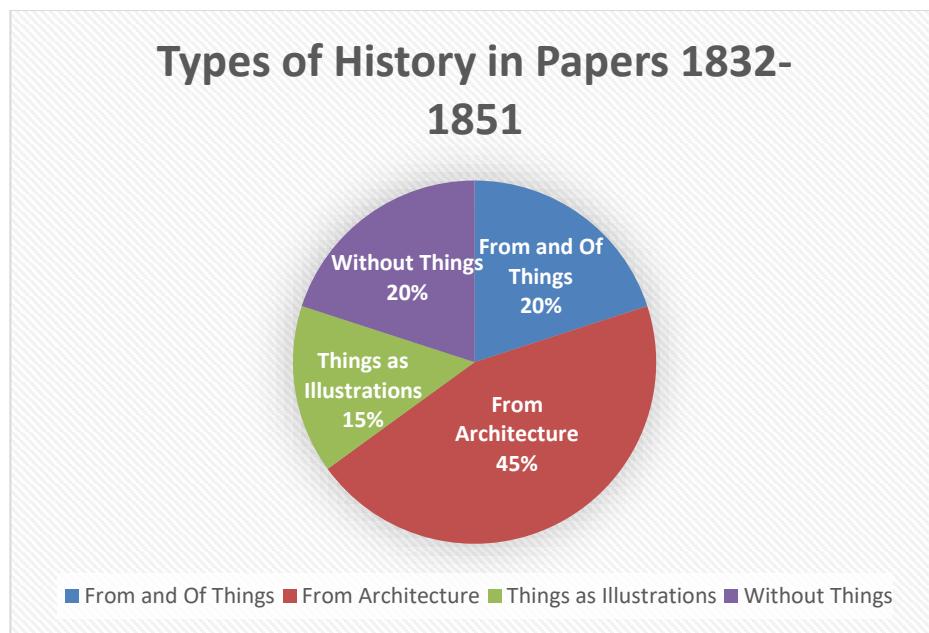
Sources: NMS, SAS Communications 1842-1852; SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* **1 (1855); SoAS,** *Archaeologia Scotica,* **4 (1857).**

The second stage of the quantitative analysis considered the occupations of Fellows who had presented papers at meetings. This data was examined to ascertain which Fellows were writing 'history from and of things' and whether there was a distinguishable relationship

between papers utilising material-culture analysis and the skills and interests of Fellows. Of the twenty papers presented from 1832 to 1851, the backgrounds of authors who presented 'history from and of things' included an engraver, a librarian, a Sheriff-Clerk and an author with no listed occupation, with Daniel Wilson being the engraver and David Laing the librarian (Appendix I, Figure 4).[305] The quantitative approach becomes more revealing when applied to larger samples of papers in subsequent decades. Due to the small sample of papers from 1832 to 1851, this data does not establish definitive links, but it is useful in identifying which individual Fellows were attempting to analyse historical objects in their research. A closer examination of specific papers from 1832 to 1851 provides clearer information on how objects were utilised as primary source material and the ways in which objects contributed to the investigation of the Scottish past.

Within the SoAS papers there were recognisable methods of material-culture analysis centred on description, comparison and analysis of sources both within and outside the museum. Papers described the physical features of an object, compared it with similar or supporting objects, and analysed documentary and oral sources. For example, Laing's paper on the privately-owned medieval Dunstaffnage ivory figure focused on identifying the type of object it was and tried to determine the date of its manufacture.[306] Laing described and analysed the form and design of the figure and compared it to the Lewis chess pieces (two of which he borrowed from Sharpe to display at this meeting in 1833). Laing argued that:

> The general resemblance… is sufficiently striking between these figures to render it not improbable that the latter was designed for a similar purpose [as a chess piece], and that Pennant's theory, however ingenious, of its having been intended as an inauguration image, must be abandoned…The result of the comparison of these three figures, I think, will be, that the Dunstaffnage figure is of more recent workmanship. It does not exhibit the same hard folds of the drapery, and that character of rude and primitive simplicity which may warrant the ascription of the Lewis figures to the twelfth century.[307]

Laing used his analysis to dispute that the Dunstaffnage figure was an inauguration sculpture celebrating the coronation of one of the early kings of Scotland, in effect removing its meaning as a 'national relic'.[308] He displayed the three chess pieces discussed

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[305] For the list of all papers and authors from 1832 to 1851 view the papers spreadsheet.

[306] D. Laing, 'A Brief Notice of the small Figure cut in Ivory, supposed by Pennant to represent the King of Scotland in his Coronation Chair, and which was discovered in Dunstaffnage Castle', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 (1857), pp. 366-9.

[307] Ibid., pp. 368-9; D. H. Caldwell & M. A. Hall, eds, *The Lewis Chessmen: New Perspectives* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Ltd, 2014) for more recent research on the chess pieces.

[308] Laing, 'A Brief Notice', pp. 367-9.

in his paper, combining the practices of exhibition and comparative description to support his argument (Figure 3-4).[309] Although the Dunstaffnage figure was not acquired, the Lewis chess pieces were purchased by the SoAS museum in 1888. Laing's paper utilised comparative analysis, supported by the physical exhibition of objects, to present the Dunstaffnage figure as tangible evidence of gaming pieces of the medieval period, contesting its meaning as a 'national relic' connected to the early kings of Scotland.

Figure 3-4 Lewis chess piece, NMS, H. NS 19.
King figure. Image © National Museums Scotland.

Laing's paper disconnected the Dunstaffnage figure from its perceived place in national history, but other papers presented by Fellows in this period aimed to authenticate an object's national importance. An example of this type of paper was one that discussed the finds from St Magnus's Cathedral.[310] After 1845, H. M. Board of Works carried out restoration work to St Magnus's Cathedral in Kirkwall, Orkney. George Petrie (d. 1875), the Orkney antiquarian, wrote to Laing to communicate that a wax chalice and paten, an oak crosier and a stone effigy had been found in what was believed to be the tomb of Bishop Thomas Tulloch.[311] A second letter from William Henry Fotheringham (1796-1868) to Laing in 1848 informed the Society of the leaden plate that had been found in a second tomb.[312] Fotheringham's communication analysed the leaden plate and the tomb's

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[309] NMS, Chess-piece, King H.NS 19; Chess-piece, King H.NS 20.

[310] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 119-29.

[311] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 119-22 George Petrie to David Laing, 25 Sept 1848; C. Wickham-Jones, *Between the Wind and the Water: World Heritage Orkney* (Cheshire: Windgather Press, 2006), pp. 139-42. George Petrie was the local sheriff clerk and factor for the Graemeshall estate on Orkney. He wrote the first published account of Skara Brae and conducted over 30 archaeological excavations. Thomas Tulloch was a fifteenth-century Bishop of Orkney. See also Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals,* pp. 536-7 and 667-8.

[312] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 123-9 W. H Fotheringham to David Laing, 13 Oct 1848; NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 2 Apr 1849, pp. 281-4; Fotheringham was the Sheriff Clerk of Orkney and Justice of the Peace.

architectural features as material evidence that could identify whether the tomb did indeed belong to Bishop William Tulloch as held by tradition; credited as being the first resident Bishop of Orkney who had overseen the construction of the cathedral.[313] The methods Fotheringham employed included close examination of the inscription on the plate, comparison with documentary sources and saga literature, and description of architectural features and objects that were found at the site. The plate had value through its connection to a famous historical person, but it was through material-culture analysis of the plate that this historical connection was authenticated. The museum initially acquired casts of the leaden plate and crosier, then in 1864 the museum received the original objects through Treasure Trove.[314] Fotheringham's paper applied the same methods of analysis as had been applied to the Dunstaffnage figure, but in this case the historical connection to the object was authenticated, rather than refuted. The small sample of papers that discussed objects from 1832 to 1851 were mainly isolated object-studies, such as the two that have been discussed, within which an object was integrated into historical narratives to clarify (or restrict) the historical meaning assigned to it and the context within which an object was appreciated. These meanings were then formally recorded and shared through the publication of communications and papers in *Archaeologia Scotica* and the *Proceedings.* However, more extensive use of objects in written research was evident in a few monographs of the period published by Robert Chambers and Daniel Wilson.

Robert Chambers (1802-71) and Daniel Wilson (1816-92)

Robert Chambers was elected to the Society in 1844 and was a vice-president of the SoAS from 1849 to 1851.[315] He had established a bookselling business and was a prolific writer before he went into publishing with his brother William.[316] Chambers' publications, including the popular *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,* covered a wide range of subjects, and his contributions were a key part of nineteenth-century self-improvement literature.[317] He had been on terms of friendship with Sir Walter Scott and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe

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[313] B. E. Crawford, 'William [William the Old] (d. 1168), bishop of Orkney', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/49358 [accessed 11 Jun 2018].

[314] NMS, 'Register of Donations National Museum of Antiquities 1860-96', p. 72.

[315] SoAS, 'List of the Office Bearers', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 (1857), Appendix, p. 51.

[316] W. Chambers, *Memoir.*

[317] S. M. Cooney, 'Chambers, Robert (1802–1871), publisher and writer.' *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/5079 [accessed 13 Mar 2018]; Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain,* pp. 109-12; A. Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge: William Chambers and the Business of Publishing, 1820-60* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); R. J. Scholnick, '"The Fiery Cross of Knowledge": *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 1832-1844', *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 32:4 (1999), pp. 324-58; W. Chambers, *Memoir,* pp. 226-44 and 334-6. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* started in 1832 and was conceived as a weekly paper containing useful knowledge at an accessible price for all social classes.

since the 1820s.[318] Daniel Wilson was elected to the Society in 1846 and was secretary of

the SoAS from 1847 to 1851.[319] He was an artist and engraver, ran a print-seller's shop

from 1843 to 1848, and also wrote popular histories.[320] Wilson emigrated from Scotland to

Canada in 1853 to take up the Chair of History and English Literature at the University of

Toronto. However, he continued to be involved in the study of Scottish history,

archaeology and ethnography until his death in 1892.[321] Wilson and Chambers were friends

who both came from middle-class, professional backgrounds and were successful authors

of a range of antiquarian, historical and scientific monographs.[322] They were active

members on the SoAS Council, were familiar with the museum collection, and offer

interesting case studies since they employed objects in different ways to support their

research.

Although Chambers was deeply involved in Society affairs, he gave very few papers to the

SoAS throughout his life.[323] However, his published output beyond the Society was

substantial and some of his monographs included references to objects.[324] The one

published paper that Chambers presented to the Society in this period was concerned with

the tomb of Bishop Kennedy at St Andrews.[325] This paper contained brief analysis of the

tomb and its inscription; falling within this study's category of 'history from architecture'.

Chambers' monographs on Scottish history published between 1832 and 1851 were: *The

History of Scotland* (1832), *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh* (1833) and *Traditions of

Edinburgh* (1847 edition). Chambers rarely mentioned objects in *History of Scotland* and

when he did so they featured as illustrations or material witnesses to accompany the

historical narrative. For example, in a footnote to his account of the execution of Regent

Morton, he mentioned that the beheading machine, the Maiden, 'employed to shed much

noble blood during the great civil war… is preserved in the Museum'.[326] This linked the

object to famous people and events but did not provide much detail on the object itself.

Minor Antiquities focused on streets and buildings in Edinburgh with little reference to

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[318] R. Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh,* 1868 edition (London: W. & R. Chambers, 1868), pp. v-xii.

[319] SoAS, 'List of the Office Bearers'; Ash, 'genial, hearty band', pp. 86-113.

[320] M. Ash, 'Daniel Wilson the Early Years', in *Thinking with Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New,* ed. E. Hulse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 30-6.

[321] Ash, 'genial, hearty band', p. 111.

[322] M. Ash, 'Old Books, Old Castles and Old Friends: The Making of Daniel Wilson's *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland',* in *Thinking with Both Hands: Sir Daniel Wilson in the Old World and the New*, ed. E. Hulse (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 60-80.

[323] SoAS, 'List of Communications', Appendix, pp. 13-50, three papers between 1832 and 1851.

[324] W. Chambers, *Memoir,* pp. 254-91.

[325] R. Chambers, 'Memorandum respecting the Tomb of Bishop Kennedy in the Chapel of St Salvador's College, St Andrews', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. 382-4.

[326] R. Chambers, *The History of Scotland,* 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1832), i, p. 244; NMS, The Maiden H.MR 1.

objects either inside or outside the museum. The single museum object mentioned was the stool believed to have been the one famously thrown by Jenny Geddes in St Giles', Edinburgh, in 1637.[327] Chambers' correspondence with David Laing reflects his marginal interest in objects, with a greater focus on manuscript research.[328] However, in *Traditions of Edinburgh,* revised in 1847, there were more instances of objects featuring within his work.[329]

Traditions utilised objects as illustrations of the social history of Edinburgh. The text included architectural and location description, oral history that was collected from inhabitants of Edinburgh, documentary sources and descriptions of objects.[330] As in his previous monographs, reference was made to objects that were held by the museum, such as the door from Blyth's Close and Jenny Geddes' stool.[331] The new method employed in this publication was that of discussing objects related to everyday life that were not held by the museum. Examples include descriptions of eighteenth-century female attire and an account of the interactions between rural bridegrooms and Edinburgh goldsmiths at the Luckenbooths. Chambers related how bridegrooms travelled to Edinburgh to commission silver wedding spoons.[332] He stated that,

> It had been usual… for the goldsmith to adjourn with his customer to John's Coffee-house, or to the Baijen-Hole, and to receive the order or payment, in a comfortable manner, over a dram and a *caup* of small ale; which were, upon the first occasion, paid by the customer, and, upon the second, by the trader; and the goldsmith then was perhaps let into the whole secret counsels of the rustic, including a history of his courtship- in return for which he would take pains to amuse his customer with a sketch of the city news.[333]

Wedding spoons were one way into a discussion about Scottish conviviality, manners and regional practices. This reflected the kind of material that Chambers wrote about in *Chambers Journal,* in which he discussed historical and contemporary social practices in

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[327] R. Chambers, *Minor Antiquities of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: William & Robert Chambers, 1833), p. 181; NMS, Camp Stool H.KL 3.

[328] National Library of Scotland, Dep 341 W & R Chambers; University of Edinburgh, The Laing Collection, La.IV.17.1644-83 Robert Chambers to David Laing.

[329] R. Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh,* 1825; R. Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh,* 1847 edition (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1847). First published as pamphlets between 1824 and 1825 with the monograph published in 1825. The book went through numerous but unnumbered editions. The structure of the 1847 edition was significantly changed compared to the 1825 edition, however objects were used in an equivalent way.

[330] W. Chambers, *Memoir*, pp. 170-83; he had obtained these stories through social networks and correspondence with Scott and Sharpe, see Chambers, *Traditions,* 1868, pp. v-xii.

[331] Chambers, *Traditions,* 1847, pp. 26 and 98-9.

[332] Chambers, *Traditions,* 1847, pp. 104-5 and 192-7.

[333] Ibid., p. 105.

different parts of Britain.[334] Chambers valued objects, such as these silver spoons, as evidence of the sociable aspects of eighteenth-century wedding preparations, drinking practices and economic exchanges. Indeed, his accounts may have referenced objects that many people held as family heirlooms in their own homes. Chambers' historical narrative was centred on people and stories, 'the romantic things connected with Old Edinburgh.'[335] Objects in these narratives provided readers with physical connections and illustrations of life in the Scottish past, giving them a literary rather than a historical function.

The literary function of objects employed by Chambers in *Traditions* reflected the methods of Sir Walter Scott in his novels. Lucy Linforth argued that Scott utilised objects in his writing as a springboard from which to construct his narratives as well as to direct readers to surviving fragments of the past.[336] Chambers followed a similar approach to encourage interest in tangible survivals of old Edinburgh and contribute to their preservation. The previous chapter noted that a prominent number of acquisitions from 1832 to 1851 were fragments of buildings and some of these items can be linked to Chambers' work. For example, in *Traditions* Chambers described how tirling pins were disappearing from nineteenth-century Edinburgh, 'Hardly one specimen of the pin, crow, or ringle now survives in the Old Town.'[337] In the museum, there was an evening conversazione that displayed tirling pins from historic buildings, including the Scottish Mint, Lady Lovat's house and Cardinal Beaton's Palace, some of which were then acquired by the museum (Figure 3-5).[338] In *Traditions,* Chambers also described implements from the Old Scottish Mint, 'all these implements, which would now have been great curiosities, are lost.'[339] But, it seems they were not. Ten dies from the Scottish Mint were purchased by the SoAS museum in 1849.[340] A further 128 dies and coin punches were acquired through Treasure Trove in 1862.[341] By connecting an object (or class of objects) to historical narratives there was a greater likelihood that Fellows and the SoAS museum would seek out and preserve

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[334] For example, see W. Chambers & R. Chambers, eds, 'Artificial Drinking Usages of Scotland', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal Feb 1832 – Dec 1853,* 226 (1836), pp. 141-2, which reproduced extracts from J. Dunlop, *Artificial Drinking Usages of North Britain,* 4th edition (Greenock: K. Johnston, 1836); W. Chambers & R. Chambers, eds, 'A Day with our Ancestors', *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts,* Vol XVII, 418-43 (London: W & R Chambers, 1862), pp. 218-20, discussed domestic life in the middle ages.
[335] Chambers, *Traditions,* 1847, p. v.
[336] Linforth, 'Fragments of the Past', pp. 114 and 258-9.
[337] Chambers, *Traditions,* 1847, pp. 199-200, a tirling pin was attached to front doors and the ring was pulled up and down to make a noise.
[338] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Evening Conversazione, 21 Feb 1849, pp. 271-3; SoAS, *Synopsis,* pp. 139-40; NMS, Tirling Pin from Mint H.MJ 112; Tirling Pin from Beaton's Palace H.MJ 113.
[339] Chambers, *Traditions,* 1847, p. 250.
[340] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Council Meeting, 11 Jun 1849, pp. 289-91; NMS, Coin Dies W.MP 103-12.
[341] NMS, SAS.MB.1853-68, Meeting, 10 Feb 1862, pp. 243-5; NMS, Coin Dies and Punches H.QN 3-153.

such items. In *Traditions*, one of the most valuable results of Chambers' approach was that he made people aware of these historic objects within his work and contributed to their future preservation.
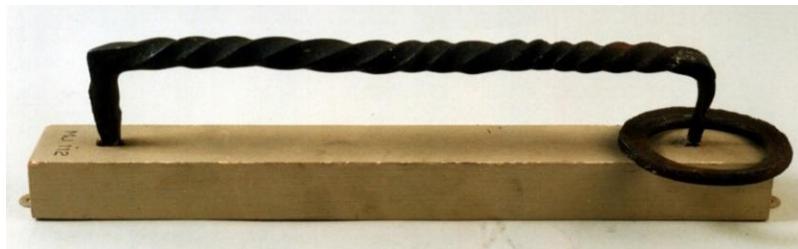
Figure 3-5 Tirling Pin from the Old Scottish Mint, NMS, H.MJ 112.
Image © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

In comparison to Chambers, Wilson was a more active contributor of papers to SoAS meetings, in which he analysed the form, construction and decoration of objects in order to study the Scottish past. All seven of Wilson's papers presented from 1832 to 1851 fell within this study's 'history from architecture' or 'history from and of things'. As noted earlier, he presented a short communication on the Dunvegan cup, whilst other papers examined the development of Scottish architectural styles, ecclesiastical bells and a bronze seal matrix.[342] Wilson's interest in architectural analysis is evident in his publication *Memorials of Edinburgh*. Wilson applauded Chambers' *Traditions* for providing the picturesque stories associated with localities in Edinburgh but claimed his own book would question historical traditions using evidence of the buildings, along with information from, 'hundreds of old charters, title-deeds, and records of various sorts'.[343] In *Memorials,* objects were sometimes presented as illustrations and at other times as material evidence. Wilson's treatment of the interior decorations from Blyth's Close used them as evidence of the development of Scottish art, while his references to the Maiden were intended to illustrate accounts of different executions in Scotland.[344] However, this discussion will focus on Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals* because it contrasted with *Memorials* in studying the past from a specifically material-culture perspective, with greater emphasis on analysing objects.

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[342] D. Wilson, 'Bronze Matrix with Hebrew Inscription', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. 39-41; D. Wilson, 'Primitive Scottish Bells - Notes on the Buidhean or Bell of Strowan, and other primitive Ecclesiastical Bells of Scotland', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. 18-22; D. Wilson, 'NOTICE of the Remains of a Norman Chapel in the Castle of Edinburgh' in NMS, SAS Comms 1842-52, fol. 86, 27 July 1846. Three other papers were presented that appear to have been published as part of *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals.*
[343] Wilson, *Memorials,* 1848, i, p. vi.
[344] Ibid., pp. 86, 100 and 154-7.

Prehistoric Annals as a monograph was innovative in its placing of objects at the forefront of the whole book, rather than as footnotes, illustrations, or supplementary material. Since the monograph mainly dealt with prehistoric material this was a logical approach because there are few or no documentary sources for prehistoric periods. Despite the title, Wilson included aspects of Scottish medieval and early modern history in this publication: applying the same forms of examination and analysis to historic objects that he employed for prehistoric objects. The majority of the historic objects in *Prehistoric Annals* were discussed in the sections headed as 'Amusements', 'Medieval Ecclesiology', 'Ecclesiastical Antiquities', and 'Miscellaneous Antiquities'.[345] Wilson noted how many historical objects, 'preserve associations with the victors of Prestonpans and the vanquished of Culloden Moor. But such objects belong perhaps fully more to the poet than to the archaeologist'.[346] Much more important to Wilson was how historic objects could add 'an additional element wherewith to test and to supplement the invaluable records which the printing press supplies'.[347] For example, he analysed the form of the two-handed sword to demonstrate that,

> we discern in it the evidence of just such hardy, skilless [sic], overbearing power, as history informs us was the character of the medieval baron, before the rise of the burgher class readjusted the social balance by the preponderance of rival interests.[348]

The study of archival and literary sources had produced opposing views of the medieval past as either chivalric and heroic or barbarous and backward. By starting with the examination of an object, Wilson supported one side of this debate with material-culture evidence. He argued that since the two-handed sword was a tool of power, it was tangible evidence that, 'the rude baron of the thirteenth century… lived by "the good old rule" of physical force'.[349] Throughout *Prehistoric Annals,* Wilson described, analysed and compared objects such as this to demonstrate how material remains could test or support dominant perceptions about the Scottish past. However, he conceded that for historic periods, documentary sources provided the majority of information as opposed to prehistoric periods where material culture was the dominant source.[350]

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[345] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals,* p. vi.
[346] Ibid., p. 686.
[347] Ibid., p. 694.
[348] Ibid., p. 684.
[349] Ibid., pp. 683-4.
[350] Ibid., pp. 694-5.

Roey Sweet noted that the eighteenth-century antiquarian interest in studying objects to investigate national art and customs were part of Enlightenment studies of manners and sentiment, with this practice extending into the nineteenth century as an established part of historical investigations.[351] Wilson was one of a number of nineteenth-century authors employing objects and architecture as evidence of changing customs and practices towards a more civilised state of society.[352] He argued that objects were evidence of, 'the peculiar arts and customs or the degree of civilisation of ages.'[353] Art, manners and customs were perceived by Wilson as indicators of Scotland's progress and evidence of these practices had survived in tangible form. For example, Wilson discussed early seventeenth-century wassail bowls (or mazer cups). He argued that these cups were not ecclesiastical chalices since they were decorated with both pious *and* humorous inscriptions. Wilson valued these domestic items as a, 'curious illustration of the manners and ideas of the age to which they belong.'[354] Wilson proposed that wassail cups were illustrations of social practices and religious beliefs, just before the upheavals of the Covenanting period. The expression of piety and humour on an item for consuming alcohol was an indicator of what was to come, 'Their odd devices and quaint inscriptions are indicative of the old Puritan spirit manifesting itself in this simple guise during the reign of James, preparatory to its stern outbreak in that of his son.'[355] Wilson's treatment of wassail cups linked objects with religious history at a particularly crucial point in Scotland's national past. The value of such objects for providing evidence of changing Scottish customs and manners reflected contemporary interest in social history. But Wilson applied more detailed analysis of the form and decoration of objects in *Prehistoric Annals* to investigate this social history compared to the illustrative approach employed by Chambers.

A major theme of *Prehistoric Annals* was identifying objects that were of Scottish origin and specific to Scotland's cultural history. The close examination and description of objects was one way that Wilson identified these items of national manufacture. Among the objects that displayed designs specific to Scotland were Highland targes, Lochaber axes and various instruments of punishment 'of which Scotland may lay claim to the questionable boast of having some peculiarly national examples.'[356] In terms of national styles of decoration, Wilson provided examples of how Celtic ornament was applied to

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[351] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, pp. 342-3; Sweet, 'Antiquarian Transformations'.
[352] Sweet, 'Antiquarian Transformations', discusses this practice in relation to English antiquarians.
[353] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals*, p. 676.
[354] Ibid., p. 673.
[355] Ibid., p. 676.
[356] Ibid., p. 688 and pp. 682-94.

early medieval sculptured stones and persisted until the eighteenth century on 'old
Highland brooches and drinking horns… [and] employed in decorating the handle of the
Highland dirk and knife, down to the last fatal struggle of the clans on Culloden Moor'.[357]
He provided the example of a seventeenth-century powder horn in the collection of James
Drummond as one such item displaying this Celtic ornamentation.[358] In contrast, Wilson
noted that medieval Scottish and English ceramics were similar, an indication that he was
not merely preoccupied with studying Scotland in isolation or arguing for Scottish
distinctiveness where it did not exist.[359] Wilson's work identified objects that were specific
to Scotland's cultural history, in effect highlighting the types of items the Society's
museum should collect. This was a similar approach to that applied by Wilson to
prehistoric objects, such as identifying Scottish examples of Bronze-Age weapons,
implements and personal ornaments.[360] In all these instances, he made comparisons with
related objects from across Britain and Europe to identify Scotland's cultural history within
wider British and European developments. Wilson's work appears to have reflected views
held by other Fellows in the Society in giving importance to objects that represented
distinctive Scottish forms, which accounts for the Scottish instruments of punishment,
Highland brooches, powder horns, dirks, targes, etc., that were collected in increasing
numbers between 1852 and 1891.

One final subject that was prominent in *Prehistoric Annals* was Wilson's treatment of
ecclesiastical subjects. Wilson devoted two chapters to medieval ecclesiastical architecture
and one to medieval ecclesiastical antiquities, covering mainly Catholic and some
Protestant remains.[361] Identifying a distinctive sequence of Scottish architectural styles was
important to Wilson to support his argument that national styles of architecture, 'grow like
the oak, unforced and in its native soil; and, when thus originating, its living forms
becoming the embodiment of the polity, social history, and religious faith of the nation.'[362]
This argument mirrors those of Pugin's publications of the 1830s and 1840s, linking
architecture with history and morality.[363] Arguably, Scottish architectural remains were

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[357] Ibid., p. 220; 'Celtic' is an ambiguous and unspecific term that has been applied to very different
archaeological and cultural sources from 500BC onwards, but the term's connection to Highland styles of
decoration is one that has continued into the twenty-first century, see J. Farley & F. Hunter, eds, *Celts:
Art and Identity* (London: British Museum Press, 2015).

[358] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals*, p. 221; NMS, Powder-horn H.LK 8, bequeathed by
Drummond to the SoAS museum in 1877.

[359] Ibid., pp. 677-82.

[360] Ibid., pp. 217-330.

[361] Ibid., pp. 582-676.

[362] Ibid., p. 643.

[363] Carruthers, *Arts and Crafts,* pp. 6-7, Pugin published *Contrasts* in 1836 and 1841, and *The True
Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* in 1841.

also more numerous than objects for investigating Scotland's Catholic past. Wilson did not deny that English and European styles had influenced Scotland, but he argued that Scotland's historical context had shaped its architectural practices, with less English influence during periods of conflict between the two kingdoms. Through evidence from architectural fragments, surviving buildings and depictions on seals, Wilson proposed that before the eleventh century Scottish architectural styles had significantly differed from England and diverged again after the wars of independence.[364] In the section where Trinity College Church was discussed, Wilson argued, 'it will be perceived that the close of the Scottish Decorated period is as totally disconnected with that of England as is the development of its peculiar and most characteristic features.'[365] In turn, Wilson proposed that architectural differences across Europe reflected each country's specific national history and character.[366] Wilson's descriptive and comparative approach to ecclesiastical buildings explicitly linked differences in styles with the development of Scotland's history, providing a clear relationship between the analysis of tangible remains and writing about Scotland's national past. It is worth noting that at no point in *Prehistoric Annals* did Wilson describe the history of Scotland as a regional history, and in this he reflected the rhetoric of the Society during the negotiations for the Conveyance that Scotland was a nation with its own national history and antiquities.

Reviews of *Traditions* and *Prehistoric Annals* demonstrate that readers of these monographs appreciated that Chambers and Wilson employed very different approaches. However, both authors were praised for providing new and interesting information concerning the Scottish past. Both positive and negative reviews of *Traditions* emphasised that it was a book about stories. In the *Monthly magazine* in 1825 the reviewer described it as containing historical 'tittle-tattle… which may amuse *grown children'*.[367] Conversely, the review in the *Edinburgh magazine and literary miscellany* claimed that Chambers was a patriot who had 'discovered much that was previously unknown to the public, and preserved more which… would have been lost forever.'[368] A review of the 1847 edition stated that Chambers 'had the great art of selecting subjects of the utmost homely

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[364] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals*, pp. 619-20, the comparative table on p. 647 puts the English and Scottish architectural styles in chronological order.
[365] Ibid., p. 630.
[366] Ibid., p. 644.
[367] Anon, 'Traditions of Edinburgh; Or Sketches and Anecdotes of the City in Former Times, BY ROBERT CHAMBERS', *Monthly magazine, or, British regster, Feb.1800-June 1836,* 60:414 (1825), p. 153, original emphasis.
[368] Anon, 'Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh', *Edinburgh magazine and literary miscellany,* 17 (1825), p. 130.

importance… as well as happy domestic illustrations'.[369] When the final edition was published in 1869 it was described as, 'a book of gossip, but of gossip of the best kind, gossip on really interesting subjects and put together with great skill.'[370] Stories were always the main vehicle through which Chambers connected readers of *Traditions* to information about the Scottish past: while objects served as literary tools to provide tangible links to these narratives.

In contrast, the reviews of *Prehistoric Annals* in 1851 focused on it being principally a study of Scottish archaeology and prehistory.[371] Indeed, in the *North British Review,* it was noted that Wilson was more successful in connecting 'archaeology… with geology [than]…with social and political history'.[372] One review in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* commended Wilson's material-culture approach, since it allowed him to dispel some of the myths of historic periods.[373] However, in general Wilson's chapters on historic periods received scant attention and the importance of objects as historical sources was emphasised for periods where no written records existed.[374] The reviews of neither monograph made particularly strong comments about the authors' utilisation of historical objects as sources for investigating Scottish history: it was Chambers' historical stories and Wilson's treatment of prehistory that were praised as being new and interesting additions to Scotland's national narrative.

Objects in narrative histories of Scotland?

The monographs of Chambers and Wilson demonstrate that by 1851 objects were finding a place within the investigation of the past as illustrations of Scotland's social history and evidence of a distinctive Scottish past. Chambers and Wilson were also by no means the only Fellows employing objects in their historical publications.[375] However, this did not translate into objects appearing to any great extent in narrative histories of Scotland. One

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[369] Anon, 'Select Writings of Robert Chambers', *Examiner*, 2064 (1847), p. 533.

[370] Anon, 'Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art,* 28:714 (1869), p. 23.

[371] Anon, 'The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland', *The Athenaeum,* 1221 (1851), pp. 326-7; Anon, 'The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland', *The Literary gazette: A weekly journal of literature, science, and the fine arts,* 1795 (1851), pp. 406-8; W. Chambers & R. Chambers, eds, 'Prehistoric Annals', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,* 381 (1852), pp. 243-6.

[372] Anon, 'ART. VI.-1. The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland', *The North British review,* 17:34 (1852), p. 460.

[373] Anon, 'The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* 3:9 (1852), pp. 76-7.

[374] Within all of the above reviews.

[375] For example, D. H. Robertson, *The Sculptured Stones of Leith, with historical and antiquarian notices* (Leith: Reid & Son, 1851); A. Jervise, *The history and traditions of the land of the Lindsays in Angus and Mearns, with notices of Alyth and Meigle* (Edinburgh: Sutherland & Knox, 1853).

of the key histories of Scotland written between 1832 and 1851 was Patrick Fraser Tytler's *History of Scotland*. Tytler had been encouraged by Sir Walter Scott to embark on this project, and he consulted a wealth of archival material as the basis for this work.[376] His narrative started at the accession of Alexander III in 1242 since he claimed, 'it is at this period that our national annals become particularly interesting to the general reader.'[377] Volume nine finished at the accession of James VI to the throne of England in 1603. But, within the nine volumes of *History of Scotland* there was minimal utilisation of objects to support Tytler's arguments.

After providing a narrative of events from 1242 to 1329 in the first volume (1828), volume two (1829) employed the study of objects within the section, 'A Historical Enquiry into the Ancient State of Scotland; embracing principally the period from the accession of Alexander the third to the death of David the second.'[378] This second volume contained discussions of objects related to the social and economic history of Scotland. For example, Tytler described architectural depictions of musical instruments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[379] He also examined seals, inventories and sculptured stones to describe the dress, armour and weapons of the period.[380] Such sources were deemed to be important since, 'the dress, the arms, and the warlike accoutrements of those remote times… is of considerable importance in estimating the civilisation of the period.'[381] Tytler's approach was similar to Wilson in arguing that objects were illustrative of the customs and manners of past ages and evidence of the civilised progress of a nation. However, the subsequent volumes of Tytler's *History* focused on the political narrative based on archival material, while objects did not feature as primary sources. Instead, social and economic history were covered through examining laws that affected daily life, such as sumptuary laws affecting dress, or statutes banning football and golf and encouraging archery.[382] After the reign of David II there were more surviving manuscripts that Tytler could access as sources. He recognised the importance of including social history within a national history of Scotland, but although objects were utilised as evidence in volume two,

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[376] M. Fry, 'Tytler, Patrick Fraser (1791–1849), historian', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/27968 [accessed 11 Nov 2019], Tytler's Tory, Episcopalian interpretation of Scottish history was widely rejected by Whig and Presbyterian critics.
[377] Tytler, *History of Scotland,* i, p. v.
[378] Tytler, *History of Scotland,* ii, p. 195.
[379] Ibid., p. 374.
[380] Ibid., pp. 419-86.
[381] Ibid., p. 419.
[382] Tytler, *History of Scotland,* iv, pp. 164-74.

this practice was abandoned in subsequent volumes in preference to the more abundant archival material.

Tytler was a Fellow of the SoAS and one of the founders of the Bannatyne club, a prominent publisher of manuscript sources. He was therefore part of antiquarian circles and aware of the types of object-analysis that were being applied to historic objects in the Society and elsewhere in Britain.[383] In 1843, Tytler wrote *Historical Notes on the Lennox or Darnley Jewel,* after he had assisted Prince Albert with re-arranging Queen Victoria's historical portrait miniatures and saw this sixteenth-century Scottish jewel.[384] In his analysis, he described the various emblems and mottoes on the jewel and explained how the jewel 'contains internal evidence, that it was made for Margaret, Countess of Lennox, in memory of her husband, the Regent, as a present to her royal grandson the King of Scots'.[385] Tytler linked symbolic messages conveyed by the jewel with the actions of the Earl of Lennox and his wife during the minority of James VI and their relationship to Queen Elizabeth during this period.[386] The centre of the jewel was perceived as containing its most secret biography, which Tytler believed represented the accusations of illegitimacy and Roman Catholicism that had been levelled against the Countess during her life.[387] Tytler's analysis was supported by 50 pages of appendices comparing his own interpretation with supplementary archival and material-culture evidence.[388] This publication demonstrates that Tytler was perfectly capable of interpreting an object and relating it to Scotland's (and England's) national histories. However, when tasked with writing a narrative account of Scotland's past, Tytler focused on the wealth of information that could be extracted from manuscript sources and only employed objects for earlier periods where written records were scarce.

Conclusion

From 1832 to 1851, the Society and the museum were attempting to apply a material-culture approach to the display of their prehistoric and historic collections. The early

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[383] Fry, 'Tytler', https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/27968 [accessed 11 Nov 2019], Tytler's cousin was historian Archibald Alison (1792-1867); S. Smiles, 'Art and Antiquity in the Long Nineteenth Century', in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707-2007,* ed. S. M. Pearce (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), p. 136, lists some of the publications of the mid-nineteenth century that focused on the study of objects such as costume and furniture.

[384] Fry, 'Tytler'.

[385] P. F. Tytler, *Historical Notes on the Lennox or Darnley Jewel* (London: William Nicol, Shakespeare Press, 1843)*,* pp. 29-30. The Countess and the Earl of Lennox were the parents of Lord Darnley, second husband of Mary Queen of Scots.

[386] Ibid., pp. 20-2.

[387] Ibid., pp. 24-31.

[388] Ibid., pp. 35-85.

adoption of the three-age system in Scotland was a conscious attempt to utilise the tangible remains of the past to provide material evidence of the Enlightenment theory of stadial progress. However, even though the SoAS museum divided its prehistoric collection into chronological periods, the historic section was only divided into medieval and miscellaneous. There was no attempt by the SoAS to present a narrative of the Scottish past through its collection, but this was because the museum did not hold a collection that could be displayed in this fashion. The representation of historical periods by type of object reflected exhibition practices elsewhere in mid-nineteenth century Britain, with the SoAS museum employing similar display strategies to the BM and the SoAL. As was noted in the previous chapter, nineteenth-century collections often expanded through donation, rather than museums actively dictating what to collect. Therefore, any arrangement in these museums was an attempt to impose a rational system of classification and display on a collection that was not systematically acquired. Division by material or the 'use' of an object was an easier system to impose on disparate historical collections than strict chronological arrangements, particularly of periods where a visitor may have come to the museum with prior knowledge from literary and historical publications. If objects were perceived as supplementing an already established historical narrative based on archival sources, then this material-themed approach was an obvious way of illustrating different facets of society and manners of the past.

In the *Synopsis* Wilson noted that the SoAS museum contained objects illustrative of national manners and customs linked to Scotland's history of civilised progress.[389] However, as the object descriptions can attest, the Society and museum visitors still valued connections to famous people and events. The stories attached to objects were an important and valid form of meaning-making and were part of public enthusiasm for a Scott-inspired literary engagement with Scottish history. This practice was not however confined to Scotland, and myths and stories connected to objects were equally present in the displays of the SoAL and BM in London. The connections of objects to people and places then allowed authors, such as Chambers, to utilise objects as literary devices in their monographs. *Traditions* encouraged public interest in the disappearing historic landscape of Edinburgh and objects that were preserved in the SoAS museum. This monograph also identified important tangible survivals, promoting the search for such objects and their donation to the museum. Objects were concurrently valued as links to people and events and examples of Scotland's social history. Chambers built on this mixture of social history

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[389] SoAS, *Synopsis,* p. x.

and storytelling in *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (1859-61), which will be discussed in chapter five of this thesis.[390]

Objects embodied meanings as material witnesses, illustrations and primary source evidence in a limited quantity of SoAS papers and historical monographs of the mid-nineteenth century. But the innovation of this period was greater emphasis on close analysis of the form and decoration of objects to authenticate (or refute) historical connections and provide new information on the arts, manners and customs of the past. The material-culture approach, extending from the study of prehistoric objects, was demonstrated by Wilson in *Prehistoric Annals* and reflected the beginning of more detailed research on historic objects that would develop throughout the nineteenth century. However, Wilson was one of the few proponents of such methods in Scotland. As the publications of Tytler show, objects were marginal within narrative histories of Scotland, while detailed analysis of objects more often appeared within dedicated object-focused monographs. Within those publications that employed objects as sources, there was a dialogue between national narratives, archival sources and object-analysis to produce meaningful interpretations of the past. It was not until after 1851 that detailed analysis of historic objects started to become more prevalent in the Society, and the reasons for this development are examined in subsequent chapters.

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[390] R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland,* 2nd edition, 3 vols (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1859-61).

Chapter 4   Establishing the Objectives of a National Antiquities Museum in Scotland (1852 to 1871)

As this thesis has noted, collecting and exhibiting British antiquities became more prominent throughout the UK in the mid-nineteenth century. This was driven by the influence of the archaeological and antiquarian associations that had formed in the 1840s and key individuals who amassed private collections or worked in museums. The BM had long been criticised for its lack of interest in collecting British antiquities but by 1870 the collection of British and medieval antiquities was being expanded under the keepership of Augustus Wollaston Franks. Through Franks' endeavours the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography was eventually formed in 1866.[391] Franks was a Fellow of both the SoAL and the SoAS, as well as a member of the Archaeological Institute.[392] However, in 1870 the collection of British antiquities was still extremely small for an institution the size of the BM, with the Christy Collection of prehistoric objects located in a separate building.[393] Between 1852 and 1871, Franks had been battling against the priorities of other keepers and the Trustees of the BM to establish a department of British antiquities; whereas the SoAS and the Board of Manufactures supported their museum's aim to collect and display the archaeology of Scotland with comparative collections from Britain and around the world.[394] Arthur MacGregor identified that British antiquities were collected more abundantly in the provincial museums of England than in the BM.[395] In Scotland, the Society explicitly positioned itself to collect Scottish and British antiquities as both a national antiquities museum *of* Scotland and the main archaeological society *for* Scotland.

David Clarke identified that the Society's museum was important for promoting the development of material-culture methods of analysis within Scotland during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[396] Scotland was also part of Europe-wide developments in

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[391] Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', pp. 51-114.

[392] Ibid., pp. 90-2; Franks became an SoAS Fellow in 1865.

[393] BM, *Guide to the Christy Collection of Prehistoric Antiquities and Ethnography* (London: British Museum, 1868); T. Nichols, *A Handy-Book of the British Museum, for Every-Day Readers* (London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1870), pp. 367-91; J. C. H. King, 'Franks and Ethnography', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum,* ed. M. Caygill & J. Cherry (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pp. 137-40. Banker and textile manufacturer Henry Christie (1810-65) bequeathed his collection to the BM. There was no room for it at the BM, so the lease of Christy's house at 103 Victoria Street was retained to display the collection.

[394] The Board of Manufactures was the government body through whom the museum was funded with two members of the Board of Manufactures sitting on the SoAS Council.

[395] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment,* pp. 287-9.

[396] D. V. Clarke, 'Scottish Archaeology in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', in *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition,* ed. A. S. Bell (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981), pp. 114-41.

archaeology, 'as a rationalist study of cultural evolution and a romantic investigation of how Europeans had lived before the earliest historical records.'[397] Many archaeologists focused on prehistoric cultural development, but this invariably led to extending their sequences of cultural change into historic periods and comparing prehistoric artefacts with contemporary objects. Darwin's evolutionary theories influenced the way that scholars perceived the social and cultural evolution of civilisation during this period, with objects perceived as tangible evidence of recognisable sequences of technological improvement. New Treasure Trove Laws in Scotland, instigated in 1859, resulted in the SoAS museum being given first refusal on items for the national collection.[398] These legal changes put the Society in a unique position to engage in archaeological investigations, since the museum could expand its collection in a more systematic way than was possible in other parts of Britain. Even though Treasure Trove was rarely invoked for items that were not gold or silver, most finds were generally reported at meetings and the legal position of the Society as the main repository for Scottish antiquities encouraged collectors to donate objects from excavations without the need to invoke the law.[399] The new Treasure Trove laws allowed the SoAS museum to position itself as the main repository for *all* the antiquities of Scotland and therefore display the national history of Scotland from the earliest inhabitants to contemporary times.

The continued interdisciplinarity of associational culture into the mid-nineteenth century is evident from the list of subjects covered by several new regional societies in Scotland. For example, in the Glasgow Archaeological Society (1856), the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society (1866) and the Gaelic Society of Inverness (1871), members embarked on the study of a wide range of sources encompassing history, archaeology, topography, literature and folklore.[400] However, the anniversary addresses discussed in this chapter demonstrate that Fellows of the Society favoured the label of 'archaeologist'; with the term 'antiquities' employed to describe manuscripts, inscriptions, monuments and objects. Between 1852 and 1871, Fellows of the SoAS explicitly argued that the term 'archaeology' was not employed to divide antiquarians who studied documents from antiquarians studying objects. Instead, it was so antiquarians could define themselves as studying the 'history of civilisation' in contrast to historians who narrated the lives of monarchs or battles of the past. The focus on studying systems of society,

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[397] Trigger, *Archaeological Thought,* p. 164.
[398] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 149-50.
[399] Clarke, 'Scottish Archaeology', pp. 114-9.
[400] C. S. Terry, *A catalogue of the publications of Scottish historical and kindred clubs and societies, 1780-1908* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1909), pp. 61-5 and 70-5.

rather than narratives of the past, had been a feature of antiquarianism across Europe since the fifteenth century.[401] Indeed, Peter Miller argued that it was the antiquarian concern with studying the lives of ordinary people that fed into liberal political attitudes that underpinned the 1848 uprisings in Europe.[402] But during this period, the term 'archaeologist' started to be favoured over the term 'antiquarian' across Europe and many of the ideas that had underpinned antiquarianism were further developed as part of studying both prehistoric and historic social systems and material culture.

This chapter examines the collecting practices and aims of the Society from 1852 to 1871. In the aftermath of the successful negotiation for government funding successive vice-presidents presented their views on the perceived role of the Society and its museum at annual general meetings (AGMs) and evening conversaziones. This was partly driven by the museum's new status as a national institution but also reflected wider debates within the antiquarian community regarding the value of archaeology for studying the past. The addresses provide compelling evidence of the aims and objectives of the Society between 1852 and 1871.[403] The speeches from 1852 to 1858 coincided with the extended interval between the finalisation of the Conveyance and the museum's relocation to their new apartments within the Royal Institution in 1858-9. This was a period when the SoAS had the promise of state-funded accommodation for the museum but the prolonged delay by the government to provide it caused concern within the Society. This prompted Fellows within the SoAS to clearly articulate their objectives for the museum and its place within the development of archaeology. The key arguments and ideas within these addresses are examined below since they formed the basis of the future trajectory of the Society and the perceived value of the museum for studying the Scottish past in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

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[401] Miller, *History and its Objects*, pp. 9-13.
[402] Ibid., pp. 144-5.
[403] Most addresses were published in full in the *Proceedings* between 1851 and 1861. Only a few speeches were published between 1862 and 1891.

Defining antiquarian subjects of study

Antiquarianism in Britain (and Europe) had been perceived by many as a trifling gentleman's hobby during the eighteenth century.[404] However, in the nineteenth century antiquarianism (often labelled as archaeology) was likened to other scientific disciplines.[405] James Young Simpson (1811-70) noted at the annual address to the Society in 1861 that, 'Formerly, the pursuit of Archaeology was not unfrequently regarded as a kind of romantic dilletanteism'.[406] However, Simpson maintained that methods had changed, 'Archaeology… of the nineteenth century, is a very different pursuit from the Archaeology of our forefathers, and has as little relation to their antiquarianism as modern Chemistry and modern Astronomy have to their former prototypes—Alchemy and Astrology.'[407] In 1856, Reverend William Lindsay Alexander (1808-84) likened the antiquarian focus on ascertaining details to the use of the microscope as opposed to the telescope. For, he argued, 'is it not out of correct dates and rightly-spelt names, and justly deciphered monuments, that the stately muse of history draws oftentimes the materials for her most splendid generalizations!'[408] The use of the scientific metaphor is important and reflects the nineteenth-century belief that studying the past could be an objective exercise, comparable to the work of biologists, geologists and astronomers.[409] This stance was promoted by historians and archaeologists alike, with history changing as a discipline from being a literary exercise to one using inductive methods of primary source criticism, as promoted by German historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886).[410] By promoting the scientific basis of antiquarianism, it enabled the SoAS to distance their activities from the stereotype of the rambling, amateur that was epitomised in Sir Walter Scott's character of Johnathan Oldbuck in *The Antiquary*.[411]

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[404] Manning, 'Antiquarianism', pp. 57-76; Miller, *History and its Objects*, pp. 4-6.

[405] R. Sweet, 'Antiquarianism and History', *Making History: The Changing Face of the Profession in Britain,* https://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/antiquarianism.html [accessed 20 Jul 2020], scientific was defined as following the inductive method of investigation whereby conclusions were based on empirical observation and comparison.

[406] Professor J. Y. Simpson, 'Address on Archaeology', *PSAS,* 4 (1863), p. 7; M. Nicolson, 'Simpson, Sir James Young, first baronet (1811–1870), physician and obstetrician', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/25584 [accessed 5 Sept 2018], Simpson published widely on antiquarian subjects and was elected Professor of Antiquities by the Royal Scottish Academy in 1861. He was a vice-president of the SoAS from 1858-61 and 1864-7.

[407] Simpson 'Address', pp. 7-8.

[408] Rev. W. L. Alexander, 'Anniversary Address', *PSAS,* 2 (1859), p. 303; A. Gordon, 'Alexander, William Lindsay (1808–1884), Congregational minister', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/338 [accessed 5 Sept 2018].

[409] Wilson, *Memorials*, 1848, p. ix, is one example of Fellows who vocalised this viewpoint.

[410] R. T. Vann, 'Historiography: Leopold Von Ranke', *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* https://www.britannica.com/topic/historiography [accessed 21 Jul 2020]; Lubenow, *Only Connect,* p. 174-7.

[411] Scott, *The Antiquary*.

Fellows with practical or scientific backgrounds were valued by the Society as contributing to the development of antiquarianism along these scientific principles. Simpson was an obstetrician and is best known for developing the use of chloroform as a method of anaesthesia and Fellows with backgrounds in medicine, science and craft occupations were valued for the empirical and analytical skills they could contribute. Watchmaker Robert Bryson (1778-1852) was one such Fellow who was valued for his role in contributing to the pursuit of antiquarianism as a science. Bryson's obituary in 1852 stated that:

> Bryson… as a practical worker… brought science to bear… on various branches of professional labour, and who furnished one of those examples in which Scotland has happily been so rich, of men rising from the ranks of her handicraftsmen to take an honourable place among her men of science.[412]

This example links back to Lubenow's argument that learned societies in the nineteenth century valued intellectual ability over personal wealth or social standing.[413] Bryson not only contributed his horological expertise to antiquarian study, but he was instrumental in founding the first Mechanics Institute in Edinburgh.[414] Through his efforts, he promoted the education and improvement of other 'handicraftsmen' who could become contributors to this group of 'men of science'. These rising handicraftsmen brought their own practical skills to the study of material culture and conferred on antiquarian activity a scientific status through their involvement.

A key aspect of the endeavour to present antiquarianism as scientific was defining which subjects the SoAS should be investigating. However, debates over the differences between history, antiquarianism and archaeology often highlighted their similarities rather than their differences. For example, at the conversazione held for the opening of the museum in the Royal Institution in 1859, Lord Neaves (1800-1876) argued that, 'History has for its office the ascertainment, narration, and philosophy of past events. The antiquary's business rather is with the customs and manners, the opinions and usages, and the physical monuments and memorials of former ages.'[415] However, previously in 1858, Lord Neaves presented this statement:

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[412] Lord Murray, 'Anniversary Address', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), p. 99.
[413] Lubenow, *Only Connect,* pp. 130-4.
[414] Heriot Watt University, 'The Edinburgh School of Arts', https://www.hw.ac.uk/uk/services/is/heritage/history/school-arts.htm [accessed 20 Jul 2020], Bryson was the watchmaker to Queen Victoria and co-founder of the first Mechanics Institute, the Edinburgh School of Arts (later Heriot Watt University).
[415] Lord Neaves, 'Archaeology, its Aim's and Uses', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), p. 326; A. H. Millar, 'Neaves, Charles, Lord Neaves (1800–1876), judge', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/19836

> The historian does not now think it is his chief duty to narrate merely the lives
> and actions of princes, the results of battles, or the events of political
> revolutions. He finds it a more pleasing and a more instructive task to
> present… a picture of the social condition and mental character of the great
> body of the people. The progress of civilisation is the principal subject which
> he seeks to illustrate; and in discharging this function, the study of antiquities
> is of paramount and indispensable importance.[416]

These statements by Neaves suggest that archaeology and history had much in common. Across Europe, both disciplines were incorporating social history into national narratives and both strived to incorporate different types of primary sources.[417] In addition, archaeology was not strictly defined by the practice of excavation, or even chronology, since archaeology was about 'antiquities'. The definition of the term 'antiquities' was a key aspect of the interdisciplinarity of antiquarianism, even under its new name of archaeology, and reflect how antiquarianism was as much a historical as an archaeological approach.

The Society's subject of investigation was Scottish society of the past and the 'antiquities' Fellows consulted for this study were manuscripts, objects and monuments. The addresses by Lord Murray in 1852, Cosmo Innes in 1857 and 1864, Lord Neaves in 1858 and 1859, James Young Simpson in 1861, and David Laing in 1861 and 1868 all refer to the study of manuscript sources as within the sphere of archaeological investigation.[418] Laing, who was himself a librarian, proposed that the Society should take over the printing of chartularies in 1861, since many of the publishing clubs were terminating at this period.[419] The Bannatyne Club, Maitland Club and Abbotsford Club were all dissolved between 1861 and 1866 and the absence of these clubs may have stimulated greater engagement with manuscripts within the Society.[420] Laing's proposal for printing chartularies was acted upon in 1867, with the charters of the Isle of May published in 1868 and of Kinloss in 1872, but others do not seem to have followed.[421] In Simpson's 1861 address he described how,

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[accessed 5 Sept 2018], Neaves was a judge, classical scholar and a regular contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine.* He was vice-president of the SoAS from 1857-60, 1863-6 and 1867-70.

[416] Lord Neaves, 'Opening Address', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), p. 153.

[417] Miller, *History and its Objects*, examines the development of cultural history in Germany.

[418] Alexander, 'Address'; C. Innes, 'Opening Address', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 3-8; C. Innes, 'Vice-President's Address', *PSAS,* 5 (1865) pp. 198-212; Laing, 'Anniversary Address'; D. Laing, 'Opening Address', *PSAS,* 8 (1871), pp. 4-8; Murray, 'Anniversary Address'; Neaves, 'Archaeology, its Aim's and Uses'; Neaves, 'Opening Address'; Simpson, 'Address'.

[419] Laing, 'Anniversary Address', pp. 35-6.

[420] Terry, *Scottish historical societies,* pp. 1, 26 and 100.

[421] J. Stuart, *Records of the Priory of the Isle of May* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1868); J. Stuart, *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1872); NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, Council Meeting, 7 May 1867, pp. 465-6; SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 23 Dec 1868, pp. 13-4. NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 15th Nov 1870, pp. 88-90 mentions the production of the chartulary of Inchcolm but there is no record of this publication.

'Archaeology has sedulously sat down among the old and forbidding stores of musty, and often nearly illegible manuscripts, charters, cartularies, records, letters, and other written documents… and has most patiently and laboriously culled from them annals and facts'.[422] Simpson specifically referred to archival research as 'archaeology' rather than 'antiquarianism' or 'history'. He went on to argue that 'These researches have… thrown a new flood of light upon the inner and domestic life of our ancestors, and particularly upon the conditions of the middle and lower grades of society in former times.'[423] As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, a preoccupation with the social and domestic history of the people of Scotland influenced the content of monographs of the later nineteenth century. As much as Fellows argued that they were archaeologists, it is evident that they were also historians in the modern sense of the term since they often focused on archival sources to study Scottish societies of the past.

Access to manuscripts and books was vital to antiquarian research in the SoAS. Therefore, Fellows who could facilitate this access were especially valued by the Society. In Murray's anniversary address in 1852 he mourned the loss of Lord Panmure (1771-1852) in whom, 'we have lost a liberal patron of literature, who repeatedly contributed his services towards the conservation of historical evidence, and freely rendered the valuable stores preserved among his own family charters and records available for the purposes of literature and the illustration of history.'[424] Fellows from noble families often preserved historical documents relating to their estates and provided other antiquarians with access to these materials.[425] In the absence of protective legislation and active conservation bodies, they were also considered vital in helping to protect historical buildings, structures and archaeological sites on their lands, which became more important to the aims of the Society as the century progressed.[426] Other Fellows who worked in libraries and archives, such as Laing at the Signet Library, were also valued for their role in preserving documents and making them

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[422] Simpson, 'Address', p. 13.

[423] Ibid.

[424] Murray, 'Anniversary Address', p. 99; G. F. Millar, 'Murray, Sir John Archibald, Lord Murray (1778?–1859), politician and judge', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/19638 [accessed 4 Sept 2018], Murray was a Whig politician and known for his patronage of the arts and charitable organisations; J. A. Hamilton, 'Maule, William Ramsay, first Baron Panmure (1771–1852), aristocrat', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/18370 [accessed 4 Sept 2018], Panmure was MP for Forfar from 1803 to 1831 and the father of the Earl of Dalhousie who later became one of the office-bearers representing the Board of Manufactures.

[425] Inventories of private archives are now accessible via the 'National Register of Archives for Scotland', https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/record-keeping/national-register-of-archives-for-scotland [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[426] For example, NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, AGM, 30 Nov 1855, pp. 50-7, a circular was sent to convenors of the counties asking for the assistance of proprietors and tenants to help preserve 'Cairns, Circles of Stones, Mounds, Sculptured Pillars, Hill Forts, Picts Houses, Ancient churches, Abbeys and Castles, or similar objects'. See also SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1855', *PSAS,* 2 (1859), pp. 127-33.

accessible. In the obituary of Thomas Thomson, Deputy Clerk Register at Register House in Edinburgh, Murray expressed that, 'the Society has to deplore the loss of one whose contributions to our antiquarian literature, and to the facilities of the historical student of the records of Scotland, have conferred a boon upon the country'.[427] Both Lord Panmure and Thomson are examples of how the skills and networks of Fellows contributed to the preservation of important archival materials, as well as supporting the interdisciplinary research activities of the Society.

An important aspect that vice-presidents of the SoAS highlighted in their annual addresses was the public and educational duties of the Society and the museum. Following the Conveyance of 1851, the SoAS museum was a state-funded institution open to the public on a regular basis.[428] However, in 1857 Innes argued that the educational role of the Society extended beyond developing the museum collection. He proposed that, 'I am not here to dissuade from high-sustained study and scholarly labour… But it is not impossible… to make our studies popular, to carry the intelligent public along with us in our researches'.[429] This placed the Society within the realm of public history and reflects that at this period the Society mainly consisted of non-academic enthusiasts who recognised that they were exactly the type of intelligent public that they wished to nurture.[430] His arguments also echoed the principles espoused by *Chambers's Journal,* which claimed that providing useful instruction for all ranks of society would improve people's morals, conduct and contribute to furthering civilised progress.[431] Excerpts from Society meetings were already reported in some newspapers at this time, but then in 1874 the SoAS started sending copies of the *Proceedings* to, 'the three Edinburgh newspapers, the Saturday Review, the Athenaeum & the Glasgow Herald.'[432] The Society was perceived by Innes as containing the scholarly specialists on the history of Scotland, not merely custodians of the material remains of the Scottish past, conferring on Fellows a duty to disseminate the knowledge they held to the reading public for the betterment of society.

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[427] Murray, 'Anniversary Address', p. 99.

[428] It is not clear whether visitors were still required to get an 'order' to visit the museum before 1859 but this was no longer required once the museum relocated to the Royal Institution.

[429] Innes, 'Opening Address', p. 6.

[430] J. B. Gardner & P. Hamilton, 'The Past and Future of Public History: Developments and Challenges', in *The Oxford Handbook of Public History,* ed. P. Hamilton & J. B. Gardner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 1-22, these authors recognised that the modern conception of public history grew from the practices within museums of the nineteenth century where history was produced by, and for, people outside of the academy.

[431] W. Chambers, *Memoir,* pp. 225-39; Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge.*

[432] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 11 Mar 1874, p. 264, the names of the three Edinburgh newspapers are not specified; Anon, 'SCOTLAND', *Glasgow Herald,* 1 Jan 1855, is one example of when a brief overview of a meeting was reported.

One aspect of the public function of the museum is worth noting since it directly related to collecting activities. After the Conveyance, the Society promoted how the museum now belonged to the nation, meaning any donations of objects would remain under the care of the state and contribute to future research into the Scottish past.[433] In 1861, Simpson urged,

> every true-hearted Scotsman to contribute… Single specimens and examples of archaeological relics are in the hands of a private individual generally nought but mere matters of idle curiosity and wild conjecture; while all of them become of use, and sometimes of great moment, when placed in a public collection beside their fellows.[434]

In 1858, John Stuart (1813-77) had intimated in his report after the move to the Royal Institution that, 'in their new premises, the Society would acquire a more national character - that they would both obtain accessions to their number and gifts to their Museum.'[435] There were several references to the collection being the property of the nation in the addresses discussed so far, with the nation being specifically connected to the Scottish public who were part of Scotland's national history. The collection was represented as the tangible foundations from which scholars could investigate all aspects of the Scottish past. But, in order to achieve these aims the SoAS needed the assistance of the public who held important historical and archaeological items in their private collections. The patriotic call for donations aimed to promote a public sense of shared pride in the Scottish past. As previous chapters of this thesis have noted, some of the most interesting objects connected to Scottish history remained in private hands, hidden away from public view. The SoAS were asking the public to trust the museum to look after their precious items, as well as promising that these objects would provide important information about Scotland's national past, and the substantial expansion of the collection after 1859 demonstrates the Society were ultimately successful in this endeavour.

Connected to the SoAS's mission to create a national repository of Scottish antiquities was the activities of provincial museums in Scotland. It seems that local collecting in regional museums was perceived as being as much of a problem by the Society as private collections in country houses. In his 1864 anniversary address, Innes argued that 'most local museums having no permanence — no steady funds — are eventually scattered and lost to the world, and all the time of their existence they have intercepted things which

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[433] In the 1840s the museum was in danger of having to sell the collection to pay its debts, see Laing & Hibbert, 'Progress of the Society', pp. 27-8.
[434] Simpson, 'Address', p. 30.
[435] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1858', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), p. 158.

would have found their way to this national repository.'[436] For example, the museum of the Shetland Literary and Scientific Society was only open for a few years, closing in 1882.[437] Therefore, although these collections were not hidden from public view, their financial instability and the competition they posed to the SoAS museum meant they were considered as hindering the Society's aim to collect a comprehensive collection of Scottish antiquities. The one way that local museums were valued by the Society was as a means of displaying regional histories. Chambers wrote an article in *Chambers's Journal* proposing the way that provincial museums could do this, particularly in regard to their geological collections.[438] But a survey conducted by the SoAS museum in 1888 indicates that this was not common practice for historical collections, with most regional museums containing an eclectic sample of Scottish historical items.[439] Indeed, the survey suggests that by the late-nineteenth century the SoAS museum had achieved its aim as the central repository for Scottish archaeological and historical material, with much smaller quantities of such items entering the collections of regional museums.[440]

Membership overview

The discussion above highlights the key role that Fellows continued to play in supporting the activities of the Society. Therefore, before providing an examination of collecting practices, this chapter will consider the composition of the membership from the 1871-2 list. After 1851, the popularity of the Society continued to grow, with the membership comprising of 372 Fellows and 21 Honorary Fellows by 1872 (Appendix I, Table 1). This was a total of 393 members, an increase of 49% since 1851. Compared to the SoAL, whose membership increased by 32% to 638 in the same period, the SoAS was growing its membership at a much faster rate.[441] The reason for this disparity can be attributed to the consolidation of the SoAS as Scotland's central antiquarian society. From 1859 onwards, the Society was the dominant organisation for history and archaeology in Scotland. As Clarke highlighted, the SoAS did not have strong competition from the regional archaeological and antiquarian societies in the manner that affected the SoAL in England.[442] In addition, the SoAS was treated as the national archaeological body for

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[436] Innes, 'Vice-President's Address', p. 211.
[437] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 85, Transfer of Shetland Museum artefacts to Edinburgh, 1882.
[438] W. Chambers & R. Chambers, eds, 'Provincial Museums', *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts Jan 1854 - Nov 1897,* 119 (1866), pp. 218-20.
[439] See J. Anderson, 'Reports on Local Museums in Scotland, obtained through Dr. R. H. Gunning's Jubilee Gift to the Society', *PSAS,* 22 (1888), pp. 331-422.
[440] Ibid.
[441] SoAL, *List of the Society of Antiquaries of London 1872* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1872).
[442] Clarke, 'Scottish Archaeology', pp. 114-9.

Scotland by both the British Archaeological Association and the Archaeological Institute, whereas both these organisations challenged the place of the SoAL as the main body for British archaeology.[443] After the dissolution of many of the publishing clubs, the SoAS also became the main historical society of Scotland with Fellows researching and publishing archival materials.

One interesting aspect of the composition of the SoAS membership is that all the different occupations identified in the 1851-2 list increased at a similar rate (Appendix I, Table 2). We find the same wide range of occupational backgrounds, including bankers, merchants, publishers, craftsmen, and architects, alongside the dominant core of clerics, lawyers and those of independent wealth. This suggests that the work of the Society and its museum was appealing to a wide spectrum of people from middle and upper-class backgrounds, as well as from craft occupations as represented by Bryson and others within the Mechanics Institutes. The similarities in occupational spread were equally evident in the SoAS Council (Appendix I, Table 3). The main difference in the 1871-2 list was that the membership was slightly less Edinburgh-centric than in 1851-2, with only 44% of Fellows with an Edinburgh address (Appendix I, Table 4). By 1872, the geographical composition of the SoAS was spread more widely across Scotland with an increase in Fellows resident in North East Scotland (12%), Central Scotland (13%) and Lothians and South East Scotland (8%) (Appendix I, Table 4). This increase of Fellows outside Edinburgh can partly be attributed to the regular publication of the *Proceedings* after 1851, allowing Fellows to read papers and communications given at meetings at their own convenience and therefore willing to pay the annual membership fee. The improvement of rail travel may have also allowed more Fellows to travel to Edinburgh for meetings, particularly from the central areas of Scotland.[444]

An important new membership group established in 1869 was that of Lady Associates. The first two were Lady Alicia Anne Spottiswoode Scott (1810-1900) elected in 1870 and Miss Christian Maclagan (1811-1901) elected in 1871.[445] The admission of women was discussed in 1868 in light of the 'circumstance that several Archaeological Societies in England admitted Ladies as Members'.[446] Lady Associates did not pay membership fees

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[443] Ibid.

[444] Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge,* pp. 101-10.

[445] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 14 Mar 1870, p. 65; Council Meeting, 9 Jan 1871, pp. 100-1.

[446] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1869', *PSAS,* 8, (1870), pp. 229-30; NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 23 Dec 1868, pp. 13-4, the Council could elect up to 25 Lady Associates as honorary members.

and although they could submit communications to be read by male Fellows at meetings, they were not permitted to attend or defend these papers in person.[447] Lady Scott was a writer and collector of Scots songs, collector of Jacobite relics and had directed archaeological excavations on her estates.[448] Her great-niece, Margaret, related that, 'From her father [Lady Scott]... inherited a great love of botany, geology, and especially archaeology… under his guidance she acquired a fund of accurate knowledge, to which she was always adding.'[449] Maclagan is credited with being Scotland's first female archaeologist and for developing a new technique for taking rubbings of sculptured stones.[450] Maclagan disputed the honorary status of her SoAS membership, requesting that she should either be elected a full Fellow or have her name removed from the Lady Associate list.[451] The SoAS kept her name on the list and this dispute resulted in her offering her extensive set of rubbings to the BM and not the Society.

Both women were mainly involved in studying prehistoric sites and objects, so do not feature further in this study. The status of Lady Associates as honorary members, limited to only 25, inhibited the impact of women within the Society. But the establishment of this new membership group reflected the Society's recognition of the growing number of women involved in archaeology at this time.[452] This led to full SoAS membership for women in 1901, compared to the SoAL who did not admit women until 1920.[453] Although women could not be elected as Fellows in the nineteenth century, they were still active collectors and donated regularly to the SoAS museum and their activities are examined within the next section of this chapter.

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[447] For example, C. Maclagan, 'On the Round Castles and Ancient Dwellings of the Valley of the Forth, and its Tributary the Teith', *PSAS,* 9 (1873), pp. 29-44, read by John Stuart 12 Dec 1870.

[448] A. Calder, 'Scott [née Spottiswoode], Alicia Anne (1810–1900), poet', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/61567 [accessed 14 Nov 2019]; M. Warrender, 'Preface', in *Songs and Verses,* Lady J. Scott (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904), pp. ix-lxiv.

[449] Warrender, 'Preface', p. xvi.

[450] S. M. Elsdon, *Christian Maclagan: Stirling's formidable lady antiquary* (Balgavies: Pinkfoot Press, 2004); 'Christian Maclagan', *Trowelblazers,* https://trowelblazers.com/christian-maclagan/ [accessed 21 Jul 2020]; J. H. Stevenson, ed. 'The late Miss C. Maclagan', *The Scottish Antiquary,* 16 (1902), p. 46 Maclagan's artistic skills were commended by her contemporaries even though they disagreed with her archaeological theories. Her technique for taking rubbings was never disclosed.

[451] A. H. Millar, 'Maclagan, Christian (1811–1901), archaeologist', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/34771 [accessed 14 Nov 2019].

[452] M. Díaz-Andreu & M. L. Stig Sørensen, eds, *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1998).

[453] 'History of the Society', *Society of Antiquaries of London*, https://www.sal.org.uk/about-us/our-history/ [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

Collecting practices 1852 to 1871

When the museum opened at the Royal Institution in 1859 the new Treasure Trove laws
were announced the same year.[454] Although the museum was funded by the government, it
was not allocated an annual purchase grant. The museum was open three days a week at no
charge to the public, two days for researchers and closed one day for cleaning.[455] Any
money collected from charging visitors on research days was assigned to purchasing new
objects for the collection but the museum did not raise large sums of money through this
method.[456] Another source of funding was excess money acquired through membership
subscriptions once all other costs had been paid.[457] The new Treasure Trove laws helped
the museum acquire objects without incurring the financial cost of finders' fees, which
were paid through the Lord Treasurer Remembrancer's office.[458] The new laws aimed to
discourage the destruction or concealment of objects of archaeological value by offering
fair compensation to finders. The bill went through the House of Lords in July 1858
without any debate in the Commons, so much of the discussion on this issue appears to
have occurred in public forums and private conversations.[459]

The Society had long been publicly calling for a change in the Treasure Trove laws to
protect objects of historical value by offering compensation to finders.[460] In 1847, council
members from the Society met with the First Officer of the Exchequer voicing their
concerns over the negative impact of the current laws and Daniel Wilson referred to the
issue in his 1851 anniversary address, within *Prehistoric Annals* and in an article published
in the *Literary Gazette* in 1850.[461] Just before the bill went before Parliament, Alexander
Henry Rhind (1833-63) gave his opinion on Treasure Trove laws in *British Archaeology:*

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[454] SoAS, *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh:
Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1863); an excerpt from the circular announcing the new Treasure
Trove laws was printed at the beginning of this catalogue, dated Jan 1859.
[455] NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, Council Meeting, 22 Dec 1859, pp. 163-4.
[456] NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, Council Meeting, 29 Dec 1859, pp. 165-6.
[457] 'Monday 11ᵗʰ April 1881', *PSAS,* 15 (1881), p. 187, refers to most purchases being made from excess
subscription funds.
[458] NRS, Register House, E871 Exchequer Records: King's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office:
Ultimus Haeres Department: Treasure Trove Books 1860-1896, E871/2 Treasure Trove Books 1872-96,
pp. 227-9; SoAS, 'Treasure Trove', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 203-6. This differs from current practice,
whereby NMS or any other Scottish museum must raise the finder's fee to acquire Treasure Trove (for
example the acquisition of the Galloway Hoard in 2018).
[459] *Hansard*, 'PUBLIC BILLS —1ª Treasure Trove; Incumbered Estates (West Indies) Amendment; Herring
Fisheries (Scotland); Marriage Law Amendment.', House of Lords, Volume 151, Column 910, 5 Jul
1858, http://bit.ly/2Del1Be [accessed 21 Jul 2020].
[460] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 64, an announcement that the Exchequer would compensate finders in 1822
does not appear to have been put into practice until the change in law in 1859.
[461] NMS, SAS.MB.1840-1853, Meeting, 15 Mar 1847, pp. 173-4; Wilson, 'Anniversary Address', pp. 4-5;
Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals,* pp. xix-xx; Wilson, 'Scottish Treasure Trove'.

Its Progress and Demands.[462] He proposed that UK laws should follow similar guidelines as were applied in Denmark.[463] He recommended that the Crown should provide compensation to finders of objects, ensure all finds in Scotland were reported to the SoAS and that the Society's museum should be given first refusal of objects for the national collection.[464] Although it does not appear that finders were legally required to report all archaeological finds to the Society, in practice many were communicated at SoAS meetings and the museum was offered Treasure Trove before it was offered elsewhere.[465] Other museums in Scotland were offered Treasure Trove items if the object was not requested for the national collection. For example, in 1876 Hawick Archaeological Society was gifted some of the coins from a hoard found in Hawick, whilst coins from other hoards were offered to local museums and private collectors if they could pay the finders' rewards for these items.[466]

The new laws had the biggest impact on the acquisition of prehistoric objects and coins, since many historic objects were not ownerless and passed through families by inheritance. For historic Treasure Trove items, there was an increase in acquisitions of jewellery, domestic utensils and some ecclesiastical objects by the SoAS museum. The most notable effect of the new Treasure Trove laws was that they conferred on the Society's museum the status of being the main repository for national Scottish antiquities and arguably encouraged collectors to donate objects to the museum in much greater numbers. The following overview of the Society's collecting activities from 1852 to 1871 demonstrate the effect of the new Treasure Trove laws and the explicit focus of the SoAS on investigating Scottish society, customs and manners of the past.

Most of the historic objects acquired from 1852 to 1861 were donated, representing 92% of 293 objects that entered the museum in this decade (Appendix I, Table 5). In comparison,

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[462] A. H. Rhind, *British Archaeology: Its Progress and Demands* (London: John Russell Smith, 1858); A. H. Rhind, 'The Law of Treasure Trove – How it can be best adapted to accomplish useful results', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), p. 76, the paper on Treasure Trove had been presented to the Society on 15 Mar 1858; T. W. Bayne, 'Rhind, Alexander Henry (1833-1863), antiquary', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/23448 [accessed 1 Aug 2019], Rhind was a landowner in Caithness but travelled extensively, allowing him to excavate around the world. His most significant finds from Egypt came into the SoAS museum in 1860.

[463] A. H. Rhind, 'The Law of Treasure-Trove: How it can be best adapted to accomplish useful results', in *British Archaeology: Its Progress and Demands* (London: John Russell Smith, 1858), pp. 15-7.

[464] Ibid., pp. 17-28.

[465] SoAS, 'Treasure Trove', pp. 203-6. This differs to current practice where Treasure Trove is assigned to the museum where objects are deemed to be most suited. The laws in England, Ireland and Wales were different; see later in this chapter.

[466] NRS, Register House, E871 Exchequer Records, E871/2 Treasure Trove Books 1872-96, pp. 46-8.

the museum only acquired 67% of 773 historic objects through donation from 1862 to 1871 (Appendix I, Table 5). These percentages were affected by the sharp rise in objects acquired through Treasure Trove, indicating that the SoAS museum was directly benefiting from the new laws, just as had been predicted (rising from 4% in 1852 to 1861 to 22% the following decade). The new laws ensured the museum was offered not only new finds but also previous items of Treasure Trove which were still held by the Crown, such as the objects found at St Magnus's Cathedral discussed in chapter three (Figure 4-1).[467] The backlog of Treasure Trove probably accounts for the high number of items that were acquired by this method from 1862 to 1871, plus the deposit of 128 coin-dies/punches from the Scottish Mint, making the numbers particularly high for this period.[468]

Figure 4-1 Fifteenth-century crosier head, NMS, H.KJ 61.
Found in St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall. Image © National Museums Scotland.

Generally, the significant increase in acquisitions from 1862 to 1871 reflects the changing circumstance of the museum moving from smaller premises in George Street to the larger space at the Royal Institution. Not only did this provide more space for the museum to accept donations but also encouraged donations through it being in a more publicly visible location in Edinburgh and boasting the official status of a national institution. A significant percentage of objects were still donated by Fellows of the Society from 1862 to 1871 but 67% of objects were gifted by public donors (Appendix I, Figure 1). This figure represents a substantial increase from the 49% of objects donated by the public between 1852 and 1861 when the museum was at George Street. Visitor figures for the first four years show

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[467] NRS, Register House, E872 Treasure Trove Papers 1840-1979, E872/44 'List of articles of Treasure Trove recovered between the years 1854-59 Selected by the Society of Antiquaries under authority from the Treasury for preservation in the Edinburgh Museum.'
[468] Mentioned in chapter two.

an increase from 67,159 in 1859-60 to 91,366 in 1862-3.[469] If we compare these figures to the 6000 people who had visited the museum in 1849 at George Street and never over 20,000 in the 1850s, undoubtedly the museum was engaging with a much larger public and therefore a larger pool of donors were contributing to the national collection.[470] In 1860, the SoAS Council adopted Saturday evening opening hours from 7pm to 9pm.[471] The Saturday evening visitor figures were recorded separately in annual reports and represented approximately 10% of visitors.[472] The separation of the Saturday evening figures suggest that the SoAS saw this data as indicative of how successfully the museum was in attracting working-class visitors to the museum. The Society's actions were part of broader civic efforts in Edinburgh by social reformers to provide educational entertainment which could entice the working classes away from drinking establishments, particularly on Saturday evenings.[473] The SoAS museum was just one venue where people could take part in rational recreation in Edinburgh on Saturdays, along with the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art and the new Royal Patent Gymnasium opened in 1864.[474]

The categories of object acquired by the SoAS museum fluctuated between 1852 and 1871. Sometimes the data in this study was affected by larger donations of smaller objects entering the collection. From 1852 to 1871, there were significant increases in the acquisition of 'coin dies and medals', 'dress and personal ornaments', 'seals and stamps' and 'ecclesiastical objects' (Appendix I, Figure 3). Most of these items were small, such as 150 communion tokens acquired between 1862 and 1871 within 'ecclesiastical objects'. For tokens, seals and medals their acquisition was linked to collecting a series of objects. For example, the SoAS museum was collecting medals connected to the monarchy of Great Britain and communion tokens from different parishes of Scotland.[475] Many of these items were donated singly or in small groups. But one collection of medals, principally of Mary Queen of Scots and the exiled Stuart monarchy, was bequeathed in 1860 by Fellow

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[469] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1860', *PSAS,* 4 (1863), p. 4; SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 28 Nov 1862', *PSAS,* 5 (1865), p. 6; SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1863', *PSAS,* 5 (1865), p. 184.

[470] SoAS, *Synopsis,* p. x; Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 150. Annual visitor numbers were presented at the AGM in November of each year.

[471] NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, Council Meeting, 5 Mar 1860, pp. 174-5.

[472] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 28 Nov 1862'.

[473] Andersson Burnett & Newby, 'Unionist Nationalism'.

[474] Ibid.; Griffith, 'Work, Leisure and Time', p. 186, the gymnasium held athletic meetings and aquatic and aeronautic displays on Saturday afternoons and evenings; Swinney, 'Towards a Historical Geography', pp. 277 and 315-7.

[475] SoAS, *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1870), pp. 142-44; SoAS, 'Monday 9ᵗʰ May 1864', *PSAS,* 5 (1865), pp. 324-6.

William Waring Hay Newton along with coins, medals, brooches and rings.[476] Hay Newton had been one of the vice-presidents of the Society and his large bequest contained exactly the categories of object that have been identified as increasing from 1852 to 1871. Now that the museum was state-funded, donors would have had greater confidence that objects of value, such as jewellery and medals, could be securely preserved for perpetuity within the national collection. Since their names were acknowledged in object labels after 1863, it would also have bestowed honour on donors whose philanthropic act would be immortalised in print for visitors to see in the museum.[477]

The categories of object acquired by the SoAS museum from 1852 to 1871 also reflected the Society's aim to collect historical illustrations of customs, dress and manners in Scotland. In addition, the geographical origin of acquisitions was broad, suggesting that collecting was not concentrated on either Highland or Lowland areas. 'Domestic utensils' remained a dominant category collected from 1852 to 1871 and was supported by Treasure Trove acquisitions (Appendix I, Figure 3). For example, several bronze and brass cooking pots were among the domestic items deposited in the museum through Treasure Trove.[478] In 1869, the SoAS purchased a collection of Highland dirks, powder horns and a targe from the sale of the collection of William Borthwick Johnstone (1804-68).[479] These items contributed to the expansion of the museum's collection of weapons and dress accoutrements of the Highlands.[480] Communion tokens, which were donated in such large numbers in this period, were illustrations of Presbyterian church practices in different areas of Scotland.[481] Even medals were collected for the information that could be extracted from their imagery, since as Neaves argued, medals provided 'a range of picture galleries, not only of men's faces, but of the architecture, the armour, the fashions, and the ideas of the time.'[482] The diverse range of objects acquired from 1852 to 1871 came from the borders, central belt, North-East and Highlands and Islands. Overall, it is clear to see how Fellows

[476] SoAS, 'Monday 2nd July 1860', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 480-4, Hay Newton was mentioned in chapter two of this thesis.

[477] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1863, stated that donor names were on labels in the excerpt at the beginning of the catalogue.

[478] SoAS, 'Monday 10th February 1862', *PSAS,* 4 (1863), pp. 396-8.

[479] SoAS, 'Monday 12th April 1869', *PSAS,* 8 (1871), pp. 115-7; J. Morrison, 'Johnstone, William Borthwick (1804–1868), painter and gallery curator', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/14971 [accessed 26 Nov 2019], Johnstone was an artist and keeper of the National Gallery of Scotland from 1858 to 1868. He was a friend of David Laing and elected a Fellow in 1848.

[480] NMS, Powder horn H.LK 4; Powder horn H.LK 14; Targe H.LN 34. A Covenanters banner was also purchased at this sale; NMS, Flag H.LF 3.

[481] See T. Burns, J. MacGregor & A. J. S. Brook, *Old Scottish Communion Plate* (Edinburgh: R & R Clark, 1892), pp. 435-68 for a comprehensive treatment of this subject.

[482] Neaves, 'Archaeology, its Aim's and Uses', p. 335.

considered these items as contributing to the study of the history of Scottish society, customs and manners.

Figure 4-2 Flintlock pistols of Robert Burns, NMS, H.LH 24-5.
Eighteenth-century pistols. Image © National Museums Scotland.

Historic objects acquired by the museum and categorised by this study as 'national relics' and 'material witnesses' remained important additions from 1852 to 1871. As a share of overall acquisitions, 'national relics' represented 19% of objects acquired from 1852 to 1861 and 10% from 1862 to 1871 (Appendix I, Table 6 and Figure 2). 'Material witnesses' were acquired in much smaller quantities and represented only 3% of acquisitions for both decades (Appendix I, Figure 2). Many of the objects that this study defined as national relics after 1852 were medals linked to historical figures, such as those represented by Hay Newton's bequest, but they also came from a diverse range of object categories (Table 4-1). Fewer architectural fragments were acquired linked to historical figures, probably due to demolished buildings not having specific links to famous people. These fragments continued to come from sites across Scotland, although considering that this was a period of demolition in Glasgow it is notable that no fragments of Glasgow buildings entered the SoAS collection.[483] An object's connection to a famous person continued to give it significant meaning. For example, 'national relics' acquired during this period were the earrings of Flora Macdonald given to her by Cardinal York, cabinet keys connected to Mary Queen of Scots and the pistols of Robert Burns (Figure 4-2).[484] Many of the 'material witnesses' acquired in this period continued to fall within the category of 'arms and armour', including a dagger found on the battlefield of Sheriffmuir.[485] The lower percentage of acquisitions from 1852 to 1871 connected to famous people and events can

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[483] C. Foreman, *Lost Glasgow: Glasgow's lost architectural heritage* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2013), pp. vii-ix.
[484] NMS, Gold Earrings H.NJ 47-8; Keys H.MJ 57; Pistols H.LH 24-5. Cardinal York was Henry Benedict Stuart, the brother of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.
[485] NMS, Dagger H.LC 5.

be contrasted with a significant increase in objects that were illustrative of customs and manners of the Scottish past.

Table 4-1 Interpretive functions and categories of objects acquired 1852 to 1871.

Interpretive Functions divided by object category	Count of interpretive Function 1852 to 1861	Count of interpretive Function 1862 to 1871
Material evidence	**228**	**679**
Arms and Armour	36	49
Buildings and Features	15	43
Charms	3	4
Coin Dies and Medals	5	138
Domestic Utensils	54	109
Dress and Personal Ornaments	37	59
Ecclesiastical Buildings	21	29
Ecclesiastical Objects	13	163
Horse-trappings	1	3
Instruments of Punishment	4	6
Miscellaneous	12	25
Seals and Stamps	20	38
Tobacco and Snuff	7	13
Material witness	**9**	**20**
Arms and Armour	7	4
Buildings and Features	1	0
Coin Dies and Medals	0	1
Domestic Utensils	0	8
Ecclesiastical Buildings	0	1
Horse-trappings	1	3
Miscellaneous	0	3
National Relic	**56**	**74**
Arms and Armour	4	1
Buildings and Features	3	4
Coin Dies and Medals	30	25
Domestic Utensils	4	14
Dress and Personal Ornaments	1	9
Ecclesiastical Buildings	2	5
Ecclesiastical Objects	1	7
Miscellaneous	2	3
Seals and Stamps	8	4
Tobacco and Snuff	1	2
Grand Total	**293**	**773**

Sources: NMS, SAS Minute Books SAS.MB.1840-1853, SAS.MB.1853-1868, SAS.MB.1868-1880; NMS, Donations to the Society of Antiquaries 1850-1858; NMS, Register of Donations National Museum of Antiquities 1860-96; SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 1-9 (1855-73); SoAS, *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 (1857); SoAS, *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1892); NMS, Adlib database.

Objects that this study defined as 'material evidence' continued to dominate acquisitions, accounting for 78% of acquisitions from 1852 to 1861 and 88% from 1862 to 1871 (Appendix I, Figure 2). Objects perceived as 'material evidence' came from all the object categories employed in this study, and included communion tokens, jewellery, cooking vessels and various weapons (Table 4-1). If we look back to the 1849 circular, we find many of the items listed there as collecting targets being acquired by the SoAS museum during this period.[486] So, in 1852 there was a donation of embossed floor tiles from North Berwick Abbey contributing to the collecting of medieval ecclesiastical architectural history, in 1859 there was a donation of cooking pots, which were illustrations of medieval domestic living and in 1869 the Highland weapons from the Johnstone sale were part of Scotland's history of dress and military technology.[487] Overall, there were significant numerical increases in all the interpretive categories employed in this study from 1852 to 1871. But, by far the most numerous objects collected were those that could be utilised to illustrate the history of civilisation in Scotland as evidence of customs, dress and daily-life. As the anniversary addresses attest, the Society was principally investigating the social history of Scotland. The above figures demonstrate that the Society and the museum were focusing on acquiring social history items as part of representing Scotland's national history of society, dress, customs and manners, with greater quantities of such items donated and purchased after the museum moved to the Royal Institution.

Women as collectors and donors

Although Lady Associates were only established as an honorary membership category in 1869, women had been donors to the museum since its establishment in 1782.[488] Before the Married Women's Property (Scotland) Act of 1881, married women did not have legal rights to dispose of their movables in the same manner as single or widowed women.[489] This legal situation would have contributed to the limited number of objects that women donated to the SoAS museum in the nineteenth century. Between 1832 and 1851, 29 objects were donated to the SoAS museum by four women: Miss Walker, Miss Burns, Mrs Johnstone and Mrs Mylne. Between 1852 and 1871, 34 objects were donated by twenty different women. So, although the number of acquisitions from women remained steady (if

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[486] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 87/22.

[487] SoAS, 'June 14th 1852', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), p. 85; SoAS, 'Tuesday 14th June 1859', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 251-2; NMS, Tiles HLR 25-30; Pots H.MA 40-4; Flagons H.MC 1 and H.MC 2.

[488] SoAS, 'List of Donations Presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland MDCCLXXXIV—MDCCCXXX', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 3 (1831), Appendix II, pp. 31-148.

[489] A. E. Anton, 'The Effect of Marriage upon Property in Scots Law', *The Modern Law Review*, 19:6 (1956), pp. 653-68.

spread over the four decades) there was a substantial increase in the number of women who were donating items to the SoAS collection after 1859, with 30 objects donated after the move to the Royal Institution.[490] These figures only represent the donations of historic objects included in this study; prehistoric objects and items from countries around the world were also donated by women. For example, five mummy ibises from Saqqara, Egypt, were donated by Miss Trotter in 1860.[491] However, as a share of donations, the noticeable increase in women donating to the SoAS museum after 1859 indicate that the Society was successfully encouraging people outside of its membership to donate objects to the museum at the Royal Institution and engaging with a wider pool of donors.

When we consider the types of objects women were donating their interests appear to be as diverse as their male counterparts. They were not solely donating what could be called 'feminine' items, although these were amply represented. So, among the objects donated were several items of jewellery, ladies' shoes and sewing accessories.[492] But, we also find arms and armour, such as the donation by Miss Walker in 1841 of pike-heads used during the disturbances caused by the Society of the Friends of the People in 1793, presumably during their third convention when the authorities broke up the meeting and charged the organisers with sedition.[493] There was also an iron hour-glass stand from a church, a spur found on the battlefield of Bannockburn, the ebony baton and silver badge of a messenger-at-arms, the seal of Princess Amelia (daughter of George II) and a repentance stool from Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh.[494] These items encompassed the full range of interpretive functions as 'national relics, 'material witnesses' and 'material evidence'. This study did not identify any significant trends of category of object or interpretive function, and in comparison, men were donating more 'feminine' items than women, including samplers, jewellery and ladies' shoes.[495] Overall, women donated the same types of historical objects as men to the SoAS museum. But, because women were excluded from SoAS meetings

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[490] Information taken from object data spreadsheets.
[491] SoAS, 'Monday 13th February 1860', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), p. 363.
[492] For example, NMS, Brooch H.NGA 6; Gold Ring H.NJA 8; Blue Satin Shoes H.TA 26; Pin cushion H.RHE 2.
[493] NMS, Pike head H.LE 67; Pike head H.LE 73. The Society of the Friends of the People was formed in 1792 in London with a separate group of the same name forming in Edinburgh. The Scottish group held three conventions calling for parliamentary reform and universal male suffrage. The Society publicly denounced any riots of the period, but their name was associated with general unrest from radical protesters from 1792-3.
[494] NMS, Hourglass stand H.KJ 42?; Spur H.ML 19; Silver badge H.NC 29; Baton H.NC 30; Seal H.NM 63; Stool H.MR 10.
[495] For example, John Alexander Smith donated three pairs of ladies' shoes in 1862, SoAS, 'Monday 11th March 1861', *PSAS,* 4 (1863) pp. 167-8.

where the value of objects was discussed and promoted, they were not as actively engaged with the expansion of the collection and their contribution remained limited.

The Bell Collection

Purchases for the museum were low from 1852 to 1871: only 3% of historic objects were acquired by purchase from 1852 to 1861 and 8% from 1862 to 1871 (Appendix I, Table 5). The only money available for purchases was accrued by charging visitors on research days or funds remaining from membership fees. Therefore, the Society was unable to establish a systematic purchase programme. In addition, since the Society no longer owned the collection, it did not feel it had responsibility to raise money for larger purchases as had been done for the Sharpe collection discussed in chapter two. However, as a national institution the Society could now apply for government grants to purchase larger, significant collections and the type of objects purchased in this fashion reveals the Society's vision for the development of the museum's collection.

One of these major purchases was the Bell Collection of 1400 items purchased in 1867, mainly consisting of Irish objects and therefore not included in this study's quantitative analysis.[496] The Bell collection was accumulated by John Bell (c.1793-1861) a landscape painter and antiquarian from Scotland who lived most of his life in Ireland.[497] Bell is mainly remembered as an Irish antiquary, but he wrote to Wilson maintaining that he was proud of his Scottish roots and 'unwilling to forgo the name of a Scotsman.'[498] His collection was predominantly Irish (with some Scottish) antiquities and he was particularly interested in collecting ecclesiastical bells.[499] He was a Fellow of the Society from 1844 and had provided information for Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals.*[500] Although Bell had intimated he wished his collection to go to the Society's museum after his death he left no explicit instructions, so it passed to his brother Allan in Falkirk.[501] The curators of the

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[496] The Scottish objects were as follows: NMS, Sickle W.MP 155; Oak Carvings H.KL 6-7; Dagger H.LC 31; Pike-head H.LE 74; Targe H.LN 35; Rush-holders H.MGC1-3; Chatelaine H.NL 26; Sword H.LA 27; Cutlass H.LA 41; Pipe H.NQ 145.

[497] D. Beaumont. 'Bell, John', *Dictionary of Irish Biography,* ed. J. McGuire & J. Quinn, (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2009), http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a0547 [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[498] Toronto Public Library, 'S65 Volume 1 Archaeological scraps 1847 Edinburgh; Toronto 1853', Item 171, MS John Bell 'Description of the Bell called the Bearnan-brighde',

[499] NMS, SAS Internal Communications, UC45, Notebook listing Bell Collection; J. Bell, Primitive Hand-bells', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. 54-7.

[500] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals*, p. xxiii; Toronto Public Library, 'S65 Volume 1', Item 153, Bell to Wilson, 3 Jul 1850; Item 154, Bell to Wilson, 10 Aug 1850; Item 155, Bell to Wilson, 4 Sept 1850; Item 167, Bell to Wilson, 19 Sept 1850; Item 172-3, Bell to Wilson, 24 Dec 1851.

[501] NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, Council Meeting, 7 Jan 1867, p. 449.

museum valued the collection at £500 and applied to the Treasury for a grant to purchase this 'very valuable collection of objects of stone, bronze and ancient Ecclesiastical Bells, & c… [citing] the importance of the Collection as illustrative of Early Celtic Antiquities'.[502] It is this definition of the Bell Collection as 'Celtic' that provides insight into the Society's collecting practices.

Figure 4-3 John Bell Collection, NMS, SAS Numbered Ms.50.
Selection of ecclesiastical objects, one of 50 photographs of the Bell Collection.

The Treasury approved the application for the grant and Bell's collection of prehistoric and historic items was put on display in the museum in 1868.[503] It is unclear from the archival sources attached to the acquisition whether the Society's definition of the Bell Collection as 'Celtic' was to identify it as belonging to a particular period, a population or a place. However, the subsequent display of these Irish objects as a comparative collection that covered prehistoric and historic periods suggests that the Society interpreted them as illustrations of the similarities and relationships between Scottish and Irish material culture. This interpretation supported narratives in nineteenth-century histories, identifying how settlers from Ireland became established in Scotland during the fourth century with the first kingdom of Dalriadic Scots established in the sixth century.[504] The presence of certain objects in Scotland, such as ecclesiastical bells, were linked with the Irish Christian

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[502] Ibid., pp. 449-50.
[503] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1868', *PSAS,* 8 (1871), p. 3.
[504] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals*, i, p. 170; J. H. Burton, *The History of Scotland: From Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection,* 2nd edition, 8 vols (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1876), i, pp. 201-8. By the mid-nineteenth century the origin myth of King Fergus migrating to Scotland in the fourth century was no longer believed.

missionaries bringing these items as part of their religious practices.[505] It is worth noting that similarities in form and Celtic decoration on brooches were so close between Scotland and Ireland that Bell had written to Wilson in 1849 to warn him that Highland brooches were being collected in Scotland by Roman Catholic clergy, but 'have been rendered of more value here, by disposing of them to the Royal Irish Academy, and to private collectors, under the name of Irish antiquities'.[506] There had been a number of prominent archaeological finds in Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century, including the Tara Brooch, prompting increased intellectual interest in Irish (as well as related Scottish) history and antiquities as part of the Celtic Revival Movement.[507] Pan-Celticism was a lens through which scholars and the public could engage with Irish and Scottish historical objects without requiring a British context, whilst also allowing the Society to represent Scotland's story as part of wider networks of historical development.[508]

If we consider the historic items that were in the Bell Collection, they provide us with examples of how these objects complemented the Scottish collection. The Bell Collection contained items from nearly every category of historic object in the catalogue. It covered domestic utensils, ecclesiastical objects, dress, personal ornaments, arms and armour and an Irish harp.[509] Bell's collection of Irish ecclesiastical bells were the only comparative objects of this type in the museum that could be compared with the Scottish bells.[510] These items were tangible examples of religious, legal, and social customs, dating from the first Christian missionaries in Scotland to folk religion in the nineteenth century. Wilson described several Scottish and Irish bells in the first and second editions of *Prehistoric Annals,* including those in the Bell Collection.[511] He argued that these bells were evidence of religious practices and beliefs before the Reformation and were 'relics of the first preachers of the faith in Scotland'.[512] But these items also had a long history of appropriation and re-use. Owners of ecclesiastical bells after the Reformation retained certain hereditary rights to land and many bells were surrounded by beliefs in their magical

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[505] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals*, ii, pp. 462-4.
[506] NMS, SAS Comms 1842-1852, fols 53-4, John Bell to Daniel Wilson, 24 Sept 1849.
[507] F. Fowle, 'The Celtic Revival in Britain & Ireland: Reconstructing the Past, c. AD 1600-1920', in *Celts: Art and Identity,* ed. J. Farley & F. Hunter (London: British Museum Press, 2015), pp. 244-6.
[508] Ibid, pp. 235-59, discusses the history of the Celtic Revival and its associations with Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Cornwall, Brittany and the Isle of Man.
[509] This is most clearly seen in the 1892 catalogue where the Bell collection is identified in all the comparative sections of Irish objects, for example, SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1892, pp. 284, 288-9, 303, 316-7, 331, 341, 365 and 373.
[510] SoAS, *Catalogue of Antiquities in the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1872), p. 143.
[511] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals,* pp. 652-64; Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals*, ii, pp. 460-75.
[512] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* ii, p. 471.

properties, such as the belief that the bell of St Fillan could cure madness.[513] John Bell communicated accounts of similar practices in Ireland, such as when he was present at the sickbed of a lady where the condensation on the 'clog beannuighte' bell was believed to predict her death.[514] He recounted that, 'This "heavy sweating" of the Bell as it was termed was regarded by everyone with horror and deemed a certain prognostication of death'.[515] The similarities between the material culture and customs surrounding ecclesiastical bells were part of Scotland's and Ireland's religious and social histories. By exhibiting these items as a comparative collection in the SoAS museum, the Society explicitly acknowledged the close historical relationship that existed between the customs and practices of Scotland and Ireland and their connected histories of cultural development.

The Bell Collection also demonstrates how differences in Treasure Trove laws supported collecting in Scotland compared to the rest of Britain. The SoAS museum's status as the central repository for Scottish antiquities was strengthened by the definition of Treasure Trove in Scotland. The equivalent laws in Ireland, England and Wales only covered objects of gold, silver, bullion or plate that had been hidden and where there were no surviving owners.[516] English Treasure Trove was rarely invoked, or if it was objects subject to the law were offered to the BM, while Irish Treasure Trove was deposited in the museum of the RIA.[517] Scottish Treasure Trove covered all items without owners regardless of their material, whereas the RIA and BM only received items made of precious metals.[518] This was why John Bell was able to assemble his vast collection of prehistoric and historic finds and the SoAS museum could legally buy it. It must be noted that the SoAS museum received numerous donations that were technically Treasure Trove, for example a collection of bronze vessels found at Balgone House in North Berwick and donated by Sir George Grant Suttie.[519] The difference in law in Scotland seems to have encouraged people to donate finds knowing that the law could be invoked if they did not. Interestingly, some items which should have been Treasure Trove were 'deposited' in the SoAS museum as loans, for example a bronze censer found in 1846 at a church in

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[513] Ibid., pp. 468-73.

[514] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* ii, p. 464. This bell is known as the Armagh Bell and was donated to the museum of the Royal Irish Academy by George Petrie.

[515] Toronto Public Library, 'S65 Volume 1', Item 182, John Bell 'Incised inscription on the clog beannuighte'.

[516] Anderson, 'Treasure Trove', p. 75.

[517] Ibid., p. 75; M. Caygill, "Some recollection of me when I'm gone': Franks and the Early Medieval Archaeology of Britain and Ireland', in *A. W. Franks: Nineteenth-Century Collecting and the British Museum,* ed. M. Caygill & J. Cherry (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pp. 173-4.

[518] Ibid., p. 78.

[519] SoAS, 'Tuesday 14th June 1859', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 251-2.

Garvock, Kincardineshire.[520] This practice suggests there was a tacit understanding between the donor and the SoAS to ensure the object was preserved in the museum without invoking the law. What is important for this study is that the Society's museum was accepted as the national repository of Scottish antiquities, supported by law, and this resulted in a centralising tendency and rapid growth of the collection.

Conclusion

The most significant events between 1852 and 1871 were the SoAS museum's relocation to the Royal Institution and the changes to Treasure Trove Laws in Scotland. The national status of the SoAS museum that had been argued on the lead up to the Conveyance of 1851 was now extended beyond mere rhetoric. After 1859, the museum became financially and legally the national repository for Scottish antiquities and this position elevated the status not only of the museum, but also of the Society responsible for its management. The SoAS was not merely an antiquarian society that maintained a museum, but one which managed a state-funded national museum. This national status gave validity to the Society's argument that its activities were serious, academic endeavours. As a national museum the collection was maintained for the benefit of the Scottish (and British) public and Fellows perceived themselves as the scholarly specialists on Scottish history and archaeology with a public duty to disseminate their expertise to the intelligent public. The public were the inheritors of the Scottish past and they were explicitly called upon by the SoAS to contribute to the museum's mission to collect and display the history of Scotland. The secure national status of the museum ensured the collection would be preserved in perpetuity and the rapid expansion of the collection after 1859 is evidence that public donors held greater trust in the museum to care for their important historical items. But it was principally within the Society's membership that the investigation of these material sources occurred. Therefore, the following chapter considers the way the SoAS collection was displayed and investigated from 1852 to 1871 to understand the extent to which objects contributed to representing and writing national narratives of the Scottish past.

This chapter has demonstrated that the defining feature of mid-nineteenth century antiquarianism in the SoAS was its aim to extend Scotland's national past beyond monarchs and battles and incorporate narratives from different levels of Scottish society. Antiquarians variously described their research as investigating social and domestic

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[520] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1892, p. 294; Rev. J. Gammack, 'Notice of a Bronze Censer found under the Floor of the Old Church in Garvock, Kincardineshire', *PSAS,* 21 (1887), pp. 180-2; NMS, Censer H.KJ 26, this item was initially loaned in 1887.

history, preserving evidence of customs and manners, or representing the 'history of civilisation'. The sources they utilised to research this history were significant for their breadth and diversity, which in turn was reflected by the wide range of objects collected by the SoAS museum. The Society's interdisciplinarity and breadth of subject matter was a continuation of the founding aims of the Society. But the difference was that in the mid-nineteenth century the Society more forcefully framed their activities as scientific, analytical studies aimed at discovering 'facts' about the past. In this sense, the SoAS echoed similar claims by academic historians analysing archival sources and it places the Society's activities within broader European trends towards employing primary source criticism in historical studies. The blurred division between history, antiquarianism and archaeology in the nineteenth century revolved around the definition of 'antiquities'. It is notable that at this time archival research was defined as 'archaeology' and it was the focus on social systems and the history of civilisation that defined antiquarian (and by extension archaeological) subjects of study, rather than the types of sources that were consulted. The Society's emphasis on Scottish social history influenced the subjects of papers and monographs written by Fellows from 1852 to 1871. In the following chapter, this thesis examines the extent to which the social history of Scotland and object-analysis were evident in these publications and the ways in which objects were employed in *The History of Scotland* by John Hill Burton, published and revised between 1853 and 1876.

Chapter 5   Exhibiting the Scottish Past and Objects as Historical Evidence (1852 to 1871)

In 1851, Daniel Wilson attributed mid-nineteenth century enthusiasm for history and archaeology to the influence of Sir Walter Scott, not only in Scotland but across Europe.[521] He applauded how Scott had brought the past to life by filling it with living people and brought about antiquarianism's 'transition from profitless dilettantism to the intelligent spirit of scientific investigation'.[522] Antiquarian activities remained for many an amateur pursuit, with few professional historians or archaeologists.[523] But acquiring knowledge of Scottish (and British) history and archaeology were key aspects of nineteenth-century rational recreation, with temporary exhibitions organised at venues across Britain by national bodies such as the Archaeological Institute.[524] Museum visits, archaeological digs, joining antiquarian societies and reading educational literature were all part of nineteenth-century self-improvement efforts. An expanding reading public had easy access to historical articles in *Chambers's Journal,* while monographs such as Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland* connected readers to the experiences of ordinary people in the Scottish past.[525] But the 1850s was also when reading audiences eagerly consumed cheap non-educational literature from publishers such as Routledge, with daring tales and novels proving more popular than historical essays.[526] As the anniversary addresses of this period attest, the Society promoted their own engagement with the Scottish past as a scientific endeavour, whilst acknowledging that they needed to continue to encourage popular interest in Scottish history and the SoAS museum. However, as the century progressed a more sentimentalised engagement with Scottish culture and history developed termed 'Balmoralisation'.

The nineteenth-century Romantic study of the Scottish past mirrored practices in Europe in emphasising the unique aspects of Scotland's history and culture, underpinned by the close study of archives, monuments and objects.[527] In contrast, Balmoralisation was a trite popular engagement with Highland (taken to represent Scottish) culture without

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[521] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals,* p. xi; see Linforth, 'Fragments of the Past' for an analysis of Scott's contribution to popular interest in Scottish national antiquities.

[522] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals,* p. xi.

[523] Levine, *Amateur and the Professional;* Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology,* p. 364.

[524] Westherall, 'Archaeological Societies', pp. 21-34; Sweet, *Antiquaries,* p. 31; Clarke, 'Scottish Archaeology', pp. 117-9.

[525] Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* 2nd edition, 3 vols, the first two volumes were published in 1858 and then the second edition added a third volume; Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge.*

[526] Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge,* pp. 123-34.

[527] S. Berger, 'The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe', in *Writing the Nation: A Global Perspective,* ed. S. Berger (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 30-62.

understanding the development of that culture within Scotland's history.[528] It was a stereotypical representation of Scotland, epitomised by Queen Victoria's castle at Balmoral with its medieval-inspired turrets, stags' heads and tartan interiors.[529] Dramatic scenery, tales of picturesque locals and a proliferation of hunting estates made the Highlands a popular tourist destination for middle and upper-class visitors alike.[530] These tourists often viewed Highland customs and objects as primitive survivals from simpler times.[531] This idealistic, historicised version of the Highlands was consumed by the public through Queen Victoria's *Leaves from the journal of our life in the Highlands* (1868).[532] The distinctive antiquities of the Highlands increasingly held a fascination for both Fellows of the Society and visitors to the museum. But from the mid-nineteenth century onwards a more critical engagement with Highland culture and history developed alongside the popular stereotypes perpetuated by Balmoralisation.[533] This critical approach was evident in the methods employed by Fellows in their papers and monographs, which enabled them to distance their own work from popular cultural stereotypes and modern invented traditions.

By 1871, Scotland had two national museums in Edinburgh, each with different purposes and visions for the development of their collections: the SoAS museum and the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art. The Edinburgh Museum was collecting examples of science, manufacturing and art, while the other was an archaeological or 'antiquities' museum. Both institutions were national in the sense that they were state funded, but it was the SoAS museum that claimed its collection was capable of illustrating Scotland's national past. At the BM, the British and Medieval collection was expanding, but was still relatively small due to competition from regional museums collecting British antiquities.[534] 'National' antiquities collected by the BM continued to include objects from across Britain. As Franks argued in 1890, the BM was not 'the English Museum – but the British

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[528] G. Scott-Moncrieff, 'Balmorality', in *Scotland in Quest of her Youth,* ed. D. C. Thomson (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1932), pp. 69-86.

[529] Pittock, 'The Jacobite Cult', pp. 191-8; Finlay, 'Queen Victoria', pp. 209-24; I. Brown, *Balmoral: The History of a Home* (London: Collins, 1955); R. W. Clark, *Queen Victoria's Highland Home* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1981).

[530] A. J. Durie, *Travels in Scotland 1788-1881: A selection from contemporary tourist journals* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 1-17.

[531] For example, see *Queen Victoria's Journals*, RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 13 Sept 1856 (Princess Beatrice's copies), http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do [accessed 21 Jul 2020]. See chapter six of this thesis for how Arthur Mitchell challenged this perception in his Rhind lectures.

[532] A. Helps, ed. & Queen Victoria, *Leaves from the journal of our life in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1861* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1868).

[533] Cameron, 'Embracing the Past', pp. 195-219.

[534] BM, *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1856); Franks, 'Account of the additions made to the Collections of British Antiquities at the British Museum during the year 1864', p. 84.

Museum'.[535] In Ireland, the museum of the RIA was re-organised in 1857 and a descriptive catalogue produced by surgeon and ophthalmologist William Wilde (1815-76) between 1857 and 1863.[536] This chapter will compare the displays of the SoAS with the BM and the RIA to demonstrate how the Society prioritised materiality over narrative within its museum and the ways in which this reflected dominant modes of classification and display in nineteenth-century Britain. It will then consider how objects were utilised as evidence for investigating the Scottish past in the *Proceedings* and select monographs.

Exhibiting the Scottish past

Firstly, this chapter will briefly discuss the ways in which objects were exhibited at ordinary meetings and evening conversaziones. From 1852 to 1871, exhibiting objects continued to be an important part of meaning-making within the Society's ordinary meetings. However, evening conversaziones had all but disappeared after their main organiser, Wilson, emigrated to Canada in 1853.[537] The Society still held conversaziones for special occasions, such as the opening of the new premises in 1859 at the Royal Institution, but they were no longer a regular part of the social calendar of the Society.[538] The reasons behind organising regular conversaziones were no longer relevant, particularly after 1859. At the Royal Institution, the museum was open to the public at no charge three days a week, including Saturday evenings, so there was no need for conversaziones to encourage new visitors and donations to the museum. In addition, the larger membership was actively engaging with the Society through giving more detailed papers at monthly meetings.[539] The initial cessation of evening conversaziones resulted in a decrease in the quantity of objects being exhibited as part of, or prior to, their acquisition, dropping from 39 items (14%) from 1842 to 1851 to 20 items (7%) the following decade (Appendix I, Tables 8 and 9). But after the move to the Royal Institution the quantity of objects being exhibited rose to 47 items (6%) (Appendix I, Table 10). This increase correlates with the

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[535] BM, British and Medieval Antiquities Correspondence, Augustus Wollaston Franks to Mrs McLellan, 17 Apr 1890, original underlining.

[536] J. McGeachie, 'Wilde, Sir William Robert Wills (1815–1876), surgeon', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/29403 [accessed 21 Sept 2020]; W. R. Wilde, *A descriptive catalogue of the antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy,* 2 vols (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1863); the re-arrangement was in preparation for the British Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in Dublin; S. H. Harrison & R. Ó Floinn, *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland* (Dublin: National Museum of Ireland, 2014), pp. 29-71 provides a survey of the RIA archive and acquisition record.

[537] There were only four recorded after 1853: NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, Evening Conversazione, 2 May 1854, pp. 19-20; Evening Conversazione for formal opening at Royal Institution, 23 Dec 1859, p. 165; Evening Conversazione, 9 Dec 1861, p. 235; Evening Conversazione, 8 Dec 1862, pp. 280-1.

[538] NMS, SAS Cash Book 1853-1854, attendance figures for the two conversaziones in 1852 were 74 for 26 February and 55 for 30 March.

[539] Meetings were held from November to June.

expansion of the Society's membership who were bringing objects to be exhibited at ordinary meetings. There were also 54 communications that were accompanied by the exhibition of objects from 1852 to 1871, indicating that objects were increasingly displayed at meetings as part of historical discourse on these items (Appendix I, Table 15). The way that objects were utilised in Fellows' papers is examined in more detail later in this chapter.

The museum displays did not change greatly before the move to the Royal Institution. However, the way the collection was represented within the museum catalogue did undergo a change that reflected the Society's concern with objectivity and providing accurate information. In 1853, John Alexander Smith updated the 1849 *Synopsis* because the original edition had sold out.[540] There were no significant changes to the overall arrangement of the museum displays before 1858 but there were changes to the catalogue format. These included the removal from the *Synopsis* of the preface, donor information and book references, leaving just an inventory of the objects with brief descriptions. The biggest difference in this edition was the edited language in the descriptions. This involved removing all the prefixes of 'Old', 'Ancient', or 'Antique' from each description, as well as removing descriptive words such as 'curious' or 'beautiful'.[541] For example, 'Cast of a beautiful Corbel from Melrose Abbey', had the word beautiful scored out.[542] This could be seen to reflect the attitude that a catalogue was not the right place for subjectivity. This edited *Synopsis* removed most of Wilson's authorial voice and any superfluous information above and beyond describing the object in a 'factual' manner. The edited style in the 1853 catalogue mirrored the rhetoric of the anniversary addresses by presenting the museum collection using scientific language that aimed at objectivity and presenting 'facts'.

While the SoAS museum was still at George Street, the Society contributed objects from the collection to the temporary display put on by the Archaeological Institute at their annual meeting in Edinburgh in 1856.[543] Several Fellows of the Society were involved in the organisation of this exhibition at the newly built National Gallery of Scotland, with many of them also giving lectures as part of the programme of events.[544] Much like the

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[540] Only a working copy of the 1853 catalogue has survived, NMS, *Synopsis of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*: Proof Copy, Item ID. 158125.

[541] NMS, Proof copy *Synopsis,* pp. 76-7.

[542] Ibid., p. 76.

[543] A. Way, *Catalogue of antiquities, works of art and historical Scottish relics exhibited in the museum of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland during their annual meeting* (Edinburgh: T. Constable & Co, 1859).

[544] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1848-1856, 'Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Annual Meeting at Edinburgh, July 22 to 29, 1856'.

displays at George Street, the historical objects at the 1856 exhibition were divided into
'Medieval' and 'Miscellaneous' sections, with objects divided by type of object; for
example, 'Seals, Coins, and Medals' and 'Series of Table-Clocks and Watches, &c.' [545] The
main difference at the 1856 exhibition was that there was a significant section devoted to
the material culture and portraits of Mary Queen of Scots and her Stuart descendants.[546]
Large displays of such 'national relics' of Scotland could only be brought together on a
temporary basis since, as this thesis has noted, the majority were held in private
collections.[547] In addition, the focus on Mary and the Stuart monarchy mirrored the
'Jacobite Relics' section in the SoAS museum as representing some of the most well-
known figures from Scottish history. Notably, the term 'North Britain' was used to
describe the Scottish sections of the 1856 exhibition, even for periods when the kingdom
of Scotland was a separate political entity.[548] The omission of 'Scotland' as a geographical
label for historical periods is unusual this late in the nineteenth century and possibly
reflects the 'British' emphasis of the Institute's interests and membership.[549] It is
significant that only a few years later when the SoAS museum moved to the Royal
Institution in 1858-9 the Society adopted a different approach to labelling the Scottish
sections of the collection, as discussed below.

The Royal Institution

When the museum relocated to the Royal Institution the arrangement of the collection in
the museum followed the recommendations of Alexander Henry Rhind, with additions by
the first salaried keeper of the museum William McCulloch.[550] Although the museum
opened to the public in 1859, the new catalogue was not published until 1863. This
catalogue was prepared by McCulloch who had previously been employed as a librarian at
the Edinburgh Subscription Library and the School of Arts, as well as the salaried clerk of
the Society.[551] There are three surviving catalogues that were produced in the decade after
the move to the Royal Institution. The first appeared in 1863, the second was undated, and
the third in 1870.[552] These catalogues will be compared to the descriptive catalogue of the

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[545] Way, *museum of the Archaeological Institute,* pp. xxxi-xxxiii.
[546] Ibid.
[547] Ibid., pp. 163-216.
[548] Nearly all the objects in this section were loaned by private collectors.
[549] Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain', pp. 143-56. Finlay argued that the designation of Scotland as North
        Britain started to become less common by the early-nineteenth century.
[550] NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, Council Meeting, 19 Aug 1859, p. 152.
[551] See McCulloch, 'History of the 'Maiden', pp. 535-6 for his biography.
[552] SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1863; SoAS, *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of
        Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, c.1866); SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1870. The undated

RIA museum (1863), the *Synopsis* of the BM (1856) and a handbook of the BM published by Thomas Nichols (1870) to demonstrate the similarities and differences in display strategy employed in each of these museums.[553]

At the Royal Institution, the first room was named 'Foreign Antiquities' and the second room 'British Antiquities' (Appendix IV).[554] The first room contained Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek and Roman objects, as well as a smaller diverse world collection.[555] The British Antiquities room contained items from Scotland and elsewhere in the British Isles, alongside comparative materials from across the world. At first glance, this seems to prioritise the Classical, Egyptian and ethnographic collection. The SoAS museum possibly aspired to a status comparable to that of the BM and was showcasing these prized, exotic objects to visitors as they entered the museum for maximum impact. In 1859, Neaves referred to Rhind's forthcoming donation of Egyptian antiquities, 'This contribution is of much intrinsic value, containing not merely objects of curiosity… but also some rarer relics, such as two bilingual papyri'.[556] The BM had always prided itself on the importance of its collections from ancient Greece, Rome and Egypt as evidence of its status as a museum displaying the great civilisations of the world.[557] By 1859, the SoAS explicitly focused on collecting Scottish antiquities, but over time had acquired an important world collection donated by Scottish benefactors. Many Scots travelled the world as diplomats, civil servants and soldiers within the British Empire and probably wanted their objects to be displayed in a museum closer to home, rather than in London.[558] Rhind was a case in point by donating his Egyptian collection to the SoAS museum. Indeed, a survey conducted by the Society in 1888 indicates that collections from around the world were regularly donated to local museums in Scotland, for example the Elgin museum's collection 'from Polynesia, Australia, and New Zealand.'[559] As the smaller collection, the

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catalogue has pages missing and was published between 1863 and 1870, as can be seen from the additions to objects in each section.

[553] BM, *Synopsis,* 1856; Wilde, *A descriptive catalogue;* Nichols, *Handy-book,* Nichol's preface states that the publication was not an official catalogue of the BM, but he was a senior assistant in the Principal Librarian's office at the BM and well acquainted with the collection. In addition, other staff at the museum had checked over his proofs.

[554] SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1863, pp. 1 and 25; SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1870, pp. 1 and 28. The plan in the Appendix is of the ground floor and by consulting other plans, photos and descriptions of the museum, the location of the SoAS rooms was identified, see also Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 145-6. There were foreign objects in the second room if they were identified as being obviously comparative to Scottish objects.

[555] SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1863, p. iii; SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1870, p. iii.

[556] Neaves, 'Archaeology, its Aim's and Uses', p. 335.

[557] MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment,* p. 281-9; Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 147; Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', pp. 58-61.

[558] T. M. Devine, 'Imperial Scotland', in *Scotland and the Union 1707-2007,* ed. T. M. Devine (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 109-22.

[559] Anderson, 'Reports on Local Museums', p. 345.

'Foreign Antiquities' were better accommodated in the first room of the Royal Institution
so that the Scottish, British and comparative European objects could be displayed in the
larger second room.[560] This configuration acknowledged that the museum needed to
provide delineated space to display world collections donated by Scots and ownership of
objects from the major ancient civilisations contributed to elevating the museum's status.
But this was also a pragmatic arrangement since it reserved the larger space for the
Scottish and British collection in the second room.

The SoAS museum was arranged chronologically at the Royal Institution, with cases
divided into sections labelled Early Stone, Bronze, Romano-British, Middle Ages and
Miscellaneous.[561] The prehistoric collection was nominally divided by the materials of
stone and bronze as implicitly reflecting chronological periods and then objects were
subdivided by their function.[562] Within the historical cases, items were mainly classified by
their 'use' as representative of the history of Scottish customs and everyday life.[563] There
were some exceptions to the chronological arrangement, probably due to space restrictions
or difficulty dating items. Historic objects were mixed in with prehistoric within the
categories of bronze vessels, wooden implements and sculptured stones.[564] For example,
fragments of historic buildings were placed alongside early Christian sculptured stones,
including the ambries from Blyth's Close.[565] In comparison, the BM and RIA also
prioritised materiality over chronology. At the BM, the historic objects were all classified
under Medieval.[566] The BM then separated the medieval collection by material as follows:
carvings in ivory, enamels, metalwork, seals, pottery and glass.[567] In contrast, the RIA
museum explicitly rejected any attempt to classify the collection chronologically. The
objects were divided by material and then their use, meaning historic and prehistoric
objects were displayed in the same sections.[568] So, there were sections on stone, earthen
materials, vegetable materials, animal materials, copper and bronze; which were further
subdivided by their use, for example weapons, food implements, household economy

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[560] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 194, in 1939 the Egyptian collection was transferred on permanent loan to
the Royal Scottish Museum, freeing up space for the Scottish collection.
[561] W. T. McCulloch, 'Antiquarian Museum – Sir Walter Scott's Yeomanry Helmet', *The Scotsman,* 13 Aug
1862, p. 2, McCulloch refers to these labels, but the headings were not included in the catalogues.
[562] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1863, pp. iv-vi; SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1870, pp. iv-vii.
[563] Ibid.
[564] SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1863, pp. 45-52; SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1870, pp. 75-87.
[565] SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1863, p. 51; SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1870, p. 86.
[566] BM, *Synopsis,* 1856, pp. 265-6.
[567] Nichols, *Handy-book,* pp. 372-81.
[568] Wilde, *A descriptive catalogue,* i, pp. 1-4.

etc.[569] The only sections not classified in this way were 'coins and medals' and 'ecclesiastical antiquities' which had their own separate sections.[570] The division by material at the RIA meant that prehistoric and historic objects were interspersed throughout the museum. This approach disrupted and fractured any sense of chronology in the Irish displays and there was not even an identifiable medieval section, as found at the SoAS museum and BM. Comparison of the BM, SoAS and RIA demonstrates that nineteenth-century museums applied a range of methods for classifying objects in their displays, but in all these instances it was the materiality of the object, rather than a chronology of historical periods, that determined approaches.

The dispersal of the 'Jacobite Relics' section in the Royal Institution displays is indicative of how historical themes were absent in the SoAS museum as a form of ordering the collection. Jacobite objects continued to be collected from 1852 to 1871, but they were no longer given a separate section defined by their historical association. Some Jacobite objects were still placed together within a broader section. For example, the medals of the exiled Stuart monarchy were in a discrete grouping within the medal displays and several Jacobite relics, including the ring of Flora Macdonald and Prince Charles Edward's Blue Ribbon of the Order of the Garter, were highlighted in the 'Portraits' section of the museum.[571] But other Jacobite items were placed singly within their broader object sections. For example, in 'Vessels of various materials, Liquid Measures, &c.' there was listed the, 'Wine Glass, said to have been used by Prince Charles Edward in 1745.'[572] The object descriptions in the catalogues continued to highlight Jacobite historical associations but the items were classified by their material function. This indicates that the Jacobite connection still gave these objects value but that the museum prioritised the materiality of an object over the narrative of history. Visitors to the museum would have continued to expect to find objects with links to Scotland's famous historical figures and events on display. And indeed, larger visitor numbers to the museum after 1859 may have reflected an increasing engagement with Scottish history as represented in the SoAS collection.[573] But the SoAS did not present the collection within a narrative structure. The historical 'story' of Scotland had only been partially visible within Wilson's descriptions of objects

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[569] Ibid.; W. R. Wilde, *A descriptive catalogue of the antiquities of gold in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy,* Volume 2 (Dublin: Dublin University Press, 1862), the second volume was planned to cover gold, silver, iron and ecclesiastical antiquities, but only the gold objects were catalogued.

[570] Wilde, *A descriptive catalogue,* i, p. 2.

[571] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1863, pp. 77-9 and 90-1; SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1870, pp. 124-6 and 144.

[572] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1863, p. 69.

[573] The SoAS museum's annual reports show that visitor figures ranged from 67,000 to 120,000 visitors per year until 1890.

in the 1849 *Synopsis,* but from 1859 even this limited historical narrative was lost. The material-focused approach could bridge the prehistoric and historic collection and allowed the Society to represent a continuous history of civilisation in Scotland *through* objects, rather than narrate a 'story' of Scotland *illustrated by* objects.

One of the notable differences between the 1849 *Synopsis* and the catalogues at the Royal Institution was the change in tone and content. The descriptive text in the SoAS catalogues after 1863 contained the minimal amount of essential information and it is worth noting that not all historical associations were retained. Descriptions included physical features of an object, stated the location where it was found and provided extra information on historical associations. This shorter system of description would have partly been due to lack of space in the catalogue as the collection was significantly larger than fourteen years before, with new catalogues published every three to four years. It also demonstrates an attempt to write in a more scientific and systematic way. The catalogues of the 1860s only included information that could be proven, whether this was through physical analysis of objects or information from documentary sources. Part of this more 'objective voice' was to remove any dubious historic associations that were based on conjecture or oral tradition. For example, an 'Ancient Iron Candlestick… traditionally believed to have been used by Robert the Bruce', was described in 1863 as, 'Iron Candlestick, with a point for insertion in the wall, found in an old house in Dumfries.'[574] The dagger blade connected to the assassination of James I in the *Synopsis* was merely described in 1863 as, 'Dagger Blade, engraved, found in digging on the site of the Dominican Monastery at Perth.'[575] There was no mention of the assassination or the dates that indicated the blade may have been contemporary to that historical event. Similarly, the *Synopsis* of the BM only provided brief, succinct descriptions with minimal historical associations. Because the SoAS and BM regularly updated and added to their catalogues these publications only provided information which was the most accurate and relevant for visitors. So, if historical associations were dubious this information was removed from an object's description and only provable 'facts' were retained in these catalogues.

The marked difference between the 1849 *Synopsis* and the catalogues at the Royal Institution was the appearance of the subcategory of 'Scotland'. The inclusion of location was one significant way that the SoAS museum differed from the RIA and BM. Scottish objects were still classified in the SoAS catalogue under the heading of 'British

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[574] SoAS, *Synopsis*, p. 98; SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1863, p. 70; NMS Candleholder H.MGI 17.
[575] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1863, p. 61; SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1870, p. 97.

Antiquities' and some comparative objects from non-British countries were displayed within the same cases.[576] Most of the objects in the museum were divided by country within each section of the catalogue in the order: 1. Scotland, 2. England, 3. Ireland and 4. Foreign.[577] Some categories of object were not arranged by location, encompassing mainly smaller objects such as medals, watches, miniatures, buckles and earrings. The small physical size of these objects made it easier to display them together without dividing them by location. One of the main reasons that the SoAS collection was arranged by location was because it allowed visitors to easily visualise comparisons between similar types of object from different geographical locations. As Neaves noted in 1859, this system was primarily applied to the prehistoric displays, 'thus affording useful means of mutual comparison.'[578] However, the same system was applied to the historic sections and demonstrates how the classification of the prehistoric collection influenced the arrangement of the historic collection. In contrast, neither the BM or RIA divided their historic collections by location, and it was only within the description of an object that location was communicated. In the medieval section at the BM British objects were not even arranged separately from European.[579] The BM displayed its ethnographic collection by location, but the medieval collection was not treated in the same manner.[580] The label of 'Scotland' at the Royal Institution also differed from the 1856 exhibition of the Archaeological Institute, which had used the term 'North Britain'.[581] The SoAS museum aimed to represent how Scottish antiquities were part of worldwide historical changes and grouping objects by location within each section allowed visitors to visually understand the comparisons that antiquarians were making in their research. This arrangement also reflected how the Scottish nation loomed larger in the SoAS museum and that the Society was confident in representing Scotland as having its own identifiable material-culture history.

Approaches to object-analysis within the Society

After the Conveyance of 1851 it took eight years before the museum opened at the Royal Institution in 1859. However, the museum was voted money by the government for its

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[576] The classification system in the catalogues correlated with the location of objects in the cases.

[577] If there were enough objects from one country then that country was named in the 1863 catalogue, but this was abandoned and the label 'Foreign' used in subsequent catalogues. For example, two iron lamps listed under GERMANY in 1863 were under FOREIGN in the later catalogues. See SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1863, p. 71; SoAS, *Catalogue,* c.1866, p. 101.

[578] Neaves, 'Archaeology, its Aim's and Uses', p. 332.

[579] BM, *Synopsis,* 1856, p. 265.

[580] Ibid., pp. 267-79.

[581] Way, *museum of the Archaeological Institute,* pp. xxxi-xxxiii.

maintenance not long after the Conveyance, allowing the Society to start the regular publication of the *Proceedings*.[582] There had only been a limited number of papers published between 1832 and 1851, whereas the annual *Proceedings* preserve most of the communications and papers presented to meetings after 1851. In addition, *Archaeologia Scotica* was continued in two more volumes, one in 1857 and one in 1890. These sources provide clear and comprehensive evidence of the methods that Fellows of the Society utilised in their investigation of the Scottish past and the meanings that objects embodied.

Several Fellows are discussed in this section since the published investigation of objects was embarked on by many members of the Society. Two significant contributors of papers during this period were James Drummond and John Alexander Smith. Drummond was elected an academician at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1852.[583] Drummond replaced William Borthwick Johnstone as keeper of the National Gallery of Scotland in 1868 and was a voluntary curator at the SoAS museum from 1851 to 1854 and 1861 to 1877. Drummond amassed a significant private collection of Scottish costume, armour, jewellery and weapons, which featured in his history paintings.[584] In this way, his art was also artefact, aiming to depict accurate representations of the dress, adornment and accoutrements of different periods of the past (Figure 5-1).[585] Smith served as both a vice-president and secretary of the Society and was one of the editors of the *Proceedings*.[586] He was a physician and ornithologist who contributed his knowledge of animal biology to the study of animal remains from archaeological excavations.[587] However, his interests remained diverse and several of his papers analysed historic objects. This section will first analyse the trends evident within the *Proceedings* before examining how objects were utilised as historical evidence within papers and monographs from 1852 to 1871. The approaches of Fellows are compared to Hill Burton's *History of Scotland* and John Hewitt's (1807-78) *Ancient Armour and Weapons of Europe* to determine the relationships between object analysis and narratives of the Scottish past.[588]

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[582] Stevenson, 'The museum', p. 142.

[583] L. A. Fagan, 'Drummond, James (1816–1877), historical genre painter', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/8074 [accessed 27 Sept 2018].

[584] *Catalogue of the Collection of the Late James Drummond, Esq., R. S. A. Curator of the National Gallery of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Messrs T. Chapman & Son, 15, 16, 17, 20 & 21 Nov 1877); L. Errington, 'A Mind Steeped in Scottish History', *National Art-Collections Fund Magazine*, Autumn (1994), pp. 30-4.

[585] National Galleries Scotland, https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/4838/montrose [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[586] Smith was secretary from 1851-71, 1877-8 and 1879-83. He was vice-president 1870-3 and 1875-8. He edited the *Proceedings* from 1851 until his death.

[587] Anon, 'John Alexander Smith', *Edinburgh Medical Journal,* 29:3 (1883), pp. 286–288.

[588] M. Fry, 'Burton, John Hill (1809–1881), historian and political economist', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/4135 [accessed 18 Sept 2018], Hill Burton was elected an

Figure 5-1 James Drummond, Montrose, National Galleries of Scotland, NG 624. Bequest of the artist 1877.

Between 1852 and 1871, 156 papers were presented on historic subjects at Society meetings (Appendix I, Table 13 and Figure 5-2). Overall, 'history without things' was the most dominant category of paper presented from 1852 to 1871, accounting for 40% of the total. 'History from and of things' remained a core 'type' of paper at 24%, while architectural papers represented 23% of the total. 'History from things in texts' emerged as a new method of investigating objects (8% of total), while 'history and things as illustrations' were the smallest share at 5%. Out of the 156 papers, 53% of papers utilised documentary sources and 47% material-culture sources (Appendix I, Table 13). This balance reflects the interdisciplinary methods of study within the Society that was discussed in the previous chapter. Document-based primary source criticism was an acknowledged method of investigating the Scottish past and the similar quantity of papers containing documentary source analysis versus those examining architecture and objects reflects the continued perception of manuscripts as 'antiquities' and documentary research as within the sphere of antiquarian/archaeological investigation.

SoAS Fellow in 1858 and was appointed Historiographer Royal of Scotland in 1867; J. Hewitt, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe: From the Iron Period of the Northern Nations to the End of the Seventeenth Century,* 3 vols (Oxford: John Henry & James Parker, 1855-60); Hill Burton, *History of Scotland,* the second edition of this publication was chosen since the first edition was published in parts from 1853 to 1876, with the whole revised in 1876. Hill Burton's revisions were based on feedback he received from the first edition, particularly in relation to the prehistoric sections utilising archaeological material.

Figure 5-2 Types of history in 156 papers presented 1852-71.
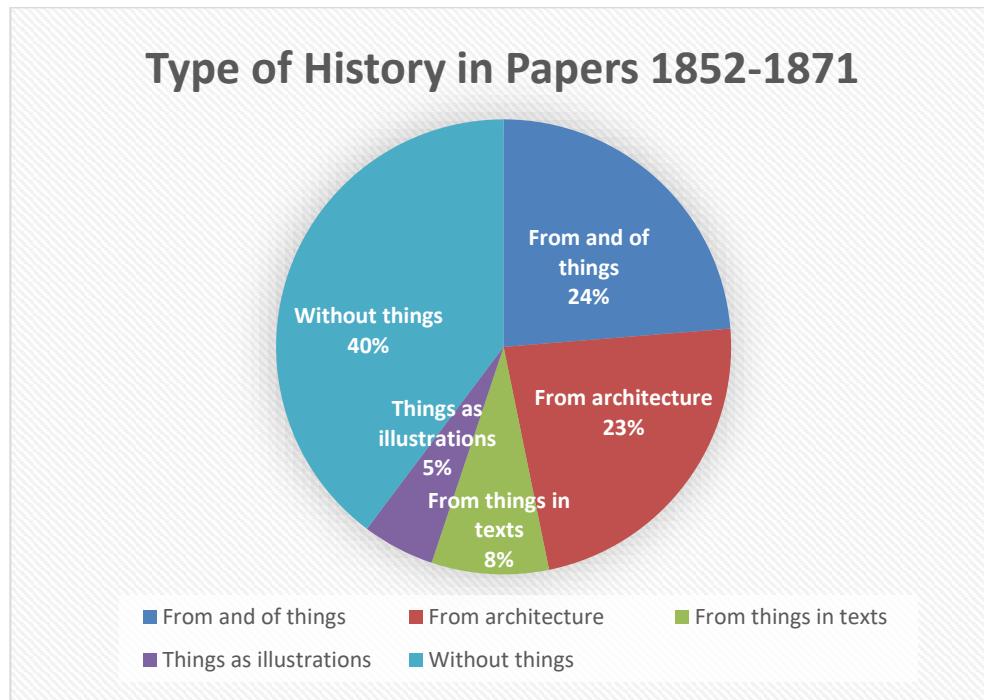
Sources: SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* **1-9 (1855-73)*; SoAS,* *Archaeologia Scotica,* **5 (1890).**

Out of all the communications presented between 1852 and 1871 (including those under three pages in length, making a total of 195), 54 (28%) had objects exhibited alongside them (Appendix I, Table 15). Out of these 54 communications, 32 (16%) were accompanied by objects that were acquired by the museum at the meeting where the communication was presented, and six papers (3%) were accompanied by objects that were acquired later. The notable number of objects accompanying a communication from 1852 to 1871 indicates that exhibiting objects was an important aspect of demonstrating arguments within papers, while the papers, in turn, gave value to the objects being donated by providing historical context. The discussion of objects in papers sometimes led to these items entering the SoAS collection at a much later date, with their value being articulated in an earlier paper. For example, an iron mask was exhibited by Drummond in 1870 as the subject of his paper entitled 'Notice of an Iron Mask'.[589] This item was an unusual and rare example of a sixteenth-century knight's helm that had been converted into an instrument of torture to starve prisoners into making a confession.[590] Drummond's iron mask was subsequently bequeathed to the SoAS museum and acquired after his death in 1877, only one of many of his objects that were discussed in papers and later entered the SoAS

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[589] J. Drummond, 'Notice of an Iron Mask', *PSAS,* 8 (1871), pp. 428-30; NMS, Iron Mask H.LN 24.
[590] Ibid., pp. 429-30.

collection.[591] Exhibiting objects at meetings was still a key part of establishing their historical value and this practice became more common after 1851 as the membership increased and more papers were presented at meetings.

As was noted in chapter three, discussing objects in papers integrated them into historical narratives to clarify (or restrict) the historical meanings assigned to them. Smith presented examples of such papers whereby seemingly mundane items were explained as valuable illustrations of historical change in Scotland. One paper which Smith presented in 1865 concentrated on how the mustard cap and bullet was used in the north of Scotland: the object was exhibited and donated at the same meeting.[592] This item was a small lidded wooden pot containing a round iron bullet, into which mustard seeds were added and ground by rotating the pot (Figure 5-3).[593] Smith argued that the pot was important because it belonged 'to a class of domestic usages becoming rapidly extinct throughout the country, and are therefore worthy of being recorded among the minor antiquities of Scotland'.[594] His paper integrated such pots into the history of household economy in the north of Scotland and the role of mustard within the Scottish diet. Recording domestic customs associated with an object was a key part of collecting practices in the nineteenth century, so that valuable information describing an object's use could be preserved in the *Proceedings*.[595] Another of Smith's papers, presented in 1871, accompanied the donation of wooden roofing shingles.[596] Smith's paper described and compared material and documentary accounts of wooden roofing shingles not only in Scotland, but across Europe. He also provided a brief history of the Canongate Tolbooth, from where the shingles had been taken. In doing so, he presented them as illustrative of Scottish construction practices that dated from as early as the tenth century and were only just going out of use in the nineteenth.[597] The shingles were also linked to an important building in Scottish history, constructed by James VI in 1591 and operating as a jail and courthouse until 1856.[598] Smith's papers supported the preservation of mundane objects as valuable evidence of

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[591] SoAS, 'Monday 10th December 1877', *PSAS,* 12 (1878), pp. 374-404, provides a list of the objects that were bequeathed to the museum and the drawings that were purchased.

[592] J. A. Smith, 'On the use of the 'Mustard Cap and Bullet' in the North of Scotland', *PSAS,* 6 (1868), pp. 255-8, the mustard pot was donated by Smith's friend, George Kinloch; NMS, Mustard cup and bullet W.SFG 1.

[593] Ibid., pp. 255-6.

[594] Ibid., p. 255.

[595] Unfortunately, objects and their associated information in the *Proceedings* were not connected in the catalogue and relied on the accumulated knowledge of keepers and Fellows.

[596] J. A. Smith, 'Notice of the Shingled Roof of the Tower of the Canongate Tolbooth, Edinburgh', *PSAS,* 9 (1873), pp. 162-7; NMS, Wooden shingles W.MP 659.

[597] Ibid., pp. 162-4.

[598] Ibid., pp. 164-7.

Scotland's material past. His papers also contributed to an expanding material-culture historiography of Scotland, with such items acquiring the narrative function of documenting Scottish daily life and historical change.

Figure 5-3 Mustard cap and bullet, NMS, W.MP 659.
Illustration from *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 9 (1873), p. 256.

As has been noted, there were an equivalent quantity of papers that utilised documentary sources compared to material-culture sources from 1852 to 1871. These papers show that Fellows approached the study of manuscripts from an antiquarian perspective by investigating aspects of social and domestic history, as well as writing 'history from things in texts'. An example of this approach was a paper by Joseph Robertson (1810-66) presented in 1858. Robertson was Superintendent of Searches in the Literary and Antiquarian Department of Register House.[599] Most of his papers were the result of his work on the records that he maintained. For example, his paper 'Notice of a Volume of the Accounts of Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, General Surveyor of His Majesty's Works (1674-1679), now in General Register House', examined the expenses for the maintenance of the King's castles and palaces using records that had recently been deposited.[600] Robertson discussed the materials used for maintaining buildings, where they had been sourced, the locations from which workers were drawn (Scotland, England or Europe), the sums different workers were paid, and the individuals who had been responsible for different interior decorations, such as the paintings by the Dutch artist Jacob De Wit at Holyrood Palace.[601] Robertson analysed this manuscript to discover new information on the architectural and economic history of late-seventeenth century Scotland. Holyrood Palace still existed as a material source for the subject that Robertson was investigating, but the

[599] T. Clarke, 'Robertson, Joseph' *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/23807 [accessed 21 Sept 2020], Robertson had attended university with Hill Burton and was one of the founders of the Spalding Club.
[600] J. Robertson, 'Notice of a Volume of the Accounts of Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie, General Surveyor of His Majesty's Works (1674-1679), now in the General Register House', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 113-7.
[601] Ibid., p. 116.

surviving buildings and artworks could only provide partial information, now supplemented by the details in the manuscript. The partial information that could be gleaned from both manuscripts and material sources were complementary forms of evidence and both types of source were consulted by Fellows to investigate how people had lived and worked in the Scottish past.

One of the more consistent and discernible types of information obtained from the observation and comparison of objects was evidence of technological developments. In approaching technical subjects, the expertise of Fellows was integral to investigations. In 1860, Alexander Bryson (1816-66), son of Robert Bryson watchmaker, presented a paper to accompany his loan of seven watches and one clock to the museum.[602] Although Alexander was a biologist and geologist, he had acquired knowledge of clocks and watches from his father during his apprenticeship.[603] Bryson's paper utilised documentary and material sources to illustrate the development of time-keeping devices, employing his own technical expertise in mechanisms. He noted that the division of labour that had occurred in England after the eighteenth century had not been mirrored in Scotland, 'every one [Scottish watchmaker] was trained to make every part of a watch, a practice still followed by all well-educated watchmakers.'[604] Bryson's paper conveyed a sense of pride in the skills of Scottish watchmakers and the objects he exhibited illustrated that Scotland was part of the global history of time-keeping technology. Interestingly, although the paper presented the technical history of watches and clocks, the items that he loaned were mainly connected to prominent people, rather than being of Scottish manufacture. For example, one was believed to have been owned by the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649).[605] Only one watch was manufactured in Scotland by the French watchmaker Paul Romieu, which Bryson described as 'a fine example of Scotch manufacture.'[606] Bryson's paper employed his technical expertise to present an in-depth history of time-keeping, whilst both the paper and his loans concurrently presented Scotland as historically

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[602] A. Bryson, 'Notes on Clock and Watch Making; with Descriptions of several Antique Timekeepers deposited in the Museum', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 430-6.

[603] C. D. Waterston & A. Macmillan Shearer, *Former Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1783-2002: Biographical Index* (Edinburgh: The Royal Society of Edinburgh, 2006), p. 134.

[604] Bryson, 'Notes on Clock and Watch Making', p. 435.

[605] Ibid., pp. 435-6; M. R. G. Spiller, 'Drummond, William, of Hawthornden (1585–1649), poet and pamphleteer', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/8085 [accessed 30 Nov 2018], Drummond was a seventeenth-century Scottish poet and wrote a history of Scotland and political pamphlets during the reign of Charles I. His manuscripts were acquired by the Society in 1782 and reproduced and studied by David Laing.

[606] Bryson, 'Notes on Clock and Watch Making', p. 435.

being a civilised nation linked to global markets and technology, with prominent historical figures having access to the very best inventions of their time.

After 1852, there were several papers in the *Proceedings* that attempted to extract information from objects on customs, manners, dress, daily-life, trade, religion, farming, craft practices, technological developments and generally all aspects of Scottish society of the past. However, only a few Fellows incorporated international examples in their work. One such paper was Wilson's lecture in 1853 entitled, 'On some suggestive examples of Abortive Discovery in Ancient Art'.[607] Wilson discussed sepulchral brasses as illustrations of the history of medieval artistic practices; reflecting his own interest in art as a trained engraver. Wilson proposed that sepulchral brasses could be studied as 'evidence of great artistic skill, and of the state of the mechanical and ornamental arts, each marked with the precise date of its execution.'[608] He linked the technical skills for engraving on brasses with the development of the printing press, an important invention within western European history. Wilson compared examples of engraving from Egypt, Rome, India, China and Europe, and from ancient to early modern history, presenting developments within a wide geographical and chronological context. He described and compared the physical aspects of objects, traced technological developments, discussed how people used objects, compared examples from different countries and time periods, and related objects to social, artistic and economic practices. Wilson's paper is illustrative of a variety of emerging methods of material-culture analysis that were applied to the study of prehistoric and historic objects in this period, the difference being that the function of historic objects was normally known, whereas for prehistoric items part of the analysis was to determine what the object was used for.[609] From 1852 to 1871, papers analysing historic objects were more frequently presented at Society meetings, but broader comparative studies like Wilson's did not become more commonplace until later in the nineteenth century.

The archival skills of Robertson, the horological expertise of Bryson and the artistic interests of Wilson influenced their approaches to the study of the past discussed so far. This leads on to the analysis of the occupational backgrounds of Fellows who presented

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[607] D. Wilson, 'On some suggestive examples of Abortive Discovery in Ancient Art', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. 175-80.

[608] Ibid., p. 175.

[609] For example, J. A. Smith, 'Notice of a Remarkable Bronze Ornament with Horns found in Galloway, now at Abbotsford. Also of a Bronze Ornament, like a 'Swine's Head,' found in Banffshire', *PSAS,* 7 (1870), pp. 334-57, discussing among other items the Torrs pony cap and the Deskford carnyx, see F. Hunter, 'Powerful Objects: the Uses of Art in the Iron Age', in *Celts: Art and Identity,* ed. J. Farley & F. Hunter (London: British Museum Press, 2015), pp. 90-1 and 98-9.

papers at meetings from 1852 to 1871. Fellows who were employed at Register House, libraries, publishing houses, were clergy, or in the legal professions, favoured document-based methods or 'history without things' (Appendix I, Figure 5, represented in light blue). Unsurprisingly, the focus of archivists and librarians on documentary sources reflected their expertise and access to manuscript sources, such as was represented by Robertson. 'History from and of things', which is the main concern of this thesis, was undertaken by Fellows from a wide spectrum of occupations (Appendix I, Figure 5, represented in red). Fellows who presented the highest quantity of this type of paper were artists and medical doctors, the two most prolific being Drummond and Smith. The practices of both these professions involved observing and analysing the physical world and these transferable skills were applied to studying the material remains of the Scottish past. However, since other Fellows were also attempting 'history from and of things', this suggests that the social environment of the Society encouraged people from varied backgrounds to engage in this type of research and apply methods they observed in meetings to their own studies. The dissemination of material approaches to studying Scottish historical objects highlights the key role of the Society as a site of knowledge exchange, within which methods of material-culture analysis were developed and consolidated by its members.

Objects as evidence in the work of Chambers, Wilson, Smith and Drummond

From 1852 to 1871, the Fellows chosen as case studies for this thesis continued to utilise historic objects as primary sources in their historical research.[610] Chambers published *Domestic Annals*, which contained a social history of Scotland from the Reformation to the 1745 Jacobite uprising, with objects often employed as illustrations of customs and manners.[611] Chambers also published *The book of days. A miscellany of popular antiquities in connection with the calendar* (1863-4).[612] This dense two-volume publication contained short articles linked to different days of the calendar, written by Chambers and other contributors. *Book of days* contained more instances of objects as sources, including skates, ducking-stools, bellarmine jugs, and Jacobite relics, to name a few.[613] At much the same time, Wilson produced a second edition of *Prehistoric Annals* (1863) and several of Drummond's papers were published as short monographs, including *The Bluidy Banner of*

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[610] This section focuses on monographs, but a few papers from the *Proceedings* are included to highlight certain approaches.
[611] Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* 2nd edition.
[612] R. Chambers, ed. *The book of days. A miscellany of popular antiquities in connection with the calendar, including anecdote, biography, & history, curiosities of literature and oddities of human life and character,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1863-4).
[613] Ibid., i, pp. 138-40, 208-12 and 371-2; Ibid., ii, pp. 234-5.

Drumclog and Bothwell Brig (1861) and *Highland Targets and Other Shields* (1873).[614] From 1853 to 1876, Fellow John Hill Burton published his eight-volume *History of Scotland*, while publications by authors outside of the Society also incorporated Scottish history and objects, including John Hewitt's *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe* (1855-60). All these publications made attempts to employ objects as primary sources for studying the Scottish past and will form the basis for discussions on the relationship between object-analysis and national narratives during this period.

One way that objects could challenge prominent historical viewpoints was in relation to Scotland's ecclesiastical history. Generally, publications of Fellows did not challenge the sense of inevitability and societal benefits ascribed to the Reformation in Scotland. However, Fellows occasionally questioned the received wisdom about protagonists in Scotland's ecclesiastical past through material-culture evidence. Drummond's monograph *The Bluidy Banner of Drumclog and Bothwell Brig* compared and analysed Covenanting banners.[615] The Covenanters had been variously interpreted as persecuted martyrs or delusional religious fanatics.[616] Drummond examined several banners to argue that the Covenanters had intended to show no mercy to their prisoners at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge.[617] There were known archival sources stating that the Covenanting army had a gallows and new ropes ready to hang any prisoners they captured from the King's army and that the general of the Covenanters' army, Hamilton of Preston, had given orders to give no quarter to prisoners.[618] However, historians disputed whether this was true and for Drummond the banner was 'a tangible fact, bearing on the points at issue.'[619] The flag was in the possession of a Mr and Miss Raeburn and it was regarded as a family heirloom passed down from a Covenanter who had fought at the battle.[620] One of the inscriptions on the banner stated, 'No quarters to ye active enemies of ye Covenant.'[621] This banner was

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[614] J. Drummond, *The Bluidy Banner of Drumclog and Bothwell Brig* (Edinburgh: Neill & Company, 1861); J. Drummond, *Highland Targets and Other Shields* (Edinburgh: Neill & Company, 1873), the publications of Drummond are discussed in this chapter for clarity, even though they extend into the mid-1870s; Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* 2 vols, most of the new material was within the prehistoric chapters but there was some revision and extension of the historic sections.

[615] Drummond, *The Bluidy Banner.*

[616] Rev. T. McCrie, *Sketches of Scottish church history: embracing the period from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1841), pp. 524-9, McCrie interpreted Covenanters as martyrs who only very occasionally resorted to violence (mainly in defence); Hill Burton, *History of Scotland,* vii, pp. 170-238, Hill Burton interpreted the Covenanters as religious fanatics but conceded they were also harshly persecuted.

[617] Drummond, *The Bluidy Banner*, pp. 3-5. The Covenanters routed the government troops at the Battle of Drumclog but were then defeated at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge.

[618] Ibid.

[619] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[620] Ibid., pp. 5-6. The flag had not remained in the same family but had passed between families.

[621] Ibid., p. 5.

tangible evidence to support one side of the historical argument, which Drummond argued explained why the king's troops under Claverhouse may have been over-zealous in their attack if they saw this banner and knew no quarter was to be given.[622] Much of the information on the Battle of Bothwell Bridge was available to historians through documentary sources. But what is key for this study is that Drummond demonstrated how objects could complement information found in archival sources to provide more evidence for understanding motivations and actions during the Covenanting period in Scotland.

Figure 5-4 Thumbikins, NMS, H.MR 18.
Seventeenth-century thumbscrews possibly used on Covenanters. Image © National Museums Scotland.

A prominent object category that was the focus of scholarship from 1852 to 1871 was civil and religious instruments of punishment. In the publications of both Wilson and Chambers they described various instruments of torture and execution from the Scottish past, recounting these items' connections to historical people or events.[623] Such objects included the branks, jougs, thumbikins and the Maiden (Figure 5-4).[624] A morbid curiosity contributed to interest in instruments of punishment, combined with the motivation to explain their use to readers unfamiliar with these items. The Maiden was presented as part of technical developments in beheading techniques and proof that Scotland was exceptional in inventing the guillotine before the French.[625] In 1867, the museum's keeper McCulloch discussed the Maiden in this way, trying to prove that it had not been based on the beheading machine in Halifax that predated it.[626] Another aspect to the nineteenth

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[622] Ibid., p. 6.
[623] Chambers, *Book of Days,* i, pp. 40-1, 208-12 and 728-9; Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* i, pp. 46-7 and 143-5; Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* ii, pp. 460-1; Wilson *Prehistoric Annals,* ii, pp. 516-23.
[624] Branks were an iron gag used on suspected witches and as punishment for the crimes of blasphemy, slander and 'scolding'. Branks fit over the head, with a projecting plate passing into the mouth over the tongue. Jougs were a hinged iron collar used to shame offenders by chaining them in a public place, such as walls of parish churches.
[625] Chambers, *Book of Days,* i, pp. 40-1 and 728-9.
[626] McCulloch, 'History of the 'Maiden', pp. 535-60.

century fascination with these objects was comparing the past with the present to highlight the superior civilisation of contemporary times. Wilson argued that instruments of punishment were, 'the traces of earlier manners… and indications of its degree of advancement in civilisation'.[627] The interpretation of history as a journey from barbarism to civility was imbued with Victorian confidence in progress and instruments of punishment were key items for comparing medieval barbarity to the civility of nineteenth-century Scottish society.

And yet, not all inhabitants of Scotland were represented as equals within Scotland's national history and journey to civilised modernity. William Ferguson noted that anti-Celticism and prejudice against Highlanders had a significant influence on Scottish historiography in the nineteenth century and was particularly evident in Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*.[628] The progress of the Scottish nation was envisaged by Hill Burton as built on the achievements of Lowland Teutonic Scots and hindered by Celtic Highlanders.[629] His *History* racially and geographically divided the Scottish nation into the Highlands and the Lowlands and was permeated by the racist ideology of a superior Germanic population shaping Scottish history.[630] But other Fellows in the SoAS deployed objects as counter-evidence to narratives of Highland barbarity and poverty. For example, Smith presented a paper in 1858 discussing objects found on Skye, including a twelfth-century jewelled spur and a thirteenth-century carved chess piece (Figure 5-5).[631] The materials and decoration of these objects were presented as evidence of 'a degree of refinement and art which we might not at first expect to find at that early period in the Western Islands.'[632] Chambers went even further to argue that Highlanders were 'the relics of a greater nation, who once occupied all of Scotland, and of whose blood some portion was mixed with that of the Scots of the Lowlands, producing a certain fervour of character – *'perfervidum ingenium Scotorum'* [the impassioned genius of the Scots] – which is not found in purely Teutonic natures.'[633] He put forward the evidence of elegant Highland architecture and comfortable living during the reign of James VI to demonstrate the prosperity and 'the natural wealth of the country.'[634] Chambers' vision of the Scottish

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[627] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* ii, p. 522.
[628] Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*, pp. 286-9; this was a continuation of anti-Celtic narratives found in the work of late-eighteenth historians, see pp. 250-86.
[629] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, vi, pp. 22-37. Hill Burton's anti-Irish sentiment is related to this prejudice since Highlanders were considered the descendants of Irish settlers in Scotland.
[630] Ferguson, *Identity of the Scottish Nation*, pp. 286-7.
[631] NMS, Chessman H.NS 15.
[632] J. A. Smith, 'Notice of Bronze Relics, &c., found in the Isle of Skye', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), p. 105.
[633] Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* i, p. 2.
[634] Ibid., pp. 208-9.

nation was built on the multiple peoples who had contributed to its history, Highland and Lowland. Smith and Chambers both challenged Hill Burton's view of the historical barbarity of the Highlands and incorporated Highland archives and objects into Scotland's national history of progress.

Figure 5-5 Chess piece from Skye, NMS, H.NS 15.
Made of walrus tusk, mid-thirteenth century. Image © National Museums Scotland.

A key part of validating the significance of Highland history within Scottish cultural development was through critical analysis of Highland objects. This followed from the earlier efforts of Donald Gregory and the Iona Club to publish the history of the Western Highlands and Islands based on manuscripts and Gaelic material.[635] By basing interpretations on primary source criticism, Fellows distanced their own engagement with Highland history from the stereotypical representations of Scotland associated with Queen Victoria and Balmoral. In this way, the validity of Highland cultural products was integrated into Scotland's national narrative. For example, Drummond provided a history of Highland targes in Scotland in *Highland Targets and Other Shields* and argued that, 'There can be no doubt that the Highland target is the traditional continuation of… early bronze and wooden shields… mentioned by Tacitus'.[636] He placed the construction and decoration of targes within wider European military developments and noted their distinctive designs as reflective of Scottish cultural history.[637] Indeed, evidence of their manufacture in Glasgow in the sixteenth century made them as much a part of Lowland as Highland trade and warfare.[638] Military accoutrements were a key part of the history of

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[635] Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles;* Iona Club ed. *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis: Consisting of original papers and documents relating to the History of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1847).
[636] Drummond, *Highland Targets*, p. 8.
[637] Ibid., pp. 9-14.
[638] Ibid., p. 10.

Highland costume and another of Drummond's papers in 1872 incorporated both subjects (Figure 5-6).[639] In the 1872 paper, Drummond highlighted which elements of Highland costume were modern additions and which had evidence of earlier use.[640] By providing details and examples of the long history of forms and decoration, antiquarians such as Drummond proposed Highland costume and weapons were authentic illustrations of Scotland's cultural history and not modern inventions. Instead, Drummond argued that it was because of the lack of knowledge on these items that their historical development was unknown, 'much ignorance prevails, even among the Highlanders themselves'.[641] By validating the history of Highland cultural products, antiquarians like Drummond integrated them into a national past that treated both the Lowlands and Highlands as related aspects of broader Scottish national identity and historical change.

Figure 5-6 Flattened powder-horn, NMS, H.LK 7.
Owned by Sir George Mackenzie, seventeenth century. Depicts figures in Highland dress.
Image from J. Drummond & J. Anderson, *Ancient Scottish Weapons* (Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons, 1881), Plate XX.

It is important to note that the role of storytelling and romance did not disappear from the publications of Fellows after 1851. In fact, they were important vehicles through which an inductive history could be communicated and consumed by a popular audience. Again, the work of Chambers is illustrative of this approach and continued the efforts of Scott in filling the past with 'living men'.[642] Chambers' key work for connecting his readers to the Scottish past was *Domestic Annals of Scotland,* in which he presented not only a narrative of key political events, but also 'how our forefathers thought, felt, and suffered, and how,

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[639] NMS, SAS.Ms.619 J Drummond transcript 'Notice of a Highland Powder Horn, having on it the Monogram of Sir George Mackenzie, first Earl of Cromarty, with some Remarks on Highland Costume', 1872; the paper was meant to go into *Archaeologia Scotica* but was never published.
[640] Ibid.
[641] Drummond, *Highland Targets,* p. 3.
[642] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* i, p. xvii, quoting Carlyle.

on the whole, ordinary life looked in their days.'[643] He was not only telling the stories of famous historical figures but the stories of everyday people, just like his readers. Objects would often appear within these stories and with much more frequency than in his previous work *Traditions*. Some examples were charms connected to ensuring successful childbirth in the sixteenth century, inventions that had been patented in the seventeenth century and illustrations of Scottish dress from the eighteenth century.[644] He recounted how objects were used and the names of ordinary people that were recorded in travellers' accounts, diaries and Scottish Privy Council records. For example, he related extracts from Elizabeth Muir of Caldwell's memoir describing the cost of eighteenth-century wedding clothes.[645] These were authentic documentary accounts of real people of the past, supported by material-culture evidence. Throughout *Domestic Annals,* there were glimpses of the lives of people from across Scottish society: experiencing the Scottish past from an entirely different perspective to those who had shaped it. This was not a grand narrative of kings, queens and battles, but a more homely nostalgic tale of quiet, ordinary lives. For his readers, this storytelling was an important medium through which Chambers could draw their interest into the Scottish past by showing them a reflection of themselves. Chambers democratised the Scottish past by presenting a history of the *people* of Scotland and his work would have been highly influential since it was more widely read in Scotland, Britain and America than most other historical writers.[646]

Hill Burton's *History* and Scottish material sources

Presenting a coherent chronological narrative is the main objective in writing a national history of Scotland. And yet, objects were incorporated more frequently than would be expected in such a history within Hill Burton's *History of Scotland.* In his preface, Hill Burton stated that his work was the first to connect archaeological knowledge 'with a narrative history, knowledge of a kind that had been separately pursued by a distinct class of enquirers'.[647] In this endeavour, Hill Burton differed from Tytler, since he included more of Scotland's prehistory than most historians.[648] Indeed, Hill Burton's confidence in objects as reliable sources of historical knowledge was evident in his review of Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals* in 1851.[649] He argued that historical myths and fables could be replaced

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[643] Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* i, p. v.
[644] Ibid., p. 39; Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* iii, pp. 99-103 and pp. 269-70.
[645] Chambers, *Domestic Annals,* iii, pp. 240-1.
[646] Fyfe, *Steam-Powered Knowledge.*
[647] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland,* i, p. vi.
[648] Ibid., pp. v-vi. The first volume was devoted to prehistory and early medieval periods.
[649] J. Hill Burton, 'Vestiges of the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland', *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine,* 69:428 (1851), pp. 660-72.

by distinct 'knowledge… derived bit by bit *from real things*.'[650] Like Wilson, he viewed objects as sources through which to test and challenge narratives of the Scottish past. In his chapter on 'The Unrecorded Ages' he asserted that inductive history, 'examines and classifies the real evidence… to fill up a blank left in written history.'[651] Although the focus on material sources was more predominant in Hill Burton's prehistoric chapters, he extended this practice into historic periods. The reason for this lay in the scarcity of sources, particularly for medieval periods. Hill Burton claimed that 'the materials for distinct knowledge [before the Reformation] were so meagre that every trifle had to be seized with avidity.'[652]

Objects and architecture were employed to varied extents within Hill Burton's narrative. Sometimes an object was merely mentioned as being present at a historic event, such as the large cannon called 'Mons Meg' causing the death of James II in 1460.[653] Other times a more detailed analysis was presented to contribute to a historical debate, for example an architectural analysis of Loch Leven castle to ascertain the conditions of Mary Queen of Scots' imprisonment there.[654] But although objects appeared throughout all eight volumes of Hill Burton's *History*, they were not analysed in much depth, particularly for periods where manuscript sources were more abundant. Hill Burton's intermittent employment of objects in his *History* suggests that such sources were useful for providing information when manuscript sources were scarce but that objects tended to perform a more illustrative function in narratives of later historical periods.

Part of the value of objects for writing a narrative history was their ability to tangibly illustrate aspects of Scotland's social history. This approach was evident in Hill Burton's thematic chapters devoted to 'the progress of the nation in wealth, civilisation, literature, the administration of justice, and other matters coming within the compass of a country's social condition.'[655] In these chapters, objects were presented as evidence of social, artistic, agricultural and economic change. For example, Hill Burton examined laws, trade, agriculture and examples of Scottish architecture from 1000 to 1290 to illustrate the wealth

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[650] Ibid., p. 660, my emphasis.
[651] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, i, p. 79.
[652] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, iii, p. 385.
[653] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii, p. 435.
[654] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, iv, pp. 358-62.
[655] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, iii, p. 385. These thematic chapters were interspersed between those containing the political narrative and covered the following periods: from 1000 to 1290, the wars of independence to the Reformation, the Reformation to the Restoration and finally from 1688 to 1748; Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, ii, pp. 50-77; Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, iii, pp. 385-451; Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, vii, pp. 77-118; Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, viii, pp. 506-56.

of Scotland before the wars of independence, challenging the narrative of Scotland always being England's poor neighbour.[656] He compared decoration on ecclesiastical architecture to objects in wood and metals, such as the maces found in Bishop Kennedy's tomb, to show how religious buildings influenced art in medieval Scotland.[657] Later in his *History,* he identified hand-querns, hand-ploughs and spades as evidence of the backwardness of rural eighteenth-century Scotland.[658] For Hill Burton, objects contributed to his narrative of progress towards an enlightened, civilised Scottish society. More importantly for this study, by the 1870s material sources not only supported the writing of Scotland's prehistory but also contributed to writing Scotland's social, economic and artistic history.

In the mid-nineteenth century, it was more common for objects to be analysed in greater depth within dedicated multi-national material-culture histories. One such publication was Hewitt's *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*. Hewitt was approaching the study of the past from a military science perspective in which the 'nation' occupied a different space in his narrative. He was a clerk to the Board of Ordinance storekeeper, unofficial curator of the Tower of London armoury and an expert on European military dress.[659] Hewitt's *Ancient Armour* featured short extracts of the histories of different European countries within his work, including Scotland. For example, he described the armour and tactics used at the Battle of Falkirk in 1298.[660] But by taking the theme of a specific class of object, in this case armour and weapons, Hewitt investigated their forms and uses in much more depth than was possible in a narrative history. Much of his evidence was from images rather than 'things', although objects were utilised to support the pictorial evidence, predictably often surviving swords or armour at the Tower of London.[661] Hewitt presented fragments of European history to support a narrative of Western military progress and the influence of military tactics and technology *between* the nations of Europe. Material-culture histories were suited to this multi-national approach and allowed authors to make comparisons between similar objects from different countries. As subsequent chapters will demonstrate, it was not until later in the nineteenth century that a few 'national' material-

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[656] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland,* ii, pp. 96-105.
[657] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland,* iii, pp. 436-8.
[658] Hill Burton, *History of Scotland,* viii, p.510.
[659] T. Cooper, & C. Blair, 'Hewitt, John (1807–1878), antiquary', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/13151 [accessed 5 Jan 2020], Hewitt's antiquarian interests were wide-ranging and he published articles in several learned journals. He was not an SoAS Fellow.
[660] Hewitt, *Ancient Armour,* i, pp. 217-8.
[661] Hewitt, *Ancient Armour* ii, pp. 208-9, a bassinet with removable visor, dated 1400.

culture histories were published, and this change reflected growing nationalist sentiment and a related interest in identifying the distinctive antiquities of each nation.

Conclusion

From 1852 to 1871, Fellows continued to develop rational methods of primary source criticism and extracted more nuanced historical information from Scottish documents and objects. They aimed to distance themselves from stereotypical representations of Scottish culture and presented their work as based on concrete evidence from the past. The Society was part of nineteenth-century public enthusiasm for Scottish (often Highland) history and antiquities, but they endeavoured to approach it from a more critical perspective. By trying to separate the myths from the history, Fellows engaged in debates over what was authentic Scottish history and what was sentimental creation. And yet, the Society still needed to attract visitors to the museum and Fellows wanted to sell their historical monographs. Even though the museum presented the SoAS collection as a history of Scottish society, it could be questioned as to how the displays were interpreted by visitors. How many still sought out the Jacobite relics dispersed around the museum? Did people still try to find the candlestick touched by Robert the Bruce? Romance and science were complementary in the SoAS museum and publications of this period. This was evident in the continued popularity of the romantic stories of Old Edinburgh in Chambers' *Traditions,* republished in 1868, the tales of ordinary people in *Domestic Annals,* and the retention of many of the historical associations on object labels.[662] It was human connections that spoke to visitors and readers alike: both famous and everyday lives. Chambers was particularly influential in disseminating historical tales of ordinary people and his efforts were reflective of the educational and democratising tendencies of the Chambers publishing establishment.

After 1859, the Society's explicit attempt to investigate the social and domestic history of Scotland was made visible in the classification system at the Royal Institution and became increasingly prominent in the publications of Fellows. As Marsden highlighted, it was the social history of Scotland that was most popular with readers during the 1860s.[663] The focus on social and domestic history widened and redefined who the Scottish nation included and reflected growing political enfranchisement in nineteenth-century Britain, with more sections of the population involved in shaping the Scottish (and British)

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[662] Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh,* 1868 edition; Anon, 'Chambers's Traditions of Edinburgh', *Saturday review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 28:714 (1869), pp. 22-4.

[663] Marsden, *Cosmo,* pp. 299-315.

present.[664] Concepts of national identity in this period were increasingly centred on 'national' values and character traits. Therefore, identifying distinctly Scottish forms of the 'everyday' was a key aspect of defining Scottish national identity. The themes of trade, crafts, dress, customs and domestic life spoke to bigger questions of what Scottish nationhood meant. Sweet proposed that, 'The antiquary's fascination with the objects of everyday life… was key to the emergence of a form of historical enquiry which concentrated upon social organisation and its cultural forms.'[665] This was an inevitable consequence of starting with the study of objects rather than with the historical narrative. Objects can provide information on larger questions of how people lived, worked, fought, or worshipped, but it is harder to extract information related to specific historical events or people. The antiquarian focus on social history and cultural development was also particularly suited to Scotland due to the ambiguous relationship between people's sense of Scottishness and Britishness. The SoAS's focus on identifying and displaying Scotland's social and cultural history was a political statement that Scotland was not just a region of Britain, but a nation in its own right, with its own history of values and character traits exhibited in its everyday objects.

After 1871, the membership of the SoAS continued to expand and the collection of the museum grew through increased donations and purchases. The late-nineteenth century was a period of more intense nationalist engagement with history not only in Scotland, but across Britain and Europe. As part of this more intense nationalism, scholars anxiously defended their historical and archaeological pursuits as scientific subjects following objective, empirical methods. Concepts of the nation were deployed not only to define separate nations but also to unify 'peoples' with similar cultural traits, for example in Italy and Germany.[666] In the SoAS museum, this unifying concept of nationhood can be found in the more assertive integration of Highland culture into Scottish history under the keepership of Joseph Anderson. The next section of this thesis considers how the Society collected, displayed and investigated Scotland's national past from 1872 to 1891 and how Scotland as a nation was conceptualised in relation to the rest of Britain and Europe.

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[664] J. Garrard, 'The Democratic Experience', in *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Europe, 1789-1914,* ed. S. Berger (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 152. The political franchise was widened in Britain through reforms in 1867 and 1884 for working men.

[665] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. xvi.

[666] S. Berger, 'National Movements', in *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Europe, 1789-1914,* ed. S. Berger (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 179.

Chapter 6   Asserting the Scottish National Story (1872 to 1891)

In the late-nineteenth century, concepts of the Scottish nation and Scotland's history were closely linked to contemporary political debates concerning Scottish governance.[667] Historians of this period have noted that Prime Minister William Gladstone's (1809-98) attempts to establish Home Rule in Ireland between 1886 and 1893 brought Scottish grievances to the fore.[668] Although the Scottish Office had been established in 1885, it failed to fulfil hopes of an effective means of domestic Scottish administration.[669] The subsequent formation of the Scottish Home Rule Association (SHRA) in 1886 reflected continued dissatisfaction with the way that Scotland's domestic affairs were managed.[670] During these political debates, the SHRA challenged the narrative that the 1707 Union of Parliaments had been beneficial to Scottish progress and instead argued that the strength of pre-union Scottish institutions had shaped Scotland's subsequent success within the union.[671] But as Naomi Lloyd-Jones argued, this was a representation of Scotland that went beyond unionist-nationalism.[672] It emphasised Scottish historical progress and achievements as *independent from* rather than *dependent on* English influence and the British context. Indeed, SHRA upheld the example of Ireland to argue that English influence was not always beneficial and that it was Scottish characteristics and existing institutions that had contributed to Scotland's successful partnership with England.[673] A more assertive representation of Scottish material culture was also reflected in the SoAS museum when it co-located to more spacious accommodation within the new Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Queen Street in 1891. The 'national' status of the SoAS collection shifted decidedly away from it being the property of the British state, towards a space through which the history of the Scottish nation could be exhibited and understood.

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[667] N. Lloyd-Jones, 'Scottish Nationalism and the Home Rule Crisis, c.1886-93', *The English Historical Review,* 129:539 (2014), pp. 862-87.

[668] Ibid., pp. 866-72; G. Morton, 'The First Home Rule Movement in Scotland, 1886-1918', in *The Challenge to Westminster: Sovereignty, Devolution and Independence,* ed. H. T. Dickinson & M. Lynch (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 113-22; I. G. C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland 1832-1924* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2003), pp. 168-75; H. C. G. Matthew, 'Gladstone, William Ewart (1809–1898), prime minister and author', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/10787 [accessed 26 Jun 2020]. Gladstone was Liberal Prime Minister from 1868 to 1874, 1880 to 1885, six months in 1886, and 1892 to 1894.

[669] Lloyd-Jones, 'Scottish Nationalism', p. 872; E. A. Cameron, *Impaled Upon a Thistle: Scotland since 1880* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 61-2; I. G. C. Hutchison, 'Legislative and Executive Autonomy in Modern Scotland', in *The Challenge to Westminster: Sovereignty, Devolution and Independence,* ed. H. T. Dickinson & M. Lynch (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 133.

[670] Morton, 'The First Home Rule Movement in Scotland', pp. 113-22.

[671] Lloyd-Jones, 'Scottish Nationalism', p. 874; SHRA, *The Scottish Home Rule Debate.*

[672] Lloyd-Jones, 'Scottish Nationalism', pp. 874-5.

[673] SHRA, *The Scottish Home Rule Debate,* p. 18.

Museums across Europe became more nationalist in their approaches in the late-nineteenth century. This nationalism was reflected both in terms of their aims to collect national antiquities and in their emphasis on telling the nation's story.[674] As Stefan Berger argued, the demonstration of not only the longevity, but also the *continuity* of a distinctive 'national' culture, was integral to the aims of archaeological, historical and folk museums across Europe.[675] In Scotland, this continuous national culture was seen by keeper of the SoAS museum Joseph Anderson to be reflected by the distinctive designs on sculptured stones and Highland objects, such as dirks, jewellery and powder horns (much like Wilson had argued 30 years earlier).[676] In Ireland, cultural distinctiveness was a key aspect of nationalist arguments by those who supported Irish independence.[677] But in Wales and Scotland, cultural distinctiveness was not typically utilised within political arguments for separation from the British state.[678] Instead, as the rhetoric of the SHRA suggests, Scottish distinctiveness was part of the argument that Scotland's unique historical development had contributed to nineteenth-century industrial, economic and social progress. However, rather than merely focusing on Scotland's role in British historical development, this was a representation of how Scotland could be understood as part of global patterns of historical change independent of a British (or English) context. This was Scotland as a nation of the world, with its history investigated through the lens of international comparisons of "civilised progress".

By 1871, the Society had positioned itself as the site where the systematising of archaeological methods could occur and methods of understanding the material culture of the Scottish past were explored. The aims and methods utilised by Fellows were evidenced not only in papers presented at meetings, but also through the newly established Rhind lectures, which are discussed in detail below. The UK government continued to manage the National Gallery of Scotland, the SoAS museum, and the new Portrait Gallery through the Board of Manufactures. The Society retained curatorial control of the museum, with the presence of two members from the Board on the SoAS Council to oversee museum

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[674] Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, pp. 368-71; P. Aronsson, & G. Elgenius, eds, *National Museums and Nation-Building in Europe 1750-2010: Mobilization and legitimacy, continuity and change* (London: Routledge, 2015); Fladmark, *Heritage and Museums*; Cheape, 'The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland'.

[675] Berger, 'National Museums', pp. 11-32.

[676] J. Anderson, 'The Systematic Study of Scottish Archaeology', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, New Series,* 1:3 (1888), pp. 343-54; Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* ii, pp. 209-37.

[677] Fowle, 'The Celtic Revival', pp. 254-9; A. Kirwan, 'Postcolonialism, Ethnicity and the National Museum of Ireland', in *National Museums: New Studies from around the World,* ed. S. J. Knell et. al. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), pp. 443-52, although these ideas were not deployed in museums in the nineteenth century.

[678] Berger, 'National Museums', pp. 24-6; Fowle, 'The Celtic Revival', p. 259.

management decisions. In 1889, the Board requested that the Society justify what they were purchasing and how these acquisitions were 'illustrative of the unwritten history of Scotland'.[679] This was the first time the Board had challenged the collecting activities of the museum. The Society's reply provides us with the first clear collecting policy of the museum and this crucial turning-point is the focus of the end of this chapter. To place the period 1872 to 1891 in context, this chapter commences with a brief membership analysis, since the wealth, skills and networks of Fellows continued to shape the aims and activities of the Society and the overall development of the museum.

The Society's membership and the professionalization of archaeology

The number of Fellows in the membership list for 1891-2 demonstrates the significant growth of the Society after 1871. The membership nearly doubled, from 372 Fellows to 736 Fellows, with the addition of 23 Honorary Fellows and eleven Lady Associates, making a total of 770 members (Appendix I, Table 1). The SoAL had a total of 719 members in the same year, only increasing by 81 members in the same period that the SoAS had increased by 377.[680] This substantial difference in membership growth demonstrates the consolidation of the SoAS as the main archaeological and historical society for Scotland compared to its London counterpart. Part of the success of the SoAS was it embraced Fellows investigating all periods of the past, while as C. Stephen Briggs has noted, the SoAL remained aloof to archaeologists studying prehistory and rarely elected them to the membership.[681] Therefore, in England prehistorians joined other societies where their work was encouraged and accepted. That is not to say that there was not competition from new historical and archaeological societies forming in Scotland after 1871, such as the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society (1878), the Scottish Text Society (1882), the New Spalding Club (1886), the SHS (1886) and the Gaelic Society of Glasgow (1887), to name a few.[682] In addition, established regional societies flourished in the 1880s, including the Glasgow Archaeological Society (GAS) formed in 1856, whose membership increased over fourfold in the same twenty year period.[683] The

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[679] NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, Purchase Committee Meeting, 9 Mar 1889, p. 116; SoAS, 'Monday 11th April 1881', *PSAS,* 15 (1881), pp. 185-6.

[680] SoAL, *List of the Society of Antiquaries of London 1892* (London: Society of Antiquaries of London, 1892).

[681] C. S. Briggs, 'Prehistory in the Nineteenth Century', in *Visions of Antiquity: The Society of Antiquaries of London 1707-2007,* ed. S. M. Pearce (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2007), pp. 227-65.

[682] Terry, *Scottish historical societies,* pp. 69, 120, 148, 165 and 188. The 1880s were when many new societies were established.

[683] J. Mearns, '150 Years of Glasgow Archaeological Society', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, 30:1/2 (2008), pp. vi-xvii; GAS, 'Report by the Council 1891-92' (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1892), rising from 70 members in 1868 to 331 in 1892.

SoAS membership continued to grow despite this competition because many people shared membership between several societies, for example SoAS Fellow Robert William Cochran-Patrick was also a Fellow of the SoAL, member of the GAS and one of the founders of the Ayrshire and Wigtownshire Archaeological Association.[684] Overall, there was a substantial growth in associational culture in Scotland in the 1880s and the SoAS benefited from this increased interest in the Scottish past.

The geographical composition of the SoAS membership continued to contain members from across Scotland, but a notable difference was the increase in Fellows from Glasgow, rising from seven to 44 over the twenty-year period (Appendix I, Table 4). A core group of Fellows were still based in Edinburgh (36%) and the new Glasgow group only represented 6% of all Fellows. However, considering their absence in previous years this suggests that the SoAS was attracting more new members from outside of Edinburgh who were able to attend meetings due to the expansion of the railways. There was a crossover of membership between GAS and SoAS, with approximately 7% of GAS members also SoAS Fellows.[685] Although most GAS members were not SoAS Fellows, people who held joint memberships were among the more active contributors. For example, between 1890 and 1894 there were fifteen (out of 23) papers by SoAS Fellows in the GAS *Transactions*.[686] Joint memberships allowed antiquarian discussions to take place at both a local and national level. Through these networks of social and intellectual exchange, the systematising of archaeological (and historical) methods were shared by regular members and emerging professionals, and the Scottish past was investigated from both a regional and national perspective.

Another feature of late-nineteenth century Scotland that affected the SoAS membership was increased industrialisation and urbanisation.[687] Economic growth in Scotland had created an expanding industrial middle-class involved in manufacturing and Scotland's heavy industries of iron, steel and shipbuilding.[688] Indeed, 7% of the SoAS membership in 1892 listed occupations in manufacturing, were merchants or were employed in insurance services linked to shipping (Appendix I, Table 2). However, considering how many Scots were involved in these industries, the SoAS membership was still dominated by those of

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[684] G. Stronach & H. C. G. Matthew, 'Patrick, Robert William Cochran- (1842–1897), politician', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/5748 [accessed 19 Aug 2019], Cochran-Patrick is discussed in chapter seven.
[685] GAS, 'Report 1891-92', 22 out of 331 members.
[686] GAS, 'Contents', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 2:1 (1891), pp. iii-v.
[687] Devine, 'Urbanisation', pp. 27-52.
[688] Ibid; Morton, *Ourselves and Others,* p. 127.

independent wealth, medicine, clergy and the legal professions. One slight difference in the 1891-2 list compared to the 1871-2 list was the composition of the council (Appendix I, Table 3). By 1892, there was a broader spread of occupations among council members, including an architect, a decorator/picture restorer, a school rector and a civil engineer. This suggests that the social and occupational range of Fellows within the Society was more clearly represented in the council and that they were contributing to the management of the Society and its museum to an extent unrealised before. But there was also no indication of any Fellows being skilled labourers, suggesting that by 1892 the Society's membership had not changed in line with the labour market in Scotland, remaining predominantly middle-class and containing members in mainly urban professional roles.

A significant change in the SoAS museum during the late-nineteenth century was the explicit requirement that staff working in the museum should have expertise in archaeology. This marked the beginning of the professionalization of the role of keeper and staff, who henceforth were required to have an archaeological, rather than an archival background. Joseph Anderson, appointed in 1869, was the first paid curator of the SoAS museum with archaeological experience. In Scotland, the professionalization of archaeology developed within learned societies such as the SoAS, since the subject was still not yet established as an academic discipline within universities.[689] The first Scottish Chair of Archaeology was not created until 1925 at the University of Edinburgh, following an endowment bequeathed by SoAS Fellow, Hon. John Abercromby (1841-1924).[690] Abercromby was a keen archaeologist and had financed a number of excavations conducted by the Society.[691] As Levine demonstrated, academic historians and archaeologists in England were defining themselves as separate from their amateur counterparts in the late-nineteenth century through the development of degrees, new university posts, as well as the establishment of new academic journals such as the *English Historical Review* established in 1886.[692] The division between historians, archaeologists and antiquarians was less pronounced in Scotland because the study of the Scottish past remained outside of the academy for longer. Chairs of Scottish History were not founded at

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[689] Professionalization refers to archaeology moving from an unpaid hobby to a paid profession, with proponents setting out systematic methods of practice.

[690] University of Edinburgh, 'John Abercromby, 5th Baron Abercromby of Aboukir and Tullibody (1841-1924)', http://ourhistory.is.ed.ac.uk/index.php/John_Abercromby,_5th_Baron_Abercromby_of_Aboukir_and_Tullibody_(1841-1924) [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[691] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 178-9.

[692] Levine, *Amateur and the Professional,* pp. 164-7.

the University of Edinburgh until 1901 and at the University of Glasgow in 1913.[693] Although history was taught within universities, Scottish history was largely embedded in constitutional history in the law faculty or studied as part of literature.[694] Marsden noted that even though Cosmo Innes had a personal interest in Scottish history, changes in the law degree after 1862 at the University of Edinburgh resulted in him focusing his lectures more on English constitutional history.[695] Therefore, the Society's meetings were an intellectual space within which professional historians and archaeologists, such as Innes and Anderson, could exchange their research findings with fellow enthusiasts of Scottish history without the restriction of rigid disciplinary distinctions.

The Rhind lectures

One way that Scottish archaeology and history developed outside the academy was through the Rhind Lectureship in Archaeology.[696] This was established through the bequest from Alexander Henry Rhind.[697] The first lectures commenced in 1876 with Arthur Mitchell (1826-1909), then Joseph Anderson became the second Rhind lecturer in 1879.[698] Rhind's bequest had originally been offered to the University of Edinburgh to establish a professorship in History and Archaeology. But since the changes under the Universities (Scotland) Act 1858 guaranteed support for the existing Chair of History, he offered his bequest to the Society to establish the lectureship.[699] In the deed of settlement, Rhind stipulated the twofold benefit of his bequest, '*First*, To assist in the general advancement of knowledge; and *Second*, To aid in furnishing some suitable positions of moderate emolument for students, which positions are now so greatly wanting in Scotland.'[700] By

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[693] A. F. Giles, 'The Faculty of Arts', in *History of the University of Edinburgh 1883-1933,* ed. A. Logan Turner (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1933), pp. 164-238; P. Kinchin, J. Kinchin & N. Baxter, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions 1888.1901.1911.1938.1988* (Bicester: White Cockade, 1988), pp. 95 and 125. The Chair at Glasgow was funded through profits from the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry held in Glasgow in 1911.

[694] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* pp. 157-63; Anderson, 'University History Teaching', pp. 1-41.

[695] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes,* pp. 160-3.

[696] SoAS, 'Mon 14th December 1874', *PSAS,* 11 (1876), pp. 13-21. The Rhind Lecturer was appointed for three years to deliver six lectures per year on archaeology, anthropology and related subjects. A lecturer could be re-elected and was paid through the interest accrued by Rhind's bequest. From 1883 onwards, Rhind lecturers were only appointed for one year, see NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC29/37 Printed programme A. W. Brogger's Rhind Lectures on 'The Ancient Connections between Scotland and Norway', 1928.

[697] Clarke, 'Scottish Archaeology', pp. 156-60; NMS, SAS.MB.1853-1868, pp. 319-24, extracts from trust disposition and deed of settlement of A. H. Rhind; Bayne, 'Rhind' *ODNB*; C. Gilmour, 'Alexander Henry Rhind (1833–63)', *PSAS,* 145 (2015), pp. 427-40.

[698] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 9 Oct 1874, pp. 276-7; Council Meeting, 4 Dec 1874, pp. 286-7; Council Meeting, 17 Nov 1875, p. 328; Council Meeting, 25 Nov 1878, pp. 440-5.

[699] SoAS, 'Mon 14th December 1874', p. 13; Bayne, 'Rhind', *ODNB,* although Rhind did bequeath £5000 for two scholarships to the university.

[700] SoAS, 'Mon 14th December 1874', p. 14, original emphasis.

establishing these lectures outside of the universities it also made them accessible to the public. The Council resolved that 'there shall… be no charge for admission to the lectures, and… the lectures should be open to ladies as well as gentlemen.'[701] Therefore, we have two important aspects to this lectureship outside of the academy. Firstly, Rhind acknowledged that there was a lack of salaried posts for archaeologists in Scotland and laid the basis for advancing the professionalization of archaeology and its eventual establishment within universities. Secondly, these lectures were free to attend and open to both men and women, demonstrating the continued educational aims of the Society and the museum to educate the 'interested public', a theme discussed in previous chapters.

Between 1876 and 1891, approximately six Rhind lectures were delivered per year by eleven different lecturers, encompassing topics that came under archaeology, history and anthropology.[702] The lectures were held at the Masonic Hall, 98 George Street in Edinburgh.[703] There are no recorded attendance figures but reports in the *Scotsman* indicate that the lectures were very well-attended.[704] Topics encompassed not just Scotland, but archaeology from around the world. Most of the Rhind lectures focused on prehistoric periods, although a few covered historic periods, for instance in 1886 David Masson, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, presented six lectures titled 'The Social System of Scotland in the Sixteenth Century'.[705] The appointment of academics like Masson to the Rhind lectureship demonstrates how these lectures facilitated interaction between professional historians within the academy with amateur antiquarians and the interested public. It allowed these academics to share their research on Scottish history that was not suited to their post within the universities, as well as allowing them to demonstrate how academic methods of analysis were being applied to investigating the Scottish past.

The first two series of Rhind lectures by Arthur Mitchell titled 'The Past in the Present' and 'What is Civilisation?' were delivered between 1876 and 1878. The two sets of

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[701] Ibid., p. 15.

[702] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC29/37, Brogger's Rhind Lectures. Mitchell only delivered ten lectures over three years but thereafter lecturers were expected to deliver six per year.

[703] NMS, SAS Circulars and Billets 1871-1884.

[704] Anon, 'Rhind Lectures on Archaeology', *The Scotsman,* 22 Apr 1876, p. 7; Anon, 'The Rhind Lectures', *The Scotsman,* 19 Oct 1882, p. 3.

[705] G. G. Smith & S. M. Cooney, 'Masson, David Mather (1822–1907), biographer, literary scholar, and editor', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/34924 [accessed 9 Aug 2019]. Masson lectured at University College London from 1852 to 1865, then the University of Edinburgh from 1865 to 1895. He was a prolific writer of history and literature, editor of the Privy Council registers of Scotland from 1879 to 1899, and became Historiographer Royal for Scotland in 1893. He was a vocal supporter of higher education for women. Summaries of his lectures were published in *The Scotsman.*

lectures were subsequently published as a single monograph.[706] Mitchell was the commissioner for lunacy in Scotland and elected a Fellow of the Society in 1867. He had been a corresponding member from 1861, became President of the Scottish Text Society in 1878 and later went on to help found the SHS in 1886.[707] The title of Mitchell's Rhind lectures at first appears self-explanatory. It was a widely held practice in the nineteenth century to compare the material culture of 'primitive' communities of the present with excavated material of the distant past to understand how they were made and what they were used for. For example, on encountering the indigenous populations of Canada in 1855, Wilson had commented that 'it was my good fortune… to observe thus the manners and habits of a people probably closely resembling those of Scotland's primitive eras'.[708] However, Mitchell's lectures questioned whether the Enlightenment theory of universal stadial progress could be accurately demonstrated by material culture. The objects that Mitchell collected and exhibited for his lectures consisted of nineteenth-century objects that were only just going out of use during his lifetime, such as hand-weaving implements, hand-mills and foot ploughs. Mitchell's collection provides evidence not only of the practice of what we would now term 'contemporary collecting' but the thinking behind it.

Mitchell's Rhind lectures brought into focus the value of modern history and 'things' for studying the Scottish past. He proposed that modern things were not only useful for comparing with prehistoric finds but were a key part of documenting and understanding the present. To achieve this, he urged the importance of recording the social practices surrounding modern objects. For example, Mitchell recounted his visit to the Shetland island of Fetlar where he visited the house of the boy whom he had encountered making a whorl for his mother. Mitchell was given two spindles and whorls, '[one] was loaded with yarn, which had been spun just before my visit… [then] I had occasion to visit many houses, and in most of them I found the spindle and whorl in actual use.'[709] These items were no longer used in urban Scotland because of the mass production of textiles. Mitchell argued that by observing the present, archaeologists could appreciate the innovation and intelligence of the past, while at the same time documenting practices that were disappearing in modern Scottish society. Observing, collecting, and then writing about modern Scottish practices fed back into the objectives of the Society to collect items

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[706] A. Mitchell, *The Past in the Present: What is Civilisation?* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1880).

[707] A. H. Millar & J. Andrews, 'Mitchell, Sir Arthur (1826–1909), commissioner in lunacy for Scotland and antiquary', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/35042 [accessed 8 Aug 2019].

[708] University of Edinburgh, The Laing Collection, Section IV, La.IV.17.10131-2 Daniel Wilson to David Laing, 8 Sept 1855.

[709] Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, p. 2.

'Illustrative of Obsolete Scottish Manners', proposed by Wilson in the *Synopsis* and the circular of 1849.[710] The items listed in this circular correlate with the types of object that Mitchell utilised in his lectures and are clearly part of Scotland's social and domestic history.[711] But Mitchell did not advocate these objects as illustrative of a rural society stuck in the past and incapable of modernising, but one where change could be observed in action. Mitchell's study of rural communities of Scotland was framed in reference to conceptions of Scottish progress being based on national character traits of industriousness and intelligence, while seeking to explain how objects and practices became obsolete at different times throughout Scotland.

Mitchell problematized the concept of the past living in the present to question the way that objects (and people) from the Highlands and Islands were perceived as less civilised than in the Lowlands.[712] The first object that he identified as problematic was the whorl (Figure 6-1). [713] The form and use of the whorl had not greatly changed since its invention in the Stone Age. The people of Fetlar, where he acquired nineteenth-century whorls, were no less civilised or intelligent than the rest of Scotland. Mitchell contended that:

> Can any one say that some of the inventions which congregate and culminate
> in our wonderful spinning machinery may not actually be due to a Fetlar man,
> whose mother knitted stockings for him when a child, of yarn which she made
> with a spindle and whorl?[714]

Mitchell reasoned that not only prehistoric people, but also contemporary societies, could not be defined as primitive because they used simple technologies. In fact, by comparing European machine-spun material to the high-quality hand-spun muslin from India, Mitchell demonstrated that certain technologies were more fit-for-purpose in their earlier than later forms. The reason 'rude implements' had survived was because they were so well adapted to their environment. He argued that their use was 'the outcome rather of wisdom than of ignorance or stupidity'.[715] Therefore, prehistoric and modern Highland communities of Scotland both displayed high intellectual capabilities and innovation, with their spinning implements a form of 'survival-of-the-fittest' applied to technology.[716]

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[710] SoAS, *Synopsis,* p. x.
[711] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 87/22, 'Objects Illustrative of Obsolete Scottish Manners; including Implements of Husbandry; Hand-mills; Distaffs; Brooches, Buckles, and other Personal Ornaments; Domestic Utensils, & c.'; SoAS, 'Monday 11th June 1877', *PSAS,* 12 (1878), pp. 258-77.
[712] Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, p. 108.
[713] Ibid*.,* pp. 1-24.
[714] Ibid., p. 5.
[715] Ibid., p. 37. This refers to the continued use of small water-powered 'Norse mills' in rural communities where a mechanised mill would not be cost-efficient for smaller populations.
[716] Ibid., p. 17.

Mitchell's approach challenged the inevitability of change, or even that change always equated to progress, and demonstrated how environmental differences affected the domestic economy of communities in remoter parts of Scotland. Mitchell's lectures presented an alternative way of understanding difference in modern Scottish society and reflected on the reasons why the material culture of different parts of Scotland was so diverse.

Figure 6-1 Spindle whorls, NMS, X.BE 135, X.BE 174, X.BE 175, X.BE 608.
Collection of spindle whorls from various sites. Image © National Museums Scotland.

The second Rhind lecturer was keeper Joseph Anderson, who delivered three sets of lectures between 1879 and 1882, titled 'Scotland in Early Christian and in Pagan Times'.[717] His role as assistant secretary of the Society from 1877, editor of the *Proceedings,* and his 43-year tenure in the museum established him as the leading expert on archaeology in Scotland and one of Scotland's few salaried archaeologists.[718] In his obituary which appeared in the *Proceedings,* it was remarked that Anderson, 'was one of the first to promote the study of archaeology on scientific lines, and to introduce scientific methods into the conduct of excavation.'[719] Anderson was an English and Latin teacher in Scotland then Constantinople in the 1850s, then was editor of the *John O' Groats Journal* in Caithness from 1860.[720] It was during his editorship that Anderson joined a close circle of antiquaries in Caithness that had included Rhind, and during this time he was involved in a number of excavations.[721] When the keepership was advertised after the death of

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[717] J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1881); J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times,* Second Series (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1881); J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1883); J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Bronze and Stone Ages* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886).
[718] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1916', *PSAS,* 51 (1917), pp. 5-6, keeper from 1869 to 1913.
[719] Ibid., p. 5.
[720] Clarke, 'aspects of the work of Joseph Anderson', pp. 4-5.
[721] Ibid., see Clarke's article for details of the other practitioners who were active in the Caithness antiquarian circle during the 1860s.

McCulloch, the Society explicitly required that the new keeper should have 'a general knowledge of archaeology, [and] the classification and arrangement of archaeological objects'.[722] McCulloch had come from an archival background and therefore acquired his curatorial expertise on the job. In contrast, Anderson had years of archaeological experience in Caithness and had already contributed a number of papers as a corresponding member of the SoAS.[723] When Anderson expressed an interest in applying for the keeper's post, SoAS secretary John Stuart encouraged his application since the council, 'was bound to take the best man they can find – and I shall be much mistaken if any one with so many claims as you have, will present himself.'[724] He was right, and as the work of Clarke has demonstrated, Anderson went on to exert a significant influence over not only the development of the museum, but also the trajectory of research undertaken on the collection.[725]

Figure 6-2 Museum of Antiquities Royal Institution Edinburgh, 1890, NMS, photograph 11. From an album held by NMS Library. Keeper Joseph Anderson in the foreground and George Fraser Black in the background, who was appointed Assistant Keeper in 1891. Image © National Museums Scotland.

In his Rhind lectures, Anderson promoted the value of detailed observation and analysis of the physical world as key to a systematic archaeological approach. Although Anderson's lectures covered mainly prehistory, he recognised that archaeological methods were relevant to the full span of Scotland's past. He noted how 'the archaeology of the historic period and the archaeology of the non-historic period do in fact constitute two sections of the same investigation, conducted by the same processes in both cases, and the results in

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[722] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC87/5, 'Duties of the Keeper of the Museum'.

[723] J. Anderson, 'On the chambered cairns of Caithness, with the results of recent explorations', *PSAS,* 6 (1868), pp. 442-51; J. Anderson, 'On the horned cairns of Caithness: their structural arrangement, contents of chambers, &c', *PSAS,* 7 (1870), pp. 480-512.

[724] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC21/2, John Stuart to Joseph Anderson, 28 May 1869.

[725] Clarke, 'aspects of the work of Joseph Anderson'; Clarke, 'Scottish Archaeology'.

both depending on the application of the same principles.'[726] For Anderson, this meant detailed observation, comparison, classification, and the assembling of a 'cluster of facts' associated with each object.[727] Through this approach Anderson argued that, 'archaeology aims at producing a history of man by his works, of art by its monuments, of culture by its manifestations, and of civilisation by its developments.'[728] As Trigger, Díaz-Andreu and Schnapp have shown, in the nineteenth century prehistoric (and excavated historic) objects were increasingly investigated through more systematic recording at sites, studying associated finds, documenting stratigraphy, and classifying and comparing groups of objects.[729] Although Anderson did not state what constituted a historic object's 'cluster of facts', he clearly meant any information relative to understanding its history; with observation, comparison and classification employed alongside documentary research.[730] Once the cluster of facts was established for an object, this could form the basis of wider conclusions concerning social practices, customs, technological developments and changes in art and craft techniques. By studying both prehistoric and historic objects in a similar way, Anderson could present a connected narrative of national history and society that covered the full span of human habitation in Scotland.

The "national" importance of collecting and studying the antiquities of Scotland was a key concern for Anderson, argued both in his Rhind lectures and in another given to the GAS in 1888.[731] Anderson maintained that only Scottish materials could tell Scotland's story, in the same way that all countries had their own national story. He defined Scottish archaeological objects as those collected from what was now the geographical location of Scotland, encompassing Highland and Lowland antiquities.[732] He asserted that modern Scotland was the result of accumulated historical development within this specific geographical space, 'For… the idea of nationality cannot be confined to the existing individuals… but includes the aggregate in all its relations of space and time.'[733] In this way, Anderson incorporated the different historical and modern people of Scotland into a unified concept of Scottish history and identity. Anderson argued, as Wilson had before

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[726] Anderson, *Early Christian Times*, pp. 4-5.
[727] Ibid., pp. 16-9.
[728] Ibid., p. 1.
[729] Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology,* pp. 392-7; Trigger, *Archaeological Thought,* pp. 121-35; Schnapp, *Discovery of the Past,* pp. 300-23.
[730] This can be inferred from how he approached the investigation of historic objects in his papers and monographs. For example, Anderson, *Early Christian Times*, pp. 216-51, covering crosiers and reliquaries.
[731] Anderson, 'Systematic Study', pp. 343-54.
[732] Anderson, *Early Christian Times*, pp. 12-3.
[733] Ibid., p. 13.

him, that there was a continuous line of development from art on sculptured stones to the decoration on Highland brooches, powder horns, dirks and musical instruments.[734] But rather than presenting the Highland and Islands as 'other' as Hill Burton had done, Anderson argued that Highland antiquities were just one facet of Scotland's long and diverse history. Anderson asserted that 'the antiquities of Scotland belong to us as they belong to no other people… They are ours alone'.[735] This was a unified vision of the modern Scottish nation. But at the same time, Anderson argued that Scottish objects needed to be contextualised through comparison with materials from other countries. In this way, every country contributed its own part of the larger story of human development.[736] Anderson compared Scottish with non-Scottish objects to understand where forms of decoration had originated or the extent of international influences. For example, in his lecture on ecclesiastical bells he included Irish, English, Welsh, French, and Swiss examples, during which he particularly noted the Irish influence on Scottish bells.[737] As much as Anderson presented a unified vision of Scottish cultural history, he did not deny that Scotland had been affected by a range of outside influences. His approach was to collate all known information on Scottish material culture to create a unified Scottish national history, which was contextualised within broader global comparisons of historical interaction.

The reviews of Mitchell's and Anderson's Rhind lectures were mainly positive in regards to their focus on Scottish history and the methods that they employed, even if reviewers disagreed with some of their conclusions.[738] The *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* stated that, 'It would be difficult, perhaps, to find two books on archaeological subjects, published in England during the past year, which can compete with these in the excellence of their production, and the logical and argumental value of their teaching.'[739] The *Scotsman* noted how Anderson had shown how archaeology was a science of 'direct value as a complement to historical enquiry in that region which lies beyond the domain of recorded history.'[740] However, in the *Saturday Review* the anonymous author disagreed

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[734] Anderson, 'Systematic Study', pp. 352-3; Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* ii, pp. 209-37.

[735] Anderson, *Early Christian Times*, p. 12.

[736] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[737] Ibid., pp. 167-215.

[738] Anon, 'The Past in the Present', *The Reliquary: Quarterly Archaeological Journal and Review, July 1863-Oct.1894,* 21 (1881), pp. 251-2; E. B. Tylor, 'The Past in the Present: What is Civilisation? by Arthur Mitchell, M.D., LL.D', *The Academy, 1869-1902, 0269-333X*, 437 (1880), pp. 203-4; E. Peacock, 'Anderson's (J.) Scotland in Early Christian Times (Book Review)', *The Academy*, 20:480 (1881), pp. 36-7; Anon, 'Scottish Archaeology', *The Antiquary*, 4 (1881), pp. 248-52.

[739] Anderson, *Iron Age,* list of publications at end of monograph, p. 8; these monographs were published in both London and Edinburgh.

[740] Anon, 'Literature', *The Scotsman*, 12 May 1881, p. 3.

with Mitchell's view of Highland society, stating that their use of rude implements was because 'these worthy Highlanders are abominably lazy, and their motto is, "it will do well enough."'[741] Both Mitchell and Anderson contributed to an expanding material-culture historiography of Scotland and presented Scottish historical change as a connected narrative from prehistoric to modern times. Mitchell asserted that the study of modern objects contributed to explaining differences in customs and practices across Scotland that transcended notions of racial difference, instead focusing on how material culture represented adaptations to specific environments. Likewise, Anderson went beyond the idea of a Highland/Lowland divide to argue that all the past 'peoples' of Scotland contributed to the development of modern Scottish society. Mitchell and Anderson both set out methods of collecting, observing, recording and analysing the physical remains of the past and present. At the same time, they presented their studies of the Scottish past as not being a parochial endeavour only relevant to Scotland, but a subject of significance to wider questions on the development of human societies across Britain, Europe and the world.

A national building for a national collection

After 1871, increasing donations to the SoAS museum resulted in the accommodation at the Royal Institution soon becoming inadequate. In the 1870s, visitor figures ranged from 104,000 to over 120,000 annually, and hundreds of donations were received by the museum each year.[742] As early as 1874, the council were discussing ways to extend accommodation into the rooms of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a body with which they shared the Royal Institution building.[743] Unfortunately, this proposal was rejected in 1875 and the Royal Society suggested that the SoAS museum should apply for space in the new wing of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art.[744] Although the SoAS initially held talks about moving to the Edinburgh Museum in 1883, the council thought the space was too small to do justice to a 'national' collection and by May 1884 the proposal was definitively rejected.[745] Instead, the SoAS museum was offered accommodation in the

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[741] Anon, 'The Past in the Present', *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, 50:1293 (1880), p. 177.

[742] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Annual report 1872, pp. 179-80; AGM, 1 Dec 1873, pp. 234-44; Annual report 1874, pp. 284-6; Annual report 1875, pp. 331-3; Annual report 1876, pp. 366-8; Annual report 1877, pp. 402-3; Annual report 1878, pp. 450-2; Annual report 1879, pp. 494-6.

[743] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 14 Jan 1874, p. 253.

[744] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Committee Meeting, 16 Jan 1874, pp. 294-300; Council Meeting, 1 Feb 1875, pp. 301-7; Council Meeting, 9 Nov 1875, pp. 325-7.

[745] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 163-73; NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Council Meeting, 21 May 1884, pp. 336-7; D. Thomson, *A History of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2011), Findlay was not identified as the donor until the Portrait Gallery was opened in 1889.

building that was to house the new Scottish National Portrait Gallery.[746] The building at Queen Street provided not only the space, but also the 'national' status that the Society aspired to (Figure 6-3).

Figure 6-3 Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Queen Street, c.1900, HES, SC 684146. Image © Courtesy of HES (Bedford Lemere and Company Collection).

In 1882, an anonymous donation of £10,000 by John Ritchie Findlay, owner of the *Scotsman* newspaper and secretary of the SoAS, had provided part of the funds for the gallery.[747] A Scottish portrait gallery had long been the wish of the Society since its inception in 1780, although they had never had the means to establish one.[748] Its arrangement was influenced by the ideas of historian Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) as a space containing images of illustrious Scots to inspire popular engagement with prominent people who had shaped Scottish history.[749] When negotiations for a new building for the SoAS museum reached a standstill in 1883, Findlay increased his donation to £20,000 so that the Society's museum could be co-located into the same building as the portrait gallery.[750] Providing accommodation for the SoAS museum had never been part of Findlay's original plan, but as a Fellow he sympathised with the Society's situation.[751] Yet again, the wealth and influence of Fellows shaped the future development of the museum. The new accommodation at Queen Street was anticipated as truly 'national' since each

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[746] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Council Meeting, 23 Dec 1884, pp. 259-61.

[747] Thomson, *Portrait Gallery,* pp. 11-25.

[748] Ibid., pp. 11-7.

[749] Ibid., pp. 12-7; F. Kaplan, 'Carlyle, Thomas (1795–1881), author, biographer, and historian', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/4697 [accessed 4 Feb 2020].

[750] Thomson, *Portrait Gallery,* p. 31-3, Findlay provided £50,000 for the Queen Street building by the time it was completed.

[751] Ibid., p. 25.

wing of the building provided a complementary counterpoint to the other. In one wing would be housed the images of the personalities who had shaped Scotland's national history, while in the other wing the material culture of Scotland would be arranged to demonstrate the prehistoric and historic development of Scottish society (Figure 6-4).

Figure 6-4 Interior of Portrait Gallery, c.1900, HES, SC 684145.
Image © Courtesy of HES (Bedford Lemere and Company Collection).

The museum's opening in 1891 coincided with the visit to Edinburgh of the Archaeological Institute. At the opening event, the speeches applauded the importance of a portrait gallery and museum that foregrounded Scotland's significance in British history. President of the SoAS, the Marquess of Lothian (1833-1900) declared that, 'I cannot imagine any more fortunate and wise conjunction than that the unwritten history should be in one part of the building and the portraits of the people who made history on the other side of it.'[752] This was a national building housing a national history; the Scottish nation on display. And yet, the majority of portraits were of Scots who had lived after the union of the crowns in 1603.[753] A guide to the gallery indicates that the section 'Royal Personages' started with James V and finished with Queen Victoria.[754] The rest of the collection was divided into 'Political and Legal Celebrities', 'Military and Naval Men', 'Artists', 'Men of Letters', 'Clergymen', 'Metaphysicians, Economists, Philologists', 'Men of Science' and

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[752] NRS, NG1/68/1 Board of Manufactures – volume of press cuttings on Schools of Art, National Gallery, Portrait Gallery and art, paintings and museums in general 1873-93, *Scotsman* 14 Aug 1891; J. M. Rigg & H. C. G. Matthew, 'Kerr, Schomberg Henry, ninth marquess of Lothian (1833–1900), diplomatist and politician', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/15467 [accessed 8 Aug 2019]. Kerr succeeded as the ninth Marquess of Lothian in 1870 and became the Secretary for Scotland in 1887. He was a member of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and elected SoAS President in 1877.

[753] J. M. Gray, *The Scottish National Portrait Gallery; the building and its contents. Also a report of the opening ceremony* (Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons, 1891).

[754] Ibid., pp. 20-9; not every monarch was represented.

'Antiquaries'.[755] For example, there were portraits of poet Robert Burns, political economist Adam Smith, and astronomer and mathematician Mary Somerville.[756] Notably, there were very few portraits of Jacobites or exiled Stuart monarchs.[757] The gallery was a celebration of Scots who had shaped British civilisation and progress after the unions of crown and parliament. The collection comprised a mixture of donations, loans and purchases, with much of the arrangement dependant on what people had chosen to offer.[758] The modern focus is understandable since there were not many surviving portraits of pre-union Scots and those that did exist would have been family heirlooms in private collections. In comparison, the museum presented evidence of Scotland's long and distinctive pre-union past, the way people lived rather than the people who had shaped the past. Both the pre- and post-union Scottish story was celebrated at Queen Street, going beyond notions that England had brought civilisation to Scotland. This reflected the arguments of the SHRA that Scottish culture, institutions and national character had brought as many benefits to Britain as they had received.[759] In this way, Scotland was presented as having its own unique influence on British historical progress through the people and 'things' which shaped Scotland and therefore *still* shaped Britain and the British Empire.

Collecting the Scottish past 1872 to 1891

What follows is an analysis of collecting practices in the two decades prior to the move to Queen Street. The quantity of historic objects acquired between 1872 and 1891 continued to remain high, with 292 items acquired from 1872 to 1881, and 959 items acquired from 1882 to 1891 (Appendix I, Table 5). Notable donors of the period were James Drummond, whose bequest comprised mainly Highland weapons and dress accoutrements, Mitchell's collection of nineteenth-century domestic implements, Robert Carfrae (d. 1900) who donated a mixture of items including twelve Luckenbooth brooches (similar to those pictured in Figure 6-5) and Adam Sim's (1805-68) large collection of Scottish items covering all object categories in this study.[760] Carfrae was a curator of the SoAS museum

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[755] Ibid., pp. 29-70.
[756] Ibid., pp. 49-50, 59 and 65. Portraits were a mixture of paintings, drawings, medallions, busts, medals and coins.
[757] J. M. Gray, *Catalogue of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh: Board of Manufactures, 1885), items 156-76 engraved portraits included some exiled Stuarts.
[758] Thomson, *Portrait Gallery,* pp. 115-20; Gray, *Catalogue,* provides details of those which were on loan when the temporary space was opened in 1885.
[759] SHRA, *The Scottish Home Rule Debate,* pp. 20-1.
[760] SoAS, 'Monday 14th May 1883', *PSAS,* 17 (1883), pp. 327-31; NMS, Luckenbooth brooches H.NGA 27-35 and H.NGB1-3, heart-shaped brooches named after the Edinburgh Luckenbooths where they were sold.

for 35 years and business partner of Moxon and Carfrae Ltd painters, decorators and picture restorers. His obituary indicates he was a key influence in the purchase committee of the museum in the 1880s, which is discussed at the end of this chapter.[761]

Figure 6-5 Luckenbooth brooches, NMS, H.1991.2, H.NGA 208, H.NGA 304, H.NGA 37, H.NGA 43, H.NGA 78, H.NGB 70.
Image © National Museums Scotland.

Adam Sim's collection was inherited by his sister and her husband John in 1868, and it was she (Mary White of Netherurd House) who donated the collection to the museum fourteen years after his death.[762] This was the most significant donation of historic Scottish objects from a woman between 1872 and 1891 at 156 items, with an accompanying substantial prehistoric collection.[763] Mary White's husband, Fellow John White, died in 1880 and it seems he was the one who had retained the Sim Collection at Netherurd House up to that point, since Mary donated it to the SoAS not long after his death.[764] It is an example of how private collections were inherited by female members of a family (who may have had little interest in them) and how the SoAS museum was well-placed to provide a secure repository for them, particularly items of low pecuniary value that might not have been worth selling at auction. This donation highlights the importance of women to the SoAS museum as custodians of inherited collections, in addition to collectors in their own right. Women continued to donate a variety of objects to the SoAS museum from

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[761] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30th Nov 1900', *PSAS,* 35 (1901), p. 5.

[762] NRS, ScotlandsPeople, 1869 Sim, Adam, Wills and testaments, Reference SC36/48/61, Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, pp. 455-63.

[763] SoAS, 'Monday 13th Mar 1882', *PSAS,* 16 (1882), pp. 145-56.

[764] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30 Nov 1880', *PSAS,* 15 (1881), p. 3; J. Anderson, 'Notices of a Mortar and Lion-figure of Brass dug up in Bell Street, Glasgow, and of six Lion-shaped Ewers of Brass (the Manilia of the Middle Ages), exhibited to the Meeting', *PSAS,* 13 (1879), pp. 52-4. There is reference to a lion-shaped ewer from Adam Sim's collection now being the property of John White and indicates that he legally owned the collection rather than his wife.

1872 to 1891, with nine different women gifting eleven items in the first decade (4% of donations) and twelve different women gifting 187 items in the second decade (44% of donations, inclusive of the Sim Collection). The categories and meanings attached to objects donated by women continued to be diverse, as in previous decades. Interestingly, none of the women donors were Lady Associates; all of them were members of the public.

This brings us to a notable change in the status of donors. After 1871, public donations fell in comparison to donations from within the Society's membership and staff (Appendix I, Figure 1). Public donations represented only 54% of donations from 1872 to 1881 and 40% of donations from 1882 to 1891. This partly reflected how donors who had previously been members of the public were joining the Society, and that this rapidly expanding membership was more actively contributing to the museum's collection.[765] Another reason that public donations fell was due to the establishment and expansion of regional museums, such as Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow.[766] A survey conducted by the Society in 1888 demonstrates that there were 33 regional museums in Scotland by this date.[767] They contained a mixture of prehistoric and historic Scottish items, ethnographic objects and geological and natural history collections.[768] Some of these museums contained items relative to the local history of the area in which they were located, such as the local history collection in Peebles, but many contained a diverse mixture of items that were more generally connected to Scotland's national past.[769] Stuart Allan noted how in nineteenth-century Scotland there was 'a preoccupation amongst collectors with defining and celebrating Scottish nationhood, ancient and cultural, over and above regional or local identities.'[770] The number of Scottish historical objects on display in regional museums in 1888 suggests that there were many donors who chose to gift items to their local museums where they could see them on display, rather than the SoAS museum in Edinburgh.

From 1872 to 1891, the number of objects acquired through Treasure Trove dropped to just 1% of acquisitions. The larger number acquired from 1862 to 1871 was boosted by the 128 dies and punches from the Scottish Mint and the backlog of Treasure Trove deposited after

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[765] The object data spreadsheet provides names of people who donated to the museum as members of the public and then their subsequent donations after they were elected Fellows.

[766] Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, *Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum: A Souvenir Guide* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums Publishing, 2009); 'James Paton' *Index of Glasgow Men, 1909,* http://www.glasgowwestaddress.co.uk/1909_Glasgow_Men/Paton_James.htm [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[767] Anderson, 'Reports on Local Museums'.

[768] Ibid.

[769] Ibid., pp. 401-2.

[770] S. Allan, 'Scottish Military Collections', in *Military History of Scotland,* ed. E. M. Spiers, J. Crang & M. Strickland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 777.

1859 (Appendix I, Table 5). Historic Treasure Trove items were jewellery and pots, often the pots that had contained coin hoards.[771] One of the reasons the number of Treasure Trove acquisitions was low was that the museum was purchasing objects that were technically Treasure Trove but where the law was not invoked. For example, an enamelled gold ring found at Melrose was purchased by the SoAS museum in 1890 and five silver brooches found at Brechin were purchased in 1891.[772] A significant number of prehistoric finds purchased by the museum were also technically Treasure Trove. In 1891, the list of purchases included stone implements found in the Culbin Sands in Moray and the Hunterston Brooch found in Ayr.[773] In addition, as was mentioned in chapter four, some finders deposited items on long-term loan like the bronze censer from Garvock, again negating the need to invoke Treasure Trove.

The Treasury rarely interfered with this unofficial acquisition of Treasure Trove by the SoAS museum, probably due to persisting public resistance to the rights of the Crown. A memo from 1898 highlighted that mentioning Treasure Trove to donors or those wishing to sell items to the museum often resulted in these objects being, 'at once reserved by the senders and sold to private parties or concealed or destroyed to avoid seizure.'[774] If items were preserved in the national collection without cost to the Treasury then the same result was achieved without invoking the law. However, in 1898 Remembrancer, Reginald Macleod (1847-1935), clarified that,

> while gifts and sales by agreement should be encouraged, the right of the Crown to claim and acquire articles of Treasure Trove should always be frankly and openly put forward… Then, if he [the finder] does not proceed by way of gift or sale and compulsion has to be used, he will at least feel that he has been fairly and openly dealt with from the first.[775]

The above practices suggest that Treasure Trove regulations were not fit for purpose and finders were often unwilling to declare objects to the Crown. But the SoAS museum circumvented these problems by establishing good relationships with potential donors,

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[771] For example, NMS, Bronze pot H.MA 39, which had contained 2000 coins; SoAS, 'Monday 13th March 1882', *PSAS,* 16 (1882), p. 144.

[772] SoAS, 'Monday 8th Dec 1890', *PSAS,* 25 (1891), p. 6; SoAS, 'Monday 11th May 1891', *PSAS,* 25 (1891), p. 417; NMS, Gold ring H.NJ 54; Silver brooches H.KO 22-6.

[773] SoAS, 'Monday 11th May 1891', pp. 417-21.

[774] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 80, 'Memo on the Practical Relations of the Society to Treasure Trove', attributed to J. Anderson, n.d. but referred to in a letter dated 5 May 1898 (see following footnote).

[775] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 80, Reginald Macleod to Arthur Mitchell, 5 May 1898.

encouraging objects to be offered to the museum directly, rather than hidden from officials and kept in 'private collections.

The interpretive functions of objects acquired from 1872 to 1891 followed similar trends identified in the previous decades. The quantity of 'national relics' and 'material witnesses' continued to drop and only represented a small percentage of total acquisitions (Appendix I, Figure 2 and Table 6). 'Material evidence' remained dominant and presented 96% of acquisitions from 1872 to 1891. A comparison of the categories of object collected between 1872 and 1891 again supported the collecting aims of the SoAS, with domestic utensils remaining the highest category of object collected, more than doubling its share from the previous decade (Appendix I, Figure 3). The next most prominent categories were dress and personal ornaments and arms and armour (Appendix I, Figure 3). The large donations of this period boosted these figures, such as Mitchell's items of domestic economy and the Sim Collection containing domestic utensils, arms and armour and Scottish jewellery. The objects people used in their homes and their personal dress and weapons were all categories of object where distinctively Scottish examples could be identified. Objects from the Highlands, Islands and rural Scotland were amply represented in the collection and reflected the increasing interest of Fellows in these items as representing the more distinctive elements of Scotland's past and present material culture.

Although the main aims of the Society were to collect and illustrate the domestic and social history of Scotland, they still also strived to obtain objects linked to key people and events in Scotland's national past when possible. The purchase of one such item, the 'Quigrich' or crosier of St Fillan, demonstrates the importance these objects continued to hold for a national museum of Scotland and the assistance that influential Fellows exerted in acquiring them.[776] The significant expansion of the Society's membership (with increased membership fees) meant key objects could be purchased for the collection. St Fillan's crosier in its shrine was an example of one such item that had long been sought after by the Society and was finally purchased in 1876 through the efforts of Daniel Wilson. St Fillan's crosier was a saint's relic believed to have been linked to Robert the Bruce and present at the battle of Bannockburn.[777] Considering Wilson's scepticism regarding other objects, such as the numerous 'Bruce' swords, it is notable that he accepted the provenance of this item, even though its authenticity was more aspirational than

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[776] NMS, Quigrich/crosier of St Fillan H.KC 1; Reliquary for the crosier of St Fillan H.KC 2.
[777] J. Stuart, ''Historical Notices of St Fillan's Crozier, and of the Devotion of King Robert Bruce to St. Fillan', *PSAS,* 12 (1878), pp. 134-82.

credible.[778] For Wilson, the crosier linked early Christianity in the Highlands with the medieval kingdom of Scotland and the wars of independence. As he wrote in his journal,

> There is something singularly interesting – especially under other skies and in a new world – to handle this relic of the primitive missionaries by whom the Christian faith was first taught to the pagan Highlander of Perthshire; and which there is very credible evidence was an object of veneration to the greatest of our Scottish kings.[779]

The crosier was in the private ownership of the family of hereditary keepers when it came to the attention of Wilson while he was writing *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*.[780] When Wilson was in Canada, he located the family who owned the crosier and started negotiations in 1858 for the Society to purchase it.[781] Unfortunately, the Society was unable to raise the $500 (Canadian) that the family requested, and it remained in Canada.[782]

Figure 6-6 Silver gilt reliquary of the Crosier of St Fillan, NMS, H. KC 2.
Fifteenth century, incorporating earlier work. Image © National Museums Scotland.

However, by 1876 the situation had changed. The SoAS museum was firmly established at the Royal Institution and they had available funds to offer £100 (just under $500 Canadian) to purchase the crosier. The owner, Alexander Dewar, waived a further $200 off the

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[778] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals,* ii, p. 508.

[779] University of Toronto, B1965-0014-0003 John Langton copy of Sir Daniel Wilson's Journal, digitised at https://archive.org/details/danielwilsondiary18531982 [accessed 21 Jul 2020], p. 37.

[780] Wilson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals*, pp. 664-5; Toronto Public Library, 'S65 Volume 1 Archaeological scraps 1847 Edinburgh; Toronto 1853', Item 183 A. McDonell Dawson to Wilson, 10 Oct 1850.

[781] University of Edinburgh, The Laing Collection, Section IV, La.IV.17.10135-6 Daniel Wilson to David Laing, 21 Jun 1858; D. Wilson, 'Notice of a 'Quigrich' or Crozier of Saint Fillan', *PSAS,* 3 (1862), pp. 233-4.

[782] University of Edinburgh, The Laing Collection, Section IV, La.IV.17.10137-8 Daniel Wilson to David Laing, 7 Mar 1859.

revised 1876 estimate of $700, so the acquisition was part donation and part purchase.[783] The prestige of donating this object to the national museum, where his part-donation was explicitly acknowledged, undoubtedly contributed to convincing Dewar that it was his patriotic duty as a Scotsman to secure the preservation of such an important relic back in his home country. Wilson's letter to John Stuart, read out at the meeting where the crosier was exhibited in 1877, provided the modern history of the crosier and its journey with the family with whom he had been negotiating.[784] In this letter Wilson argued that 'The Dewars… the hereditary keepers of the Quigrich… are a just subject of interest in connection with this national relic.'[785] He detailed how they were Gaelic-speaking farmers that had fallen on hard times after the Napoleonic Wars and emigrated from Highland Perthshire to Canada where they had prospered.[786] As Presbyterians, they had not revered the crosier as a religious relic, but the family history that it had been entrusted to them by Robert the Bruce had ensured its preservation.[787] This was material culture speaking to a predominantly Scottish imperial story of diaspora and demonstrated how the Scottish past could be studied on its own terms beyond a British context. The crosier was representative of multiple national narratives within Scottish history, linking early Christian missionaries to the medieval wars of independence, while also reflecting Scotland's distinct imperial experience in Canada.

Illustrating the 'unwritten history of Scotland'

The most significant change to acquisition method from 1882 to 1891 was the increase in purchases, rising from 12% of total acquisitions from 1872 to 1881 to 54% of the total in the following decade. From 1871, money for purchases were still raised from excess funds remaining from membership subscriptions and then in 1881 a separate purchase fund was established. In 1880, it was discovered that the Society had a Louis XV cabinet in their possession that was not part of the museum collection.[788] It had housed the coin collection that the SoAS had purchased from the Advocates Library in 1872. The Society was given permission by the Board of Manufactures to sell the cabinet to a private buyer when the high pecuniary value of the item was discovered.[789] The cabinet was sold for £3500 in 1881

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[783] D. Wilson, 'Notices of the Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan and of its Hereditary Keepers, in a Letter to John Stuart, LL.D., Secretary', *PSAS,* 12 (1878), pp. 122-31; SoAS, 'The Quigrich or Crosier of St Fillan', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 5 (1890), pp. 339-40.
[784] SoAS, 'Monday 12th Mar 1877', *PSAS,* 12 (1878), p. 121.
[785] Wilson, 'Quigrich or Crozier of St Fillan', p. 126.
[786] Ibid., pp. 126-9.
[787] Ibid., pp. 126 and 129-31.
[788] NMS. SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 16 Jun 1880, pp. 523-6.
[789] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Council Meeting, 29 Mar 1881, pp. 44-8.

and the money was assigned to a purchase fund to purchase small items ad hoc as they came onto the market.[790] A purchase committee was formed that met once a week to discuss potential acquisitions.[791] The purchase committee comprised of the curators, the treasurer, the librarian and the secretaries of the Society, but appears to have excluded paid staff.[792] In its first years the committee included physicians Arthur Mitchell and John Alexander Smith, publisher David Douglas, artist William Fettes Douglas, archivist Thomas Dickson, decorator and picture restorer Robert Carfrae, SoAS Secretary William Forbes, and SoAS Librarian John Taylor Brown (the latter two with no listed occupation). The committee members remained similar throughout the 1880s, with regular new attendees being banker Gilbert Goudie, newspaper owner John Ritchie Findlay and SoAS curator of coins Adam Richardson (of no listed occupation).

£3500 was a significant amount of money, the equivalent of approximately £231,646 today. When approval for the sale was given by the Treasury it was stipulated that the coin cabinet fund (as it was termed) was to be used for 'the purchase of objects or collections of objects illustrative of the unwritten history of Scotland'.[793] In 1881, Arthur Mitchell expressed that,

> Before the £3500 are exhausted… I hope… [we] will look on a greatly
> enriched and properly accommodated collection, which will be in the full sense
> a National Museum of Antiquities, not simply a museum which is national
> because it is the property of the nation, but a museum which is national
> because it fairly reveals and exhibits the unwritten story of Scotland and her
> people.[794]

For the first time the Society had explicit control of acquisitions, rather than simply relying on donations or the approval of grants from the Treasury. This resulted in the emergence of the Society's first clearly articulated collecting policy that defined how the national collection could be developed in the future.

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[790] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Council Meeting, 17 Jun 1881, pp. 65-7. This purchase fund was in addition to grants from the Treasury to purchase significant collections or expensive but important items, such as £350 granted to purchase the Sturrock Collection in 1889.

[791] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Purchase Committee Meeting, 8 Apr 1881, pp. 49-53 and 25 Jun 1881, pp. 69-70.

[792] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Council Meeting, 8 Apr 1881, p. 49.

[793] SoAS, 'Monday 11th April 1881', *PSAS,* 15 (1881), p. 187.

[794] Ibid., p. 188.

Figure 6-7 Crusie Lamps, NMS, H.MGE 16, H.MGE 24, H.MGE 57, H.MGE 58, H.MGE 60, H.MGE 61, H.MGE 62.
Eighteenth-century oil lamps from Orkney. Image © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Initially the purchase committee was left to make its decisions without any interference from the Board of Manufactures and acquired objects 'calculated to add to the knowledge of the Prehistoric and Medieval History of Scotland.'[795] Although it was not articulated in 1881, the committee were also collecting early modern and modern Scottish objects. Any objects not deemed to fall within the coin cabinet fund's remit were declined. Therefore, we see in 1881 a collection of Peruvian objects declined since, 'the Society confine their purchases to national objects.'[796] In January 1888, 'Two carved oak panels with medallion heads… were declined with thanks, not being authenticated as Scottish.'[797] The acquisition of national Scottish objects contained a large proportion of modern domestic utensils. In 1888, the SoAS purchased 'a large collection of Articles, principally illustrative of the old social and domestic life of the rural districts of Scotland.'[798] This collection was mainly made up of Scottish lighting appliances, including crusie lamps. These objects had been identified as lacking in the collection in recent papers in the *Proceedings.* Gilbert Goudie identified how the double shell was what defined Scottish crusie lamps as different to European lamps while John Romilly Allen placed Scottish crusie lamps within a worldwide history of lighting appliances.[799] As Allen argued, 'it is the duty of the archaeologist to preserve a record of every human invention as it becomes extinct, so that future generations may be able to trace the progress of its development'.[800] The value of

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[795] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Council Meeting, 8 Apr 1881, p. 50.
[796] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Purchase Committee Meeting, 4 Jun 1881, pp. 67-8.
[797] NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, Purchase Committee Meeting, 14 Jan 1888, p. 29.
[798] SoAS, 'Anniversary Meeting 30th Nov 1888', *PSAS,* 23 (1889), p. 6; NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, AGM, 30 Nov 1888, pp. 85-9.
[799] G. Goudie, 'The Crusie, or Ancient Oil Lamp of Scotland', *PSAS,* 22 (1888), p. 78; J. R. Allen, 'The Archaeology of Lighting Appliances', *PSAS,* 22 (1888), pp. 79-109.
[800] Allen, 'Lighting Appliances', p. 80; Nash-Williams, *Cambrian Archaeological Association*; I. B. Henderson, 'Allen, John Romilly (1847–1907), archaeologist', *ODNB,* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/30388 [accessed 8 Aug 2019], Allen was a civil engineer,

these lamps for the SoAS was connected to acquiring Scottish objects that could be compared to items from other countries, thereby placing Scottish historical change in its international context.

Figure 6-8 Eighteenth-century Doune pistol, NMS, H. LH 293.
Made by Alexander Campbell of Doune. Image © National Museums Scotland.

Other objects that were often purchased using the coin cabinet fund were Highland brooches, dirks, swords and pistols. These items displayed the distinctive designs that Anderson argued were representative of the continuity of 'national' Scottish styles of art and were important for illustrating the high standard of craftsmanship attained by Scottish artisans. For example, many of the museum's collection of seventeenth-century pistols were purchased in the 1880s. Mainly manufactured in Doune, it was noted that, 'The engraving and inlaying is of the most artistic quality, and is said to be equal to, if not excelling, anything done at the same time on the Continent.'[801] In *Scottish National Memorials* (1890), Doune pistols were specifically identified as important indicators of Scotland's commercial progress and sold to nobility across Europe. An extract reproduced from *The Statistical Account of Scotland* 1798 noted, 'the pistols made in Doune excelled all others, and acquired superior reputation over France, Germany, etc.'[802] As Anderson argued, Scottish material culture embodied 'the materials which disclose the long course of development from civilisation to civilisation, and from culture to culture, by which we have progressed towards the attainments we now possess.'[803] Scotland was civilised and modern, but with its own distinctive markers of development, such as crusie lamps and

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freelance scholar and editor. He was Rhind lecturer in 1885 and a significant influence within the Cambrian Archaeological Association in Wales.

[801] NRS, NG1/68/1, *The Scotsman,* 1 Dec 1885.

[802] J. Paton, ed. *Scottish National Memorials: a record of the historical and archaeological collection in the Bishop's Castle, Glasgow, 1888* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1890), p. 266. This publication was a descriptive catalogue of the exhibition of Scottish history and archaeology at the 1888 International Glasgow Exhibition, which is discussed in the following chapter.

[803] Anderson, 'Scottish Archaeology', p. 353.

Scottish pistols. These were important for representing Scotland's equal place within the human history of advancement from rural simplicity to world-class craftsmanship and commerce.

Figure 6-9 Lion-shaped ewer from Nuremberg, NMS, unknown object number. Illustration from *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 22 (1888), p. 7.

As the decade progressed, the purchase committee no longer confined their acquisitions to Scottish objects and their activities appeared to contradict the founding aims of the fund. For example, in the list of purchases from 13 June to 30 Nov 1887, there was a lion-shaped ewer from Nuremberg and a collection of weapons from the Solomon Islands (Figure 6-9).[804] When the Board asked the committee to explain how 'foreign' objects illustrated Scotland's unwritten history, the following classes of object were proposed as being justifiable purchases.[805]

I. Objects of Prehistoric Periods found in Scotland.
II. Objects of Prehistoric Periods found in other countries, and suited to illustrate those of the first class, or for comparison with them.
III. Objects of Historic Periods found in Scotland, or elsewhere, which either illustrate or furnish materials for, the unwritten history of Scotland.
IV. Objects similar to those of Prehistoric Times, now or presently in use among civilized or uncivilized Races.
V. Casts, models, or Photographs of objects included in the foregoing classes.[806]

An addition to class IV was later added, being, 'and which are suitable for the same purposes of illustration and comparison.'[807] Although it was not explicitly expressed in the collecting policy, class IV was closely linked to imperial Scots bringing such items to

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[804] SoAS, 'Monday 12th December 1887', *PSAS,* 22 (1888), pp. 7-10, unable to locate the current numbers for these objects.
[805] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC88/14, Alex. W. Inglis to David Christison, 8 Apr 1889.
[806] NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, Council Meeting, 27 Apr 1889, p. 131.
[807] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC88/14, J. M. Dodds to Secretary of the Board of Manufactures, 14 Jun 1889.

Scotland from abroad.[808] These items embodied a comparative function for understanding Scottish prehistory, rather than collected to understand the societies from which they had been obtained or the Scottish imperial experience. Class III foreign historic objects (which encompassed items from elsewhere in Britain) illustrated the function of Scottish objects or provided information about Scottish international experiences. For example, the lion-shaped ewer from Nuremberg was part of understanding the function of similar items found in Scotland, while communal cups from the Netherlands provided information on the Scottish church at Campvere.[809] Scottish objects claimed a historical international space by being placed alongside their counterparts from other countries or through their ability to tell Scotland's international story. But although the collecting policy above demonstrates that Scotland's unwritten history was the museum's primary focus, this was represented within an international comparative framework and the absence of 'Britain' is significant.

Conclusion

By 1891, the SoAS museum was confidently asserting itself as not just a museum *in* Scotland, but a museum *of* Scotland. It was demonstrating how Scottish prehistory and history could be understood on its own terms and within an international comparative space. When the museum re-located to Queen Street there was an even more significant shift away from representing Scotland within a British context to foregrounding the Scottish story. This partly reflected a more assertive political nationalism that was growing in Scotland with increasing support for Scottish Home Rule.[810] Indeed, in the 1880s (as previously in 1851) support for the museum from the British government may have been forthcoming to appease the political classes who were particularly vocal in their condemnation of Scotland's treatment at this time. However, without Findlay's financial assistance the Queen Street building would never have been built and this act of philanthropy is indicative of the significant influence that Fellows continued to exert over the development of the SoAS museum.

From 1872 to 1891, the SoAS historic collection was expanded and Anderson aimed to represent a unified cultural history in the museum that incorporated the different tangible

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[808] NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, Purchase Committee Meeting, 26 Nov 1887, p. 11; the Solomon Islands collection was purchased from Edinburgh auctioneer Thomas Chapman & Son.

[809] Anderson, 'Notices of a Mortar and Lion-figure', pp. 48-66; A. J. S. Brooke, 'Notice of four Silver Communion Cups which belonged to the Scottish Congregation at Campvere in the Netherlands', *PSAS,* 25 (1891), pp. 166-73; the Campvere cups were exhibited but remained in a private collection.

[810] Morton, 'The First Home Rule Movement in Scotland', p. 114; Kinchin, Kinchin & Baxter, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions,* p. 96.

remains of Highland and Lowland Scotland. But this was never an isolationist perspective. As Anderson's Rhind lectures demonstrated, although it was important to foreground the Scottish national story, this needed to be presented as part of a broader international prehistory and history of cultural interaction and influence. Although the collecting practices of the purchase committee in the 1880s initially suggests that there was a more nationalist emphasis at the SoAS museum, this was always part of a wider international picture. Scottish history was presented at the SoAS museum as a connected narrative of progress from prehistory to history and from pre-union to post-union, while simultaneously being part of the global story of human civilised development. The offer of accommodation at Queen Street, rather than only having the option of space in the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, was a key moment in the museum's future trajectory. The following chapter explores the ways in which the representation of Scotland as a nation of the world was reflected in the museum displays at Queen Street and how this compared to other museums in London, Dublin and Europe.

The 1880s saw a rapid expansion of associational culture in Scotland with the establishment of new regional museums and societies. As Levine and Díaz-Andreu have shown, this was replicated across Britain and Europe.[811] Since archaeology remained predominantly outside of the academy, these societies formed national and international networks of intellectual exchange that Díaz-Andreu described as an 'imagined community of scholars.'[812] The interaction between antiquarian and archaeological societies created spaces where discussions of the past could take place on regional, national and international levels. This inevitably led to the sharing of knowledge, theories and the incorporation of international examples in research. This chapter has touched on how the SoAS rapidly expanded from 1872 to 1891 and how some of its most active members had joint memberships with other regional and national societies. The following chapter will consider the relationship between national and international concepts of the Scottish past and the extent to which this influenced the SoAS museum displays and the content of Fellows' publications. In addition, it will demonstrate how Fellows brought new skills to the Society, resulting in more insightful forms of material-culture analysis and new threads being added to historical narratives of Scotland.

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[811] Levine, *Amateur and the Professional,* p. 172; Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, p. 382.
[812] Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, p. 3.

Chapter 7   Displaying Scotland's Past and Scotland's Material-Culture History (1872 to 1891)

The SoAS museum at Queen Street foregrounded the story of the people of Scotland and how they had lived from prehistory to the present. But, as this thesis has already noted, this configuration was not an account of the main events from Scottish history supported by objects. Instead, this was an 'unwritten' or tangible representation of the development of Scottish society and culture. The collection was arranged in a loose chronological framework to represent the development from primitive to civilised society and was divided into typological displays representing the different facets of everyday life. These displays conveyed the explicit and implicit message of Scotland's place as one of the civilised nations of the world, with its own distinctive past and material-culture markers. The museum displays offered a complementary national history to the political narrative which predominated in published histories. This was not a celebration of the line of monarchs, or victories at famous battles, or the constitutional progress of the Scottish state. The museum evoked the history of the people of Scotland. It represented the way the Scottish people had lived and worked, their personal adornments, their crafts, their cooking implements and the weapons they had used. It incorporated the material culture of the Lowlands and the Highlands into a unified Scottish historical journey and this was exhibited in a much more assertive way than had been evident in the museum displays at the Royal Institution. In the Queen Street displays, nationhood was vested in the people of Scotland and national character traits and customs were exhibited through the cultural remains of Scottish society.

The late-nineteenth century was a period when many 'nations' presented their history on the international stage through the international exhibitions that proliferated across Europe, each nation seeking to outdo its European rivals.[813] At the same time, antiquaries established international archaeological congresses to promote the discussion of prehistoric archaeology and anthropology.[814] Although these congresses focused on prehistory, many attendees were also engaged in historic research and these events allowed them to view collections across Europe.[815] The international comparative approach of prehistoric

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[813] Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology,* pp. 380-2; M. Filipová, ed. *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

[814] M. Babes & M-A. Kaeser, eds, *Archaeologists without Boundaries: Towards a History of International Archaeological Congresses (1866–2006)* (Oxford: BAR International Series 2046, 2009).

[815] Ibid.; R. W. Cochran-Patrick, 'Notice of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology held at Stockholm in August 1874', *PSAS,* 11 (1876), pp. 102-6; Caygill, 'Franks and the British Museum', pp. 84-9, details Franks involvement in these congresses; International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, *Congrès International D'Anthropologie et D'Archéologie Préhistoriques:*

archaeology promoted the stance that a nation's past needed to be investigated as part of broader international comparisons. The previous chapter noted that the SoAS was actively expanding its collection of international objects in order to provide a comparative framework for understanding Scottish historical developments. When the museum moved to Queen Street, there was much more space for Scotland's story to be displayed. This chapter will compare the SoAS museum with contemporary national museums in Europe, the BM and the Dublin Museum of Science and Art. This is followed by a discussion of the different exhibition strategies that can be identified in the temporary display of Scottish antiquities at the 1888 International Exhibition in Glasgow. The second half of this chapter examines the development of methods of material-culture analysis and their relationship to late-nineteenth century Scottish historiography and concludes by considering the role of objects in Peter Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*.[816]

Exhibiting the Scottish nation

Before the permanent displays are discussed, this chapter will briefly consider the way that objects were exhibited at SoAS meetings. The aim is to highlight the significant change in display practices that occurred due to the activities of the purchase committee. The number of objects exhibited at meetings continued to increase between 1872 and 1891 (Appendix I, Tables 11 and 12). However, the quantity of objects that were both exhibited and acquired for the museum rose significantly from 57 items between 1872 and 1881 to 396 items between 1882 and 1891. This represented 41% of all total acquisitions of historic objects during this decade compared to only 20% in the previous decade. The significant increase was mainly due to the bi-annual exhibition of acquisitions by the purchase committee, with 376 purchased items exhibited from 1882 to 1891. These exhibitions were held at the June and December ordinary meetings and were a convivial way of ending the season in the summer and re-commencing regular meetings in the winter.[817] By holding bi-annual displays of purchases for the museum, Fellows of the Society could discuss the relevance of new acquisitions with the purchase committee. This exchange of knowledge fostered interest in the museum's displays and a shared understanding as to why the museum was collecting certain categories of object, enabling Fellows who were not involved in the

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Neuviéme Session 1880 (Lisbon: Typographie de l 'Académie royale des sciences, 1884), pp. xxvi-xxix. Anderson was a subscribing member of the congress by 1880 but he does not seem to have attended the event in person, possibly since he did not have the personal wealth to travel as much as Franks.

[816] P. Hume Brown, *The History of Scotland,* 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899-1912).

[817] Meetings stopped for the months of July, August, September and October.

museum's management to appreciate how acquisitions illustrated Scotland's 'unwritten' history.

The arrangement of the SoAS museum displays at Queen Street will be the focus of this chapter, since the methods of display at the Royal Institution remained similar from 1872 to 1891.[818] However, one difference at the Royal Institution that was evident from the catalogues of this period was the explicit articulation of the museum's national status being linked to Scottish history and antiquities. The patriotic focus was evident in new catalogue titles, section headings, and the new notice inserted at the beginning of the catalogues. Before 1871, the catalogues did not have the word 'national' in their title, but this was added from 1872 onwards.[819] Then in 1876 the 'British Antiquities' section was renamed 'Scottish Antiquities', even though the English and Irish objects remained on display in this room.[820] The catalogues promoted the museum as containing the antiquities of Scotland as its core collection, rather than of Britain. The Treasure Trove notice that had formerly been at the beginning of the catalogue was replaced by an excerpt of Simpson's anniversary address from 1861. In addition, donor names were added into the 1876 and 1892 catalogues. All these changes indicate that Anderson was appealing to the civic duty, patriotic spirit and purses of his predominantly Scottish visitors. As the excerpt states,

> In pleading with the Scottish public for the… enrichment of our Museum by donations of all kinds… we plead for what is not any longer the property of this Society, but what is now the property of the Nation… It now belongs… to Scotland; and we unhesitatingly call upon every true-hearted Scotsman to contribute… to the extension of this Museum, as the best record and collection of the ancient Archaeological and Historical Memorials of our Native Land.[821]

This stirring appeal for donations from 'true-hearted Scotsmen' coupled with the knowledge that donors would be explicitly acknowledged was clever marketing. At a time when pride in Scotland's history was increasingly prominent, fuelled by the influence of Queen Victoria and expressed through the memorialisation of historical figures such as William Wallace, this kind of message from the museum acted as reminder that its priority was collecting and representing Scottish history above all else.[822]

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[818] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1872; SoAS, *Catalogue of Antiquities in the National Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1876).
[819] The previous title was *Catalogue of Antiquities in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*
[820] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1872, p. iv; SoAS. *Catalogue,* 1876, p. v.
[821] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1876, p. iv.
[822] Finlay, 'Queen Victoria', pp. 209-24; Coleman, *Remembering the Past.*

Figure 7-1 National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, c.1900, HES, SC 684147. Queen Street, ground floor. Image © Courtesy of HES (Bedford Lemere and Company Collection).

The Scottish story was confidently asserted within the permanent displays at Queen Street through the prominence of the Scottish collection within the arrangement. The historic Scottish collection was placed on the ground floor, the prehistoric Scottish collection on the first floor, and the international comparative collections were displayed on the second floor, *including objects from England and Ireland* (Figure 7-1 and Appendix V).[823] There were some exceptions to this arrangement; for example, Irish ecclesiastical bells were displayed with the Scottish, while site displays, such as the Culbin Sands in Moray, included prehistoric alongside historic objects to preserve the associated evidence and chronology of a single site.[824] Site displays were presented as a microhistory of society from primitive to modern, from which the general development of cultural progress in Scotland could be inferred.[825] The historic collection was divided into intelligible material themes to illustrate different aspects of Scottish society (Figure 7-2). The four largest sections were 'Ecclesiastical', 'Arms and Armour', 'Domestic Utensils &c.,' and 'Scottish Dress', encompassing the majority of items that had been the focus of collecting practices identified in previous chapters.[826] It is significant that this was the first time the label of 'Scottish Dress' was deployed and this section included many of the distinctive items that were uniquely associated with Scotland in the eyes of the wider world, for example sporrans and Highland brooches.[827] The thematic material approach was a means of

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[823] NMS, Ms.069(411)Edi.NMAS.1892, Description of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland 1892, by Joseph Anderson? pp. 1-2. There were no Welsh items in the collection except for a stone hammer, SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1892, p. 46.
[824] SoAS, *Catalogue*, 1892, pp. 90-5 and 282-4.
[825] NMS, Ms.069(411)Edi.NMAS.1892, p. 27.
[826] SoAS, *Catalogue,* 1892, p. iv.
[827] Ibid., pp. 352-66.

presenting the Scottish collection as a connected historical narrative of progress from prehistory to the present. But the separation of Scottish from other British materials explicitly elevated the validity of Scottish material culture as evidence that could illustrate this progress without the need for English and Irish comparative objects in close physical proximity or as models of a British 'standard'.

Figure 7-2 Contents page of 1892 Catalogue.
SoAS, *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* **(Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1892), p. iv.**

The most explicit evidence of the Scottish emphasis in the Queen Street galleries is seen in 'Description of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland 1892', which exists only as a bound typewritten document with Joseph Anderson as its presumed author.[828] The content and tone of language evidenced therein indicates it was intended as a guide for non-specialist visitors to the museum and it provided lengthy interpretation that could not fit onto labels or in the catalogue. This document is one of the few surviving interpretive texts from the SoAS museum since none of the nineteenth-century labels were preserved. It gave a general description of what was contained in the SoAS collection, while also including extensive explanations of some of the lesser-known objects that illustrated Scottish everyday life. For example, it devoted six pages to explaining 'all the means and appliances used in producing the light of other days'.[829] A further eight pages described 'the general domestic economy of the Scottish household'.[830] Shorter sections mention the

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[828] NMS, Ms.069(411)Edi.NMAS.1892. There is only one copy of this publication that has been identified by this study. This does not seem to have been published, so was possibly intended for visitors to consult in the museum rather than purchase or take home.

[829] Ibid., p. 3, the section was pp. 3-8.

[830] Ibid., p. 8, including drinking vessels, cooking utensils, hand mills, pottery and implements for spinning and weaving.

military collection, Highland accoutrements, key items such as the Lewis chess pieces, and the museum's selection of sculptured stones.[831] A further twenty pages focused on the prehistoric collection, which was exhibited using a combination of the three-age system and individual site displays, such as the Culbin Sands section described above.[832] Since the whole collection was on display with little interpretation, this guide explained what objects revealed about Scottish society in the past.[833] But notably, the comparative gallery on the second floor was not described and was merely mentioned in a brief paragraph at the end, meaning visitors would presumably have viewed the comparative collections through the lens of the information they had on Scottish objects.[834] The Society aimed to provide educational displays of Scotland's history through objects. But although a comparative section existed, this guide demonstrates how after 1891 the Scottish story was predominantly told through the Scottish collection, while the comparative collections supported the Scottish story.

The language Anderson deployed in this guide reinforced the idea that the SoAS collection was capable of illustrating Scotland's unique prehistoric and historic journey. However, this was a cultural representation of Scottish development, disconnected from political history, people and events. On the first page Anderson asserted that, 'the series of Scottish antiquities is now… a representative collection, national in character, and unsurpassed in scientific interest by any national collection in Europe.'[835] Arguably, although the collection had significantly expanded in the 1880s, this claim was more aspirational than accurate.[836] That said, the historic collection was sufficient for presenting cultural themes and stories connected with Scottish society of the past, and as Anderson explained was, 'classified so as to illustrate the domestic and social, the military, the ecclesiastical and other aspects of ancient Scottish life and manners.'[837] For example, Anderson noted the museum's collection of military equipment, with separate cases to highlight the distinctively different designs on Highland weapons and accoutrements.[838] He pointed out the toddy ladles 'jointed so as to fold up to be carried in the pocket with the penny-

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[831] Ibid., pp. 2 and 17-22.
[832] Ibid., pp. 23-43, other site displays were Glenluce, Golspie, Shetland and Orkney.
[833] D. V. Clarke, 'Building Collections: Constraints of Changing Contexts', in *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity,* ed. J. M. Fladmark (Dorset: Donhead, 1999), p. 86.
[834] NMS, Ms.069(411)Edi.NMAS.1892, p. 44.
[835] Ibid., p. 1.
[836] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 200-4; there were large gaps in the historic collection that were not addressed until the twentieth century.
[837] NMS, Ms.069(411)Edi.NMAS.1892, pp. 2-3.
[838] Ibid., pp. 2 and 17-8.

wedding knife and fork, which recall the festivities of a homelier time than the present'.[839]
He also noted how peermen were so named (Figure 7-3), 'from the custom once common
of making the wandering beggar hold the fir-candle in consideration of the supper and bed
in the barn, to which his evening's service thus entitled him.' [840] In these descriptions there
were echoes of Chambers; objects were connected to ordinary people of the past and
recalled the customs and practices of former days. But the ability of objects to reveal or
challenge views on Scottish historical figures or events remained noticeably absent in this
guide, with Scottish cultural continuity being the core message expressed through the
museum's arrangement and interpretation.

Figure 7-3 Peerman lamp, NMS, H.MGI 28.
A type of candleholder. Image © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The SoAS museum in comparison

Although the Queen Street displays emphasised the Scottish collection and narratives of
cultural progress, this was in part suggestive of international influences. The Society had
always fostered informal connections with other British and European learned societies
and museums.[841] The early adoption of the three-age system in Scotland has been attributed
to the close connection between Scottish and Scandinavian antiquaries and the Society's
vision of a national museum in Scotland took its inspiration from the museum at
Copenhagen.[842] After 1872, more formal connections developed between the SoAS and
international societies through the exchange of publications and antiquaries visiting
collections across the UK and Europe. For example, in 1878 the council approved the
exchange of publications with the Anthropological Societies of Berlin, Paris and Rome.[843]

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[839] Ibid., p. 8. A peerman is a type of candle holder.
[840] Ibid., p. 6.
[841] Cheape, 'The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland', p. 360.
[842] Rowley-Conwy, *Genesis to Prehistory*; Wilson, 'Anniversary Address'.
[843] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 24 Apr 1878, pp. 422-7.

In 1874, Robert William Cochran-Patrick attended the *Congrès International D'Anthropologie et D'Archéologie Préhistoriques* (CIAPP) in Sweden during which museum visits were an established part of the programme.[844] The SoAS was well-connected to these international archaeological gatherings, with Anderson and other Fellows listed as subscribing members receiving the congress's published transactions, even though they rarely attended the event.[845]

From early in his career as keeper, Anderson examined collections in other museums to inform his curatorship of the SoAS collection.[846] His assistant George Fraser Black (1866-1948) supported him in this endeavour.[847] Anderson's trips were initially supported by the Society; for example the SoAS funded his trip to Ireland in 1870 and Denmark in 1872.[848] After 1887, The Gunning Fellowship, established from the gift provided by physician R. H. Gunning, was utilised by Anderson and Black, 'to examine other collections and keep the Edinburgh Museum as completely furnished with information and examples as possible.'[849] These visits allowed Anderson and Black to examine the collecting and exhibition practices of other museums, particularly to inform the re-display of the SoAS museum at Queen Street.

Anderson visited museums in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, France, Germany, Belgium, North Italy and Switzerland.[850] During his visits, Anderson observed that the principal European museums followed similar display strategies to those found in the

[844] Cochran-Patrick, 'Notice of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology'.

[845] International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology, *International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology Transactions of the Third Session* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1869), pp. xxv- xxviii and 27-36; International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, *Congrès International Session 1880*, pp. xxvi-xxix; International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, *Congrès International D'Anthropologie et D'Archéologie Préhistoriques: Dixiéme Session 1889* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), pp. xx-xxi.

[846] J. Anderson, 'Notes on some Continental Museums in France, Germany, and Belgium', *PSAS,* 18 (1884), pp. 36-48.

[847] Anderson, 'Reports on Local Museums', p. 332; Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 168 and 176. Black was an assistant at the museum and then became Assistant Keeper in 1891. In 1896, he moved to America to become a librarian at the New York Public Library; Drew University, 'George Fraser Black Collection on Witchcraft', http://www.drew.edu/library/2019/08/16/george-fraser-black-collection-on-witchcraft/ [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[848] NMS, SAS.MB.1868-1880, Council Meeting, 16 Jun 1870, pp. 85-8; Council Meeting, 20 Dec 1872, pp. 184-5.

[849] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Acting Council Meeting, 18 Jun 1887, pp. 540-1.

[850] Anderson, 'Continental Museums'; J. Anderson, 'Report on the Museums of Switzerland and North Italy, obtained under the Victoria Jubilee Gift of His Excellency Dr R H Gunning, F.S.A. Scot.', *PSAS,* 24 (1890), pp. 478-510. Anderson does not appear to have visited the BM but Black provided a report of Scottish objects in London museums in 1893, G. F. Black, 'Report on the Antiquities found in Scotland, and preserved in the British Museum, &c., London, and in the Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh; obtained under the Jubilee Gift of His Excellency Dr. R. H. Gunning, F.S.A. Scot', *PSAS,* 27 (1893), pp. 347-68.

SoAS museum. European museums emphasised their respective nation's progress from prehistoric to historic civilised society and exhibited objects that could illustrate different aspects of this story.[851] Historic collections in European museums principally contained objects similar to those in the SoAS museum, i.e. arms and armour, ecclesiastical objects, architectural fragments and domestic items.[852] In like fashion, they arranged their collections by material categories to represent their nation's cultural progress, rather than narrating key historic events. Some prehistoric collections were exhibited in dedicated museums separated from historic collections, but Anderson criticised this practice since it broke up historical sequences from prehistory to the present.[853] This sequencing was important, since he claimed it allowed a nation to represent its full span of development and identify its distinctive cultural history and trajectory. Indeed, Anderson claimed that in this sense the Scottish collection was unique: 'there is no European country which possesses a phase of indigenous art—surviving to the commencement of the last century… imparting a distinctively national character… which is now so strikingly illustrated in our collection of Highland relics.'[854] Anderson went on to argue, 'I have nowhere seen a collection more completely illustrative of the whole consecutive history of culture as represented by successive developments of industrial arts… than that which is now… in our Scottish National Museum'.[855] Generally, Anderson found much that he admired in European museums; their collections tangibly represented the development of modern civilised society in Europe.[856] For Anderson, Scotland was not only part of this European history of progress but, he argued, it was also exceptional in the longevity of its national culture, thereby elevating the importance of the Scottish national story and justifying the separation of the Scottish collections at Queen Street.

The elevation of the 'nation' was also evident in other museums in the British Isles, although this was not as pronounced as the configuration in Scotland. The BM and the newly established Dublin Museum of Science and Art both made some form of separation of the material culture of their respective nation in the 1890s and early-twentieth century. The BM opened a separate English ceramics gallery and the south wall of the medieval room displayed portraits 'of Englishmen or persons connected to this country.'[857] But the

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[851] Anderson, 'Continental Museums'; Anderson 'Switzerland and North Italy'.
[852] Anderson, 'Continental Museums'; Anderson 'Switzerland and North Italy'.
[853] Anderson, 'Continental Museums', the national museums of France and Belgium did this. Germany had prehistoric and historic objects within the same building. pp. 40-1.
[854] Ibid., p. 48.
[855] Ibid.
[856] Ibid., pp. 47-8.
[857] BM, *A Guide to the Exhibition Galleries of the British Museum (Bloomsbury)* (London: British Museum, 1892), p. 196 and pp. 206-9.

medieval collection at the BM still mixed British and European items within the same cases and displayed the medieval past through a European lens.[858] In contrast, the Dublin Museum had separate rooms dedicated to the Irish antiquities collection, which had been transferred from the RIA.[859] The RIA collection of Irish antiquities were divided between four rooms and three separate guides were produced from 1909 to 1911 describing the historic sections of the collection.[860] However, the rooms were tucked away on the first floor of the museum, whilst prominence was given to the science and art collections.[861] The Dublin Museum was managed as a branch of the South Kensington Museum in London; therefore the focus on the science and art collections is perhaps understandable. Also, curatorial oversight by the RIA meant the Dublin Museum was not allowed to remove items from the RIA collection to add to other rooms.[862]

Elizabeth Crooke argued that the RIA collection lost its prominence as a 'national' Irish collection by being subsumed into a museum that was principally focused on industrial education.[863] In this light, it is relevant that in 1884 the Society rejected the space at Scotland's branch of the South Kensington Museum, the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art. In 1883, the SoAS Council were deeply dissatisfied with the space offered to them and maintained that,

> The proposal to store the priceless National Collection of Antiquities in two small upper floors… would be in a national sense impolite and discreditable, as giving an altogether unworthy expression to the views and obligations of Government, which under the Treasury Minute of 1851 undertook "to provide at all times fit and proper accommodation", "for the Collection so generously gifted to the nation by the Society of Antiquaries."[864]

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[858] Ibid., pp. 196-9.

[859] Anon, 'The Science and Art Museum, Dublin, and the National Library of Ireland', *Nature,* 21 Aug 1890, pp. 391-3; G. F. Mitchell, 'Antiquities', in *The Royal Irish Academy: A Bicentennial History 1785-1985,* ed. T. Ó Raifeartaigh (Dublin: Mount Salus Press Ltd, 1985), pp. 132-4.

[860] G. Coffey, *Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period Preserved in the National Museum, Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd, 1909); T. J. Westropp, *National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, Guide to the Collection of Irish Antiquities: Part IV – The Christian Period,* 3rd edition (Dublin: HMSO, 1911); T. J. Westropp, *National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, Guide to the Collection of Irish Antiquities: Part V – Irish Ethnographical Collection,* 3rd edition (Dublin: HMSO, 1911).

[861] Anon, 'The Science and Art Museum, Dublin'; E. Crooke. *Politics, Archaeology and the Creation of a National Museum in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000), pp. 123-5. Although there were Irish objects in the science and art collection as well.

[862] R. B. McDowell, 'The Main Narrative', in *The Royal Irish Academy: A Bicentennial History 1785-1985,* ed. T. Ó Raifeartaigh, (Dublin: Mount Salus Press Ltd, 1985), pp. 63-4; Crooke, *National Museum in Ireland,* p. 125.

[863] Crooke, *National Museum in Ireland,* pp. 123-9.

[864] NMS, SAS.MB.1880-1887, Council Meeting, 6 Nov 1883, pp. 267-8.

There was no doubt in the council's mind about the national status of the SoAS museum and the obligations of the British state to support it. But it was only due to the wealth and networks of Fellows, such as Findlay, that a satisfactory alternative space at Queen Street was later forthcoming. In contrast, the RIA was not offered a dedicated, delineated space for the Irish collection and it was not until after the establishment of the Irish Free State that the Dublin Museum was re-arranged to give Irish antiquities pride of place on the ground floor of the building.[865] In Scotland, the SoAS museum and the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art remained separate institutions with different collecting and display strategies until they institutionally merged in 1985. This situation gave the SoAS freedom to assert the primacy of Scottish antiquities at Queen Street in a way that was not possible in Ireland during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. But at the same time, the misgivings of the Society about sharing accommodation with the Science and Art Museum in the 1880s invites us to evaluate the ways in which the Scottish collection, in a separate but connected building at Chambers Street, relates to other galleries at NMS today and how this could be reconfigured in the future.[866]

Alternative ways of displaying Scottish national history

The configuration at Queen Street was obviously dependent on what objects were held within the SoAS collection, but the Society made specific choices as to how they thought Scotland's national story should be displayed. Previous chapters have noted that the SoAS chose not to classify the historic collection in relation to defined events or periods. In contrast, the Bishop's Castle at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1888 is an example of how Scotland's history could be exhibited through explicit historical themes. The Glasgow exhibition was one of several temporary exhibitions held in the 1880s that included aspects of Scottish history. For example, the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition reproduced an old Edinburgh street and the 1889 Naval and Military Exhibition at the Royal Scottish Academy highlighted Scotland's military antiquities.[867] The Glasgow exhibition, like other international exhibitions, mixed entertainment with education and

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[865] Mitchell, 'Antiquities', pp. 135 and 162; Crooke, *National Museum in Ireland,* p. 144. The re-arrangement occurred in 1927, five years after Irish independence.

[866] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland,* discusses these issues in relation to the 1998 opening of the Museum of Scotland and developments at NMS up to 2011.

[867] W. Smith, 'Old London, Old Edinburgh: Constructing Historic Cities', in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins,* ed. M. Filipová (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 203-27; Allan, 'Scottish Military Collections', pp. 785-6; G. W. Smith, 'Displaying Edinburgh in 1886: The International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2015).

celebrated the commercial and industrial achievements of the host city.[868] It was primarily
international in its scope, but one of its most popular attractions was a reproduction of the
fifteenth-century Bishop's Castle (See top right of Figure 7-4).[869] The original ruins of the
historic residence of the Archbishop of Glasgow had been cleared in 1792, so the 1888
reconstruction was made of painted canvas on a wooden frame and was richly decorated to
mimic historic interiors.[870] Reports at the time described it as 'not merely a picturesque and
interesting representation of a building of the olden time, but an attraction of surpassing
interest in its contents – an immense collection of objects of great historical and
antiquarian value.'[871] The Bishop's Castle is an interesting comparison to the SoAS
museum as it shows the kinds of exhibition strategies that the Society chose *not* to
incorporate in their displays.

The only Edinburgh-based Fellow of the SoAS involved in the Bishop's Castle committee
was Arthur Mitchell.[872] It was principally organised by members of the GAS and there is
no evidence in the minute books of the Society being asked to contribute objects to the
displays. This contrasts with the significant involvement of the Society with the
Archaeological Institute's 1856 exhibition, discussed in chapter five. As a temporary
exhibition, it was wholly comprised of loans from private collectors and regional
museums.[873] It is important to note that there was already a substantial collection planned
for the Bishop's Castle linked to Mary Queen of Scots. To mark the tercentenary of her
death, a loan exhibition of Queen Mary relics was displayed in the precincts of
Peterborough Cathedral in 1887.[874] When this exhibition had ended it was agreed that the
collection would form the basis of a historical display at the Glasgow Exhibition.[875]
However, the committee for the Bishop's Castle had a defined framework of what they
wanted to represent above and beyond Mary. The committee outlined that the 'General

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[868] Kinchin, Kinchin & Baxter, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*; Filipová, *Cultures of International Exhibitions*; S. K. Hunter, *Kelvingrove and the 1888 Exhibition: International Exhibition of Industry, Science & Art, Glasgow 1888* (Glasgow: Exhibition Study Group, 1992).

[869] J. M. Gray, 'The Archaeological Collection at the International Exhibition, Glasgow', *The Academy,* 848 (1888), pp. 75-6; W. G. B. 'The Bishop's Castle, Glasgow International Exhibition', *The Athenaeum,* 3167 (1888), p. 38; W. G. B. 'The Bishop's Castle, Glasgow International Exhibition', *The Athenaeum,* 3171 (1888), pp. 167-8; Anon, 'The Bishop's Castle', *Art Journal,* Dec (1888), pp. 28-32; Anon, 'Glasgow International Exhibition: Opening of the Bishop's Palace', *The Scotsman,* 26 May 1888.

[870] Kinchin, Kinchin & Baxter, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions,* p. 45.

[871] J. Honeyman, 'Archaeology at the Glasgow Exhibition', *The British Architect,* 29:25 (1888), p. 457.

[872] Anon, 'Glasgow International Exhibition: The Bishop's Palace', *Glasgow Herald,* 16 Jan 1888, Issue 13; Glasgow Archaeological Society, 'Report by the Council 1891-92', some of the organising committee held joint membership with SoAS and GAS.

[873] *The Book of the Bishop's Castle and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection,* 2nd edition, Exhibition Catalogue (Glasgow: T & A Constable, 1888), pp. 263-79, including Queen Victoria.

[874] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* pp. 170-1; *Catalogue of the Tercentenary of Mary Queen of Scots Exhibition, Peterborough,* Exhibition Catalogue (Peterborough, 1887).

[875] Coleman, *Remembering the Past,* pp. 170-1.

Collection' would be Scottish prehistoric to historic items of social and domestic life and 'objects illustrative of the progress of the scientific and mechanical arts… [and] The progress of agriculture'.[876] What the committee termed as the 'Special Collection' was divided into a section on Glasgow's history and another of Mary Queen of Scots and her Stuart descendants.[877]
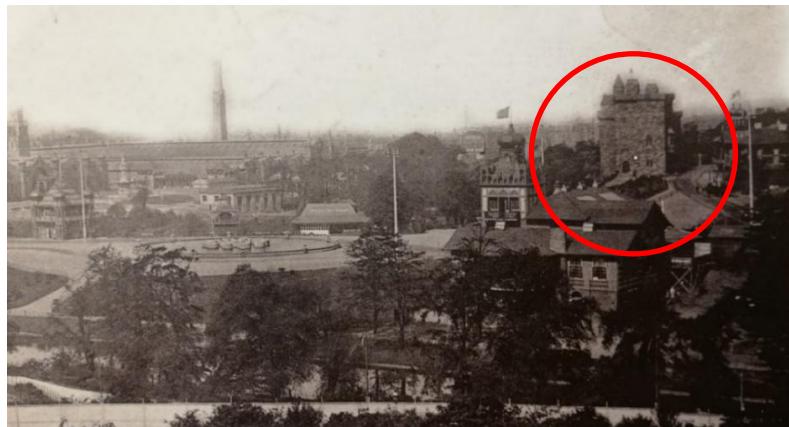
Figure 7-4 Glasgow International Exhibition, University of Glasgow Library, Bh11-a.8. By T. & R. Annan and Sons, *Views of Glasgow International Exhibition 1888*.

The Bishop's Castle exhibited the Scottish past with some notable differences to the SoAS museum. This was because it contained a much larger proportion of objects linked to historical figures and events, enabling some sections to be classified by historical periods. Contemporary reports describe that the displays were spread across three floors. There was a Glasgow section located on the ground floor; the first floor contained the prehistoric collection, a Scottish literature section, objects linked to the Covenanters, and social and domestic items; while the great hall on the top floor was devoted to Queen Mary and the Stuarts.[878] On both the first and second floors there were sections in which objects were classified by historical period. On the first floor the Covenanter section was titled 'Scotland after the Union of the Crowns: The Covenant and Royalists'.[879] On the top floor, the Queen Mary section contained objects linked to herself and other key figures of the Reformation, while the section titled 'Jacobite Period' contained objects linked to well-known people and events from 1688 to 1746.[880] The other sections of the Bishop's Castle had recognisable material divisions, similar to the SoAS museum, such as charms,

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[876] Anon, 'Glasgow International Exhibition', *Glasgow Herald*.
[877] Ibid. This Stuart section was similar to the Institute's exhibition in 1856.
[878] Honeyman, 'Glasgow Exhibition', p. 457.
[879] *The Book of the Bishop's Castle,* pp. 79-101.
[880] Ibid., pp. 45-78 and 102-32.

instruments of torture, arms and dress, etc.[881] Although the SoAS museum did not contain as many objects linked to people and events as were exhibited in the Bishop's Castle, there were more than enough for the museum to have provided sections on the Reformation, the Covenanters and the Jacobites. The rejection of historical periods as a means of classifying the SoAS collection is telling in that it reflected Anderson's argument that historic objects should be approached in the same way as prehistoric to address broader themes of cultural and societal development. However, this mode of display may have been less engaging for the general visitor seeking a more historicised representation of the Scottish past. Since 1859, the materiality of the SoAS collection was prioritised over a narrative of key periods in Scotland's history and the tension between representing the materiality of the collection versus providing narratives of Scottish history is still unresolved in the NMS galleries in the twenty-first century.[882]

Writing about the Scottish past 1872 to 1891

The final section of this chapter will assess how objects contributed to investigating the Scottish past in publications of the late-nineteenth century. During this period, more extensive papers and monographs were published by Fellows utilising material-culture sources. While monographs rooted in documentary sources still predominated, a few new volumes appeared containing increasingly insightful modes of object analysis. One Fellow in particular, Alexander James Steel Brook, brought his expertise as a silversmith to the study of Scottish historical objects that historians without his practical knowledge could not have even considered in such detail. Another Fellow, Robert William Cochran-Patrick brought his specific interests to the study of the Scottish past, although without the same material-culture skills. As an M.P. and then from 1887 to 1892 Under-secretary for Scotland, he had a professional interest in Scottish fiscal, economic and agricultural history.[883] Joseph Anderson continued to develop his curatorial expertise on the SoAS historical collection and championed the importance of Scottish antiquities and cultural history. Anderson, Brook and Cochran-Patrick are discussed in the following section alongside other Fellows to illustrate that as scholars started to analyse material culture with

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[881] Ibid., pp. 173-262.

[882] D. V. Clarke, 'New things set in many landscapes: aspects of the Museum of Scotland', *PSAS,* 128 (1998), pp. 1-12; Fladmark, ed. *Heritage and Museums;* Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland.*

[883] Stronach & Matthew, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/5748 [accessed 19 Aug 2019], Cochran-Patrick was elected a Fellow in 1870 and served on the council in various roles from 1872 onwards.

more technical approaches, they demonstrated how objects could contribute to expanding
Scottish historical knowledge.

There continued to be an increase in historic papers presented at SoAS meetings between
1872 and 1891 (Appendix I, Table 13). This rose from 156 papers from 1852 to 1871 to
212 papers from 1872 to 1891. The notable new development in the 1880s was that it
became common for papers to be significantly longer than previous years, sometimes 25
pages or more.[884] These longer papers were typically broad comparative surveys of a
specific group of objects or forms of decoration. Their content included extensive physical
descriptions and detailed measurements alongside a broader history of an object's
development and use. Some examples of these studies included the history of Shetland
water mills, a survey of Scottish baptismal fonts and the comparison of different forms of
communion cups.[885] Fellows typically recorded the evidence of a category of object within
a Scottish context and compared it with similar objects across Britain, Europe and the
world, placing Scottish examples within an international comparative framework. In a
sense, these papers were centralised audits of Scottish historical remains, since many items
were *physically* dispersed among different locations. For example, architect John Russell
Walker (1847-91) contributed to compiling a record of all known baptismal fonts in
Scotland, only two of which were in the SoAS museum.[886] This survey added examples and
information on this subject to contemporary scholarship on English and European
ecclesiastical architecture.[887] Through the recording of Scotland's tangible history, Fellows
placed Scottish material culture on a par with other British and global examples and
presented Scottish objects as part of international comparative material-culture studies.

Between 1872 and 1891, papers given by Fellows fell into all five of this study's categories
and continued to utilise a mixture of documentary and material-culture sources (Figure
7-5). However, after 1871 the emphasis on studying the tangible world started to
predominate. Papers from 1872 to 1891 that analysed objects or architecture represented
59% of the total included in this study, compared to only 47% from 1852 to 1871

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[884] Previous to this, papers ranged from approximately three to twelve pages long.

[885] G. Goudie, 'On the Horizontal Water Mills of Shetland', *PSAS,* 20 (1886), pp. 257-97; J. R. Walker, 'Scottish Baptismal Fonts. With Drawings', *PSAS,* 21 (1887), pp. 346-448; N. Macpherson, 'Notice of Communion Cups from Duirinish, Skye, with Notes on other sets of Scottish Church Plate, of which specimens were exhibited', *PSAS,* 20 (1886), pp. 398-446.

[886] Walker, 'Scottish Baptismal Fonts'; 'John Russell Walker', *Dictionary of Scottish Architects,* http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=100046 [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

[887] Walker accompanied Anderson to Europe in 1883 to survey the churches while Anderson toured the museums, J. R. Walker, 'Notes on some Continental Churches', *PSAS,* 18 (1884), pp. 49-75; Anderson, 'Continental Museums'; see also J. R. Walker, *Pre-Reformation Churches in Fife and the Lothians* (Edinburgh: J. R. Walker, 1888).

(Appendix I, Table 13). This shift represents the beginning of the Society becoming increasingly 'archaeological' and the subsequent decline of 'historical' document-based papers. Architectural papers comprised a slightly smaller share of the total compared to the previous two decades at 17%, whereas 'history from and of things' more than doubled from 24% to 42%. The significant rise in papers tackling 'history from and of things' reflects the Society's confidence in the tangible world as a valid historical source and the increasing number of Fellows who were engaged in this form of research. It also suggests that the SoAS was becoming more focused on 'archaeological' subjects with the new historical and publishing societies of the 1880s, including the New Spalding Club and the SHS both established in 1886, attracting the work of antiquaries working with documents.

Figure 7-5 Types of history in 212 papers presented 1872-91.
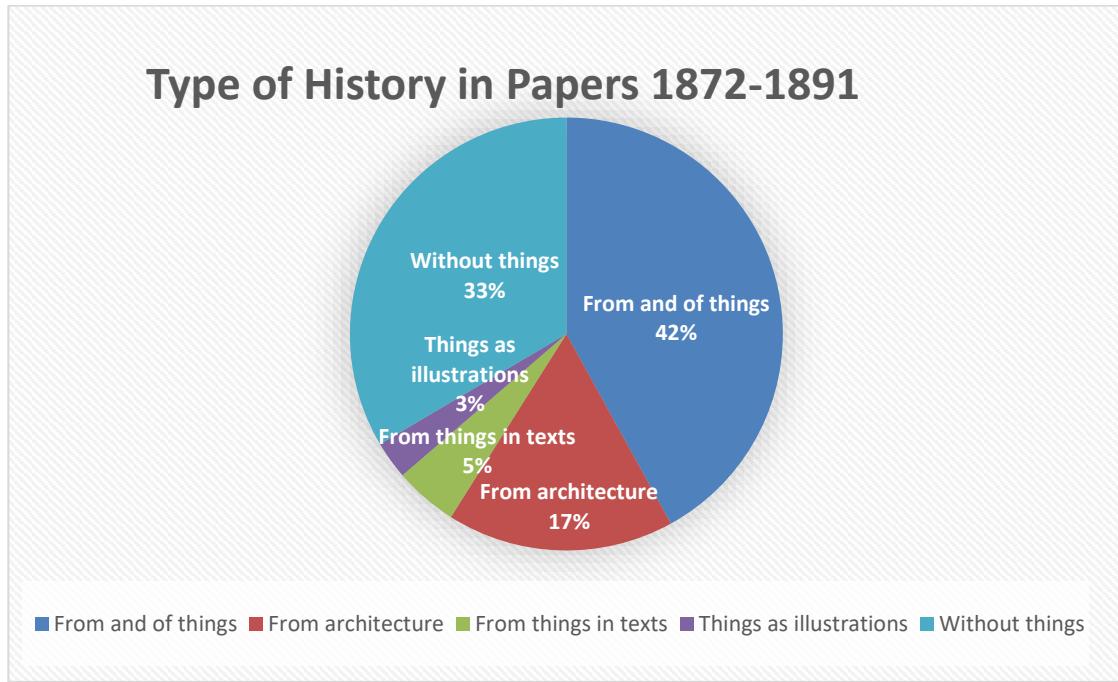
Sources: NMS, Edinburgh, SAS.MS 619; SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 9-26 (1873-92); SoAS, *Archaeologia Scotica,* 5 (1890).

Exhibiting objects with papers at SoAS meetings continued to define the historical value assigned to them. Out of the 236 communications given from 1872 to 1891 (including those under three pages in length), 61 (26%) were accompanied by the exhibition of objects (Appendix I, Table 16). Twenty papers (8%) were accompanied by objects that were acquired by the museum at the same meeting and eighteen (8%) were accompanied by objects that were acquired later. Some objects were exhibited and written about numerous times, authenticating some aspects of their stories whilst also adding new information.

Figure 7-6 Midside Maggie's girdle, NMS, H.NA 338.
Seventeenth-century silver girdle. Image © National Museums Scotland.

One such object was a seventeenth-century silver chain called Midside Maggie's girdle, the story of which was recounted in a traditional Scottish ballad.[888] This chain was linked to Margaret Hardie, a tenant of John Maitland (1616-82), the Duke of Lauderdale.[889] Tradition had it that she had continued to pay her rents to the Duke in the 1650s while he was imprisoned by Cromwell in the Tower of London. Margaret baked gold coins into bannocks and smuggled them to the Duke in the Tower. As a reward for her loyalty, the Duke gave her the girdle and it passed down the family until the museum acquired it in 1897.[890] John Smith's 1872 paper, 'Notice of a Silver Chain or Girdle, the Property of Thomas Simson, of Blainslie, Esq., Berwickshire; another, in the University of Aberdeen; and of other Ancient Scottish Silver chains', presented it in comparison to all known silver chains found in Scotland and part of the prehistory and history of Scottish personal adornments.[891] But although he described the hallmarks, he could not interpret them. Seventeen years later, Brook drew on his knowledge of hallmarks to identify that the girdle had been made by Edinburgh goldsmith Adam Allan.[892] Although Brook could not conclusively prove all aspects of the story, he used his expertise as a silversmith to authenticate the seventeenth-century date of the girdle, thereby supporting its historical

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[888] R. Romanes, 'Letter to the Secretary, presenting the Silver Chain known as 'Midside Maggie's Girdle' to the National Museum of Antiquities; with Notes upon the Story of the Girdle and its Owners', *PSAS,* 32 (1898), p. 196. The ballad was first published in 1824 in James Miller's *St Baldred of the Bass, and other Poems.*

[889] J. A. Smith, 'Notice of a Silver Chain or Girdle, the Property of Thomas Simson, of Blainslie, Esq., Berwickshire; another, in the University of Aberdeen; and of other Ancient Scottish Silver chains', *PSAS,* 10 (1875), pp. 321-47; NMS, Chain/girdle H.NA 338.

[890] Romanes, 'Midside Maggie's Girdle'.

[891] Smith, 'Silver Chain'.

[892] A. J. S. Brook, 'Additional Notes on the Silver chain called 'Midside Maggie's Girdle'', *PSAS,* 23 (1889), pp. 445-52, made between 1608 and 1610.

connection to Maggie and the Duke of Lauderdale. Items such as this show that although the Society strived to investigate the social history of Scottish objects and their makers, new material approaches to examining objects simultaneously validated old traditional stories. The romantic and scientific aspects of an object's history could *both* be presented as authentic ways of engaging with these items, since they were based on primary source evidence.

The key development within the *Proceedings* after 1871 was the appearance of more technical approaches to the study of historic objects utilising the skills of authors who presented papers (Appendix I, Figure 6). Fellows who had occupations that involved working with the physical world represented a large proportion of authors writing 'history from and of things' and through meticulous examinations they provided details of an object's materials, construction and use. Such authors included architects, civil engineers, curators, physicians, a lithographer and of course Brook as a silversmith. Professors, clergy, politicians and those of no listed occupation also continued to analyse objects in their papers. However, it appears that those Fellows who had practical skills were able to contribute more insightful discussions based on their material-culture analysis.

Previous chapters have noted how James Drummond applied his artistic skills to historical research. New Fellows, such as Brook elected in 1886, had even more specialised knowledge that was valuable for historical studies.[893] Brook worked for the jewellers William Marshall & Sons from 1873.[894] William Marshall & Sons was one of many Scottish jewellers producing Celtic Revival designs based on historical objects.[895] Brook and his father took over the business in 1891 and it was renamed Brook & Son. The company later restored and produced recreations of the Roman hacksilver found at Traprain Law in East Lothian in 1919, demonstrating that heritage had both commercial as well as scholarly opportunities for such craftsmen.[896] Brook applied his professional expertise to the study of gold, silver, jewellery and watches to understand how an object had been made and what that could tell him about the craft practices of the people who had

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[893] SoAS, *General Index,* p. xiii.

[894] Incorporation of Goldsmiths, http://www.incorporationofgoldsmiths.org/content/hallmarkingarchive-home/ [accessed 21 Jul 2020]; biographical details were obtained through the kind assistance of Elspeth Morrison.

[895] G. Dalgleish & C. Gere, 'Highland Jewellery', in *The Art of Jewellery in Scotland,* ed. R. K. Marshall & G. R. Dalgleish (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1991), p. 64.

[896] A. Blackwell, M. Goldberg & F. Hunter, *Scotland's Early Silver: Transforming Roman Pay-Offs to Pictish Treasures* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2018), pp. 46 and 63-4; P. Cameron, 'Traprain Law Reproductions by Brook and Sons of Edinburgh', https://www.petercameronantiquesilver.com/research/ [accessed 21 Jul 2020].

created it. For example, his 'Technical Description of the Regalia of Scotland' included minute analysis of the materials of the crown and methods of construction to show, 'that it is the work of different goldsmiths of different periods and of different nationalities'.[897] From 1872 to 1891, the expanding membership brought diverse skills to the investigation of Scotland's material sources and resulted in new information being extracted from Scottish objects.

Another example of the technical material-approach by Brook was a paper he presented in 1889 in which he examined two Highland brooches, one from the fifteenth century and one from the early-eighteenth century.[898] In this paper, he not only described in detail the physical features of these brooches and their decoration but was able to explain how they had been manufactured based on tool-marks and materials. Brook then extrapolated what this revealed about medieval and modern craft practices in the Highlands. From his analysis he concluded that,

> The art of engraving, of being able to use certain tools and of fabricating certain articles, formed part of a liberal education in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries onward… they are the work of men to whom it was… one of many accomplishments, rather than their trade. One of the main features of these brooches which suggests this inference is, that the constructive ability is small as contrasted with the taste in decoration.[899]

This was just one of several papers that Brook presented to the Society explaining how objects were fabricated, providing new information on Scottish historic craft practices, skills and materials.[900] In contrast to his paper on Midside Maggie's girdle, he not only authenticated an object's date and historical associations, but he was writing discrete new stories of Scottish artisans and the social environment within which objects were made and used.

Other Fellows who incorporated technical examinations of objects in their papers included lithographer Andrew Gibb, artist and curator John Miller Gray, analytical chemist William Ivison Macadam and several architects who contributed to writing Scotland's architectural

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[897] A. J. S. Brook, 'Technical Description of the Regalia of Scotland', *PSAS,* 24 (1890), p. 71.

[898] A. J. S. Brook, 'Notice of a Silver Brooch with Black Letter Inscription and Ornamentation in Niello, the Property of Miss Steven of Bellahouston, and of a Large Brass Highland Brooch with Incised Ornamentation, the Property of Mrs W R Mitford, 33 Coates Gardens, Edinburgh', *PSAS,* 23 (1889), pp. 192-9.

[899] Ibid., p. 196.

[900] For example, A. J. S. Brook, 'Notice of the Silver Bell of Lanark, a Horse-racing Trophy of the seventeenth century, with some references to the early practice of Horse-racing in Scotland', *PSAS,* 25 (1891), pp. 174-88.

history.[901] In 1876, Gibb presented a paper concerning the memorial brass of Professor Dr

Duncan Liddel (1561-1613), in which he proposed that Aberdeen portrait painter, George

Jameson (c.1587-1644), had designed the brass even though archival sources recorded it

was made in Antwerp.[902] Jameson was in Aberdeen when the brass was made and

intimately associated with the close acquaintances of Liddel responsible for commissioning

the memorial.[903] Gibb utilised his knowledge of engraving to identify that the lettering on

the brass resembled that on Aberdeenshire stone slabs, while the brass's unfinished

workmanship and the unusual inclusion and composition of the image indicated that the

engraver was working from a pencil sketch designed by someone else.[904] Gibb's

conclusions combined object-analysis with historical context and archival sources to

identify the craft history of this item and explained why it was so different to contemporary

memorial brasses.

Similarly, Gray's paper on heraldic glass drew on his own (and glass-stainer W. Graham

Boss's) knowledge of heraldry, materials, pigments, enamelling and fabrication techniques

to date fragments of Scottish stained glass and link them to particular places and people.[905]

Newly discovered fragments of Scottish heraldic stained-glass were being identified in the

late-nineteenth century and Gray's paper enumerated those that had recently been

displayed at the Heraldic Exhibition held in Edinburgh in 1891.[906] Much like Gibb, his

approach was interdisciplinary and drew on a variety of material and archival sources.

Meanwhile, Macadam's paper drew on his scientific expertise to conduct chemical

analyses of church tokens, church plate and a bell in order to determine the composition of

the metals, which revealed the areas of production for these items.[907] Papers such as those

of Brook, Gibb, Gray and Macadam represent the emergence of art history curatorship,

which focused on illuminating the histories of Scottish objects and the people who made

them, rather than necessarily engaging with debates concerning Scottish historical actors

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[901] For example, A. Kerr, 'Notes of Ancient Tile Paving in Linlithgow Palace', *PSAS,* 15 (1881), pp. 194-8.

[902] A. Gibb, 'Notice of the Memorial Brass of Dr Duncan Liddel, and of the Tombstone of Sir Paul Menzies of Kinmundy, in Saint Nicholas Church, Aberdeen', *PSAS,* 11 (1876), pp. 450-62.

[903] Ibid., pp. 455-7.

[904] Ibid.

[905] J. M. Gray, 'Notes on Examples of Old Heraldic and other Glass, existing in, or having connection with, Scotland; with especial reference to the Heraldic Rondel preserved at Woodhouselee', *PSAS,* 26 (1892), pp. 34-48; D. V. Clarke, 'The National Museums' stained-glass window', *PSAS,* 120 (1991), pp. 201-24. Boss was not a Fellow, but he executed the decorative portrait windows for the SoAS at the Queen Street building in 1894.

[906] F. J. Grant, *Memorial Catalogue, Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh 1891* (Edinburgh: T & A Constable, 1892).

[907] W. I. Macadam, 'Notice, with Analyses, of a Series of Church Tokens of various Parishes; of the Collection Plates belonging to the church of Duddingston and the Trinity College Church of Edinburgh; and of the Trinity College Church Hospital Bell', *PSAS,* 14 (1880), pp. 163-9.

and events. The larger membership of the SoAS and the associated professional skills of Fellows allowed objects to be interpreted in much more technical detail than had been evident earlier in the century, resulting in more systematic art and craft histories emanating from the Society. These craft histories were a distinct strand of Scottish historiography, which told the stories of national 'things'. But although they engaged with established knowledge of the Scottish past found in published narrative histories, they refined and added to these narratives rather than proposing radically different interpretations.

Scottish material-culture histories

From 1872 to 1891, multi-national material-culture histories continued to be published and often included Scottish examples, such as those found in Alfred Hipkins' *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare and Unique* (1888).[908] But the new development after 1871 was the publication of a few monographs by Fellows that were specifically Scottish in their approach. In 1876, Cochran-Patrick published *Records of the Coinage of Scotland,* which followed on from several papers he presented at SoAS meetings.[909] In 1881, the drawings of James Drummond were published in *Ancient Scottish Weapons,* with a brief history of Scottish accoutrements, costume, and weapons, written by Joseph Anderson.[910] Finally, in 1892, *Old Scottish Communion Plate* was published, written by Fellow Rev. Thomas Burns with contributions by the Right Rev. James MacGregor and Alexander Brook.[911] These publications have been chosen due to their focus on Scottish archival and material sources.

Cochran-Patrick is most well-known for his work on numismatics, but he was also interested in investigating Scotland's broader economic history.[912] Much of his work was based on official records, but he occasionally deployed objects to support his arguments. In *Records of the Coinage of Scotland* coins were important sources both in and of themselves and to support the information in Scottish records. For example, the inscriptions on coins allowed Cochran-Patrick to compile a list of moneyers and mint locations up to the thirteenth century, since there were no records for this period.[913] From

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[908] A. J. Hipkins, & W. Gibb, *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare and Unique* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black Ltd, 1888), pp. 3-8 and 11-2.

[909] R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland,* 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1876).

[910] Drummond & Anderson, *Ancient Scottish Weapons;* some information from Drummond's papers was incorporated into Anderson's text.

[911] Burns, MacGregor & Brook, *Old Scottish Communion Plate.*

[912] Stewart, 'Scottish Numismatics', pp. 241-3; see also R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1878).

[913] Cochran-Patrick, *Coinage of Scotland,* i, introduction, pp. i-cci.

the fourteenth century onwards, he compared coins with records to chart the names of moneyers, the development and locations of mints, the jobs within them, wages, and how currency was acquired.[914] In addition, Cochran-Patrick employed objects to illustrate Scottish mining and craft practices: he identified the Regalia of Scotland as being made of Scottish gold, while the coin dies in the SoAS museum were shown to reveal how coins were struck.[915] He also compared Scottish, English and European coins to assert that, 'It has been generally assumed that the Scottish moneyers imitated the English… it is nevertheless certain that the influence of the English mint on the Scottish one, has been very greatly overrated.'[916] Much like in his later publication *Mediaeval Scotland,* Cochran-Patrick asserted that Scotland had a pre-union history of development that had influenced Scotland's modern trajectory.[917] Yet his narrative in *Coinage* conformed to notions of Scottish economic backwardness before the union. Rather than challenging narratives of Scottish pre-union economic inferiority, he provided details of why this situation prevailed. The reviews of *Coinage* applauded the extensive information in this monograph and its contribution to elucidating Scotland's early economic history, with one reviewer claiming 'our historical view of the Scottish coinage is for the purposes of the historian or the archaeologist [now] practically complete.'[918] But although Cochran-Patrick employed objects as supplementary evidence for telling Scotland's medieval and early-modern economic story, he generally did not challenge Scotland's core national narratives; instead he justified and added more detail to them.

Ancient Scottish Weapons, in like fashion to *Coinage,* elevated the importance of studying Scottish objects as part of documenting Scotland's unique historical experience. In this publication Anderson promoted Highland weapons and accoutrements as 'the last surviving remnants of the old nationality of Celtic Scotland: and… they form a group of relics which is specially national and wholly unique.'[919] Up until this point contemporary multi-national histories of arms and armour barely mentioned Scottish examples.[920] As was noted in chapter five of this thesis, Hewitt made brief references to Scottish military costume and equipment in *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe.*[921] August Demmin's

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[914] Ibid.
[915] Ibid., pp. xlvii-liv.
[916] Ibid., p. xc.
[917] R. W. Cochran-Patrick, *Mediaeval Scotland* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1892).
[918] C. F. Keary, 'Cochrane-Patrick's (R. W.) Records of the Coinage of Scotland (Book Review)', *The Academy*, 12:270 (1877), p. 48; similar sentiments were expressed in Anon, 'Records of the Coinage of Scotland', *The Athenaeum*, 2568 (1877), pp. 44-45.
[919] Drummond & Anderson, *Ancient Scottish Weapons,* p. 1.
[920] Drummond, *Highland Targets,* p. 3.
[921] Hewitt, *Ancient Armour.*

(1817-98) *An Illustrated History of Arms and Armour* (1877) made even fewer references to Scottish items.[922] *Ancient Scottish Weapons* was a response to this absence by providing detailed descriptions and images of Scottish weaponry with a sketch of their histories.[923] The value of these items for Anderson was their ability to demonstrate the continuity of Celtic decoration, whilst also, 'disclos[ing] the existence of culture and the diffusion of taste, even in the remotest districts of the country, among the most disordered conditions of social and political life.'[924] These items were presented as evidence of Scottish social and artistic history, with less emphasis on them representing Scottish military capabilities. For Anderson, Scottish weapons and accoutrements were 'objects that illustrate… the most peculiar and picturesque phases of her national history and native art.'[925] Although Anderson focused on objects made and used in Scotland, he also noted European influences, such as the popular import of "Andrea Ferrara" blades in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[926] The study of historic weapons was a popular subject in the nineteenth century as part of the military and cultural history of Europe. These objects were part of Scotland's national story and were worthy comparators to other European collections, if only for their artistic attributes.

One of the most extensive and detailed material-culture histories of Scotland that this study identified was *Old Scottish Communion Plate.* This was an explicitly 'national' material-culture history which made clear links between the physical forms of objects and Scotland's ecclesiastical past. It approached this subject from both a material and historical perspective with separate chapters on communion customs, church plate, communion cups, baptismal vessels and communion tokens.[927] The case was made that objects embodied the changes in religious ideas and practices in Scotland from just before the Reformation up to the nineteenth century and this was amply supported by evidence in the kirk records. For example, the adoption of the mazer-shaped communion cup in the early stages of the Reformation in Scotland was alleged by the authors to be due to the Reformers' belief that it was the form of cup used in Celtic Christianity before the arrival of Roman Catholicism.[928] Burns claimed that initially domestic drinking vessels were re-purposed as communion cups and then their form influenced the shape of seventeenth-century

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[922] A. Demmin, *An Illustrated History of Arms and Armour,* trans. by C. C. Black (London: George Bell & Sons, 1877).

[923] Anderson does not explicitly refer to contemporary histories of military antiquities, but he was aware of Drummond's argument that there was a lack of scholarship on Highland examples.

[924] Ibid., p. 1.

[925] Ibid., p. 1.

[926] Ibid., p. 19.

[927] Burns, MacGregor & Brook, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

[928] Burns, 'The Communion cup – its different forms', in *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, pp. 190-1.

replacements (Figure 7-7).[929] He noted how 'Communion vessels of early covenanting times are of a type suggesting large crowds and rough handling. The design is utilitarian, and not of that aesthetical or artistic character'.[930] In the chapter on baptismal vessels, Burns proposed that the basin, ewer, and laver were introduced due to the Protestant rejection of the Catholic font and the requirement that baptism was performed in front of the whole congregation.[931] He also provided numerous examples of the way that differences in forms and decoration on communion plate were linked to the changing fortunes of Episcopalianism in different areas of Scotland. After the Reformation, communion silverware was created in line with new ideas and this publication demonstrated how objects could supplement the information found in kirk records to present a tangible history of Scottish religious practices.

Figure 7-7 St. Mary's College Mazer group, St. Andrews.
Illustration from T. Burns, J. MacGregor & A. J. S. Brook, *Old Scottish Communion Plate* (Edinburgh: R & R Clark, 1892), p. 192.

The methods of examining and interpreting communion tokens is particularly noteworthy in *Old Scottish Communion Plate* and was based on the research of Cochran-Patrick. Communion tokens were presented as evocative of perceived national values of Protestant morality and MacGregor asserted that 'It was their [the Reformers] high sense of its sanctity which led to the use of "tickets" and "tokens" as indispensable passports to the table of the Lord… which intending communicants were trained for an intelligent

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[929] Ibid., pp. 192-5.
[930] Burns, Old Communion Customs in Scotland', in *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, p. 57.
[931] Burns, 'Baptismal Vessels', in *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, p. 512; C. M. M. Macdonald, 'The church and the cradle: baptism and visions of childhood in Victorian Scotland', *Review of Scottish Culture,* 18 (2006), pp. 51-72, this suggesting practice varied by region and across time, Macdonald noted that by the nineteenth century many Protestant baptisms were still performed within the home.

participation in the Sacrament'.[932] The materials and inscriptions of tokens for each church were regularly changed to prevent communicants acquiring them fraudulently and they were only handed out on certain days to people deemed worthy.[933] These items were symbols of Protestant religious education and reflected how ministers asserted social control over their parishioners. Burns stated that, 'Before a person could secure it, he had to satisfy the Church each time he made application both as to his religious knowledge and character.'[934] It was not until the eighteenth century that tokens had more artistic symbolism in their decoration, rather than just letters and dates.[935] The kirk records provided abundant information on the fabrication and distribution of tokens and were integral to the interpretation of these items since it was common practice for tokens to be melted down and made into new ones.[936] The interplay between objects, records, ideas and practices make this publication a sophisticated material-history of Scotland and showed how the Reformation had changed religious and social practices on an operational level and not just in principle. As a publication, it did not challenge the view that the Reformation in Scotland had been beneficial, rather it demonstrated how objects could provide a richer understanding of the everyday impact of religious change in Scotland.

Hume Brown's *History of Scotland*

This chapter has demonstrated that by the late-nineteenth century more sophisticated and technical material-culture histories were appearing in the papers and monographs of Fellows of the Society. But objects still predominantly embodied an illustrative function within narrative histories of Scotland. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, *The History of Scotland* was published by Fellow Peter Hume Brown: a prolific historical scholar who took up the first Chair of Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh in 1901.[937] Hume Brown's monograph goes beyond the original bounds of this thesis but it is included since it marks the move towards Scottish history becoming established as a discipline within universities and was read by university students as late as the 1960s.[938]

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[932] MacGregor, 'Preface', in *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, p. xx.
[933] Burns, 'The Communion Token' in *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, pp. 438-55.
[934] Ibid., p. 439.
[935] Ibid., pp. 466-8.
[936] Ibid., p. 455.
[937] Hume Brown, *History,* 3 vols; J. Robertson, 'Brown, Peter Hume (1849–1918), historian', *ODNB*, https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/32115 [accessed 25 Feb 2020]. Hume Brown was a teacher and historical author before becoming editor of the *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* in 1898. He was elected a Fellow of the SoAS in 1902, Rhind lecturer from 1902 to 1903 and became Historiographer Royal for Scotland in 1908.
[938] D. Broun, 'A Forgotten Anniversary: P Hume Brown's *History of Scotland,* 1911', in *Writing a Small Nation's Past: Wales in Comparative Perspective, 1850-1950,* ed. N. Evans & H. Pryce (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), p. 281.

Dauvit Broun highlighted that Hume Brown's work departed from its predecessors by bringing Scotland's national narrative up to the late-nineteenth century, whilst also confidently asserting Scottish nationhood in its European context.[939]

Like the SoAS museum displays and publications of Fellows, Hume Brown presented Scottish history as an independent subject which was part of connected international historical events and, he argued, was fundamental for understanding the development of modern Scottish values, characteristics and society.[940] But Hume Brown did not utilise many objects within his *History*. He made brief passing mentions of the Maiden, the Regalia of Scotland and the boot and thumbikins as illustrations of events during the Covenanting period.[941] But he did not deploy objects as evidence of art and craft practices, technological developments, or to illustrate Scottish customs and manners. Instead, his narrative focused on political and military events. The social, economic and cultural history of Scotland was only briefly covered in short sections covering Scotland's social progress during the reign of each monarch.[942] A survey of articles published in popular periodicals in 1891 suggest that objects remained a key part of antiquarian and historical studies in the late-nineteenth century.[943] For example, an article in the *Scottish Antiquary* titled 'Oldest Seal of the Burgh of Dundee' compared armorial bearings on several seals to date this particular one to 1492.[944] Likewise, in the publications of historian Andrew Lang objects were employed to supplement information from archival sources, such as within *A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation* (1900-7).[945] Social and cultural history was particularly suited to investigation from an archaeological and material-culture

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[939] Ibid., p. 272-7. Hill Burton's history went up to the Jacobite uprising of 1745-6. Other histories of Scotland at this time also extended into the nineteenth century including J. Mackintosh, *The History of Civilization in Scotland,* 2nd edition, 4 vols (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1892-6), which differed to Hume Brown by covering pre-Roman Scottish prehistory.

[940] Hume Brown, *History,* ii, pp. 1-3.

[941] Hume Brown, *History,* ii, pp. 365, 399 and 432.

[942] For example, Hume Brown, *History,* ii, pp. 117-26, 276-83, for progress during the reigns of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI.

[943] *The Cornhill Magazine,* 16:91-6 (1891); *The Cornhill Magazine,* 17:97-102 (1891); *The Scottish Antiquary, or, Northern Notes and Queries,* 5:19-20 (1891); *The Scottish Antiquary, or, Northern Notes and Queries,* 6:21-2 (1891); *Longman's Magazine 1882-1905,* 17:99-102 (1891); *Longman's Magazine 1882-1905,* 18:103-8 (1891); *Longman's Magazine 1882-1905,* 19:109-10 (1891); *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts,* 5th series, Vol VIII, 371-417 (London: W & R Chambers, 1891); *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* 149:903-8 (1891); *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* 150:909-14 (1891).

[944] Anon, 'Oldest Seal of the Burgh of Dundee', *The Scottish Antiquary, or Northern Notes and Queries,* 6:21 (1891), pp. 22-5.

[945] A. Lang, *A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation,* 4 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1900-7), such as ii, p. 55, surviving medieval maces and broken ecclesiastical objects given as evidence of the wealth of the Catholic church in St Andrews; see also A. Lang, *The Mystery of Mary Stuart* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1901), pp. 365-70. Lang examined a casket claimed to be the one that had contained the casket letters; A. Lang, *Portraits and Jewels of Mary Stuart* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1906).

perspective but narratives of Scotland's political history were written primarily from evidence in documentary sources. The antiquarian focus on social and cultural history through the investigation of material sources was ahead of its time and predated such research in universities. In the early-twentieth century, the material-culture history of Scotland continued to develop as a distinct strand of Scottish historiography undertaken by scholars working outside of the academy, while academic history developed along resolutely constitutional lines with social and cultural history underplayed.[946]

Conclusion

History and archaeology became distinctly separate academic disciplines in the twentieth century and the establishment of new historical societies in the 1880s, such as the SHS, marked the beginning of a similar separation in associational culture. But interdisciplinarity persisted within the SoAS long after 1891, with many Fellows continuing to investigate the Scottish past through the study of archives, buildings and historic objects well into the twentieth century.[947] Fellows from a variety of occupational backgrounds were engaged in this research since the SoAS museum's salaried curators were principally prehistoric archaeologists.[948] It was not until 1947 that the museum appointed Stuart Maxwell as its first historical curator and thereafter historical material-culture research was advanced by staff in the SoAS museum.[949] What is notable is that as late as the mid-twentieth century the SoAS museum continued to be influenced by nineteenth-century ideas on antiquarianism/archaeology that have been discussed in this thesis. Stevenson noted that from 1951 the museum aimed to expand the collection of historic objects made or used in Scotland to 'foster the study of the ordinary (as well as the exceptional) things of modern historical times in what might be called an archaeological way.'[950] The aims of twentieth-century curators were nothing new, in that there was still the focus on telling the story of Scottish society of the past and the primacy of objects in approaching this subject. It demonstrates that nineteenth-century ideas continued to affect

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[946] R. T. Vann, 'Social and cultural history', *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Historiography - History of science | Britannica [accessed 23 Feb 2021], social and cultural history did not become established within academic history until the mid to late-twentieth century.

[947] Stevenson, 'The museum', 173-209; Angus, 'Records and Opinions', pp. 265-80; A. Graham, 'Further records and opinions', *PSAS,* 109 (1978), pp. 301-51.

[948] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 183-200, George Black presented several papers on historical subjects, but he left the museum in 1896.

[949] Ibid., p. 200.

[950] Ibid., p. 203.

the future expansion of the Scottish collection and the importance of materiality to its interpretation and display.

This chapter has pointed to how the skills and expertise of Fellows were key influences in creating an expanding body of Scottish material-culture historiography in the SoAS *Proceedings* and select publications. As the membership increased, more diverse skills entered the Society and objects were investigated from a variety of perspectives and in greater technical detail than had previously been possible. The identification of materials, methods of fabrication and forms of decoration demonstrated that historic objects could provide detailed information on Scottish art and craft history. But these technical object-histories rarely represented a significant departure from Scotland's national story and principally developed as a separate historiography to narrative histories. The interpretation of objects depended on knowledge of Scottish historical periods and events to contextualise and understand an item's technical and social history. But it was less common for objects to be incorporated into narrative histories, especially when there were manuscript sources on which to base an historical argument. It is telling that object research mainly developed outside of universities within associational culture and heritage institutions of the nineteenth century and remained within these spheres until the late-twentieth century.[951] The skills needed to analyse objects were different to analysing archival materials and this expertise was developed by curators, art historians and, more recently, historical archaeologists who worked with material sources as part of their occupations.

By 1891, material-culture histories and the SoAS museum promoted a self-assured representation of Scottish cultural development and highlighted items that were uniquely Scottish. This confident engagement with Scottish history reflected similar practices found in many national museums across Europe. However, it is relevant that the elevation of Scottish antiquities was not explicitly associated with a strong separatist movement in nineteenth-century Scotland, particularly in this period of heightened interest in Home Rule. But if the Dublin Museum is considered, it was only after independence that the Irish national collection gained prominence in its displays.[952] Likewise, Maria Gabriella Lerario noted that it was not until after the unification of Italy that a shared Italian cultural past

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[951] Hicks, 'The Material-Culture Turn', pp. 25-98.
[952] Crooke, *National Museum in Ireland,* p. 144.

appeared in heritage spaces.[953] So the assertion of cultural nationalism in museums was not necessarily a precursor to demands for a new nation-state. The dominance of the Scottish collection in the SoAS museum developed from the extensive curatorial freedom of the Society and the parameters of their chosen field of endeavour, promoting Scottish cultural identity without being perceived as a threat to the British state. If Queen Victoria could celebrate her Scottish heritage, then there was no reason for ordinary Scots not to do the same. But while Sheila Watson interpreted the nineteenth-century SoAS museum displays as promoting Scottish exceptionalism *within* the Union: she failed to comment on the stark absence of 'Britain' in the Queen Street displays.[954] When the SoAS museum separated English and Irish objects from the Scottish collection in 1891, the British contextual framework that had been partially evident in the Royal Institution was finally dissolved. The 'international' became the main form of comparison with Scotland represented as a nation of not just Britain, but of the world. By placing other British and international antiquities in a separate physical space, the Queen Street configuration confidently declared Scotland's national status on the international stage. This was a unique snapshot of Scottish internationalist-nationalism under Anderson's keepership, since the comparative collection was eventually dismantled and dispersed by the mid-twentieth century to make space for the rapidly expanding Scottish collection.[955]

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[953] M. G. Lerario, 'The National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography "Luigi Pigorini" in Rome: the Nation on Display', *Eunamus,* https://ep.liu.se/ecp/contents.asp?issue=078 [accessed 18 Jul 2020], Report No 4, pp. 49-67.

[954] Watson, 'National Museums', p. 757.

[955] Stevenson, 'The museum', pp. 187, 194 and 204; A. Sheridan, 'Collecting European antiquities as part of the Scottish antiquarian tradition', in *Collecting Ancient Europe: National Museums and the search for European Antiquities in the 19th-early 20th century,* ed. L. W. S. W. Amkreutz (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2020), pp. 69-83.

Chapter 8   Conclusion

This thesis has adopted a unique multi-layered approach to the investigation of the development of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and their museum, providing a critical analysis of the way objects, ideas, people, publications and museum displays interacted to construct national narratives of Scotland. From 1832 to 1891, there were clear relationships between the practices of collecting, representing and writing about the Scottish past within the Society and the SoAS museum. Each of these three practices fed into and upon each other, with the Society providing a social and intellectual 'national' space where meanings assigned to Scottish historical objects were discussed, defined and consolidated. The activities of the SoAS and their museum unequivocally disprove Marinell Ash's thesis of the death of Scottish history in the late-nineteenth century.[956] If anything, from the 1880s onwards there was a renewed interest and enthusiasm for collecting, displaying and writing about the Scottish past as part of the development of Scottish archaeology, art history and material-culture history. The Society's ordinary meetings were sites of object exchange and knowledge sharing, through which the SoAS museum's historic collection was enlarged and studied. A key argument of this thesis is that the Society performed a crucial role in the development and public dissemination of Scottish archaeology, history and material-culture research during the nineteenth century. The interdisciplinary nature of the Society's activities meant that it was central to the development not only of prehistoric archaeology, as tracked in the existing literature, but also, as is demonstrated here, that it influenced the development of Scottish history with a distinctive contribution deriving from the study of historic objects. The Society provided a forum within which the material *and* archival remains of Scotland's past were interpreted and communicated at a time when Scottish history and archaeology were only starting to become established in universities, with social and cultural history still marginal within academic published national narratives.

This thesis has expanded on the arguments of Catriona Macdonald, Robert Anderson and Richard Marsden, who highlighted how Scottish historical research was most active outside the academy within nineteenth-century associational culture.[957] The Society provided a space where academics and emerging professional archaeologists and curators shared their research on the Scottish past with fellow enthusiasts within the Society's ordinary meetings, evening conversaziones and the Rhind lectures. At the same time, the

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[956] Ash, *Strange Death.*
[957] Marsden, *Cosmo Innes;* Macdonald, 'Andrew Lang'; Anderson, 'University History Teaching'.

Society's membership contained a broad range of non-academic scholars with diverse interests and professional skills, who brought their expertise to the study of the Scottish past. Fellows' work was then shared beyond the social environment of meetings through the publication and distribution of the *Proceedings* and historical monographs of this period. The Society's activities allowed these scholars to explore Scotland's social and cultural history through the unique contribution that material culture could made to such investigations. Through collecting, representing and writing about the Scottish past, the Society and museum operated in tandem to promote the importance of Scottish history, archaeology and objects, placed within the systematic study of broader human prehistory and history, laying the basis for their eventual establishment within universities in the twentieth century.

The Society was a key part of Graeme Morton's 'civic-nationalism' in nineteenth-century Edinburgh as a means of self-improvement through engaging with Scotland's cultural history and contributing to Scottish civil society.[958] As a learned society managing a national museum, the SoAS operated at the interface between scholarly and public history, particularly after the museum became state-funded in 1851. Learned societies and public museums were key sites of nineteenth-century self-improvement across Europe and their didactic function was increasingly asserted as the century progressed.[959] From visiting the museum in Edinburgh or attending the Rhind lectures as a member of the public, through to contributing to SoAS meetings as a Fellow, the Society facilitated nineteenth-century rational recreation in Scotland. The educational role of the museum and the Society were explicitly highlighted in the arguments supporting the transfer of the SoAS collection into national ownership through the Conveyance of 1851 and informed the establishment of the Rhind lectures as free-to-attend public events in 1876. The Society's educational mission also influenced the way the collection was displayed in the museum and classified in the museum's catalogues. By utilising material themes, the historic collection was presented as logically following the prehistoric sections to illustrate the cultural evolution of Scottish society from the first inhabitants of Scotland towards modern civilisation. This approach was envisioned as providing visitors with a tangible representation of the archaeological and material-culture research being conducted by curators and Fellows of the Society. Through the museum's displays, catalogues and the Rhind lectures, the Society endeavoured to engage and educate the 'interested public' in Scottish history, archaeology

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[958] Morton, 'What if?', pp. 157-76.
[959] See various articles and chapters produced by the EuNaMus project; *Eunamus,* http://www.ep.liu.se/eunamus/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020].

and antiquities. The public nature of the Society's activities and its non-university status contributed to democratising Scotland's national story in the museum by representing it not only as the history *of* the Scottish people, but also *for* the Scottish people.

The anniversary addresses of the 1850s attest that the Society aimed to present Scotland's material-culture history in an objective and scientific way within the museum, but the romantic and affective associations attached to objects remained an important aspect of their interpretation. Visitors to the museum probably still sought out objects linked to well-known historical figures and events, particularly those recounted in Sir Walter Scott's historical novels, even as they engaged with the Society's grand narrative of Scottish cultural progress. At George Street, although the SoAS museum emphasised the materiality of the historic collection by classifying objects by type and use, it also appealed to its public audiences by including a Jacobite section in the displays and providing historical commentary within the *Synopsis*. But after 1859, historical periods and narratives became increasingly marginalised as a means of telling Scotland's story in the museum. At the Royal Institution, this study's 'national relics' and 'material witnesses' were sporadically connected to historical figures and events within their descriptions in catalogues and presumably labels. But these objects were physically dispersed between items illustrative of Scottish social and domestic life and any historical information deemed anecdotal was discarded in favour of more 'factual' descriptions. By 1891, when the museum relocated to Queen Street, the Society rejected the option of displaying objects as illustrations of a chronological historical narrative, even though by this date the collection was sufficiently developed to be displayed in this manner. Rather, the prehistoric and historic collections were treated in the same 'archaeological' way and the visitor guide to the collection focused on thematically explaining Scottish everyday life of the past.[960] In contrast, this thesis has shown that the Bishop's Castle displays in Glasgow in 1888 employed historical periodisation *and* material themes side-by-side, answering to popular interest in key periods and people within Scotland's national story. Although the development of the museum in the twentieth century is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is worth noting that historical periodisation was not applied to the classification of the Scottish collection until the establishment of the Museum of Scotland in 1998.[961] Balancing material-culture histories, chronological narratives and popular perceptions of the Scottish

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[960] NMS, Ms.069(411)Edi.NMAS.1892.

[961] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, pp. 77-100; Clarke, 'New things set in many landscapes'. It should be noted that although the Scottish galleries have a chronological overview, the 'Early People' gallery is displayed by theme.

past remains a challenge for NMS today and these concerns continue to inform interpretations of the Scottish collection.

Stefan Berger's argument that 'archaeological museums were the archetypal national museums of the nineteenth century' holds true for the SoAS museum.[962] Indeed, the process of identifying Scotland's material-culture history was part of the Romantic movement in European historiography, with its focus on identifying the distinctive material remains of a specific nation not only in the distant past, but right up to the present.[963] Alima Bucciantini has asserted that what she considered the haphazard collecting strategies of the Society meant that by 1891 the SoAS museum did not contain a distinctively Scottish collection with which to represent a history of the Scottish nation.[964] However, this thesis has demonstrated that the Society developed clear and targeted collecting strategies for the museum from 1849 to 1891 in order to display the 'unwritten history of Scotland' through items that were distinctively Scottish and represented different aspects of Scottish society and historical development. The circular sent to SoAS members in 1849 explicitly requested items to be donated to the museum that could illustrate Scotland's social and domestic history. The acquisitions of the purchase committee in the 1880s and the 1889 collecting policy further highlighted the Society's emphasis on expanding the Scottish collection to allow them to display a comprehensive material-culture history of Scotland. But although the 1849 circular requested 'British, and more especially Scottish, Antiquities',[965] in contrast, the 1889 collecting policy made no explicit reference to Britain.[966] The Society endeavoured to amass a collection reflective of the history of Scotland, not Britain, and any international items (including other British material) were collected in order to provide comparisons to better understand the Scottish collection. When the English, Irish and international collections were eventually separated from the Scottish in the displays of 1891, the distinctive material history (and prehistory) of the Scottish nation was confidently asserted. The stated and demonstrated importance of the Scottish collection then became, during the twentieth century, the foundation of appeals for a Scottish national history museum with its own dedicated building.[967]

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[962] Berger, 'National Museums', p. 14.
[963] Berger, ed. *Writing the Nation.*
[964] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland*, pp. 16-7.
[965] NMS, SAS Internal MSS, UC 87/22.
[966] NMS, SAS.MB.1887-1896, Council Meeting, 27 Apr 1889, p. 131.
[967] Bucciantini, *Exhibiting Scotland,* pp. 48-79; C. E. Whitelaw, *A National Historical Museum: notes on the classification and arrangement of exhibits with special reference to Scotland* (Glasgow: H. Nisbet & Co, 1911); Magnusson, M. 'Foreword', in *The Wealth of the Nation in the National Museums of Scotland,* ed. J. Calder (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1989), pp. vii-ix.

Sheila Watson highlighted that nineteenth-century central government in Britain rarely interfered with the collecting activities of state-funded museums in either Scotland or England.[968] Instead, there was a more organic development of collections in museums across the British Isles, with collecting and display policies driven by the interests and enthusiasm of key individuals and groups like the Society. This thesis has established that the 'national' focus of collecting was more pronounced in Scotland than elsewhere in Britain, with the SoAS museum operating as a dedicated Scottish archaeological and history museum, while there were no state-funded equivalents in England, Wales or Ireland. Even when exhibited alongside other British objects, at no point did the Society conceive of the SoAS collection as being a regional collection subsumed within a wider British context. It was consistently promoted as a national collection, through which the Society aspired to represent the material-culture history of the Scottish people and the development of civilisation in Scotland. Graeme Morton's unionist-nationalist thesis has long been accepted as an explanation for the Scottish and British components of national identity in nineteenth-century Scotland. But there was a definite shift in historical consciousness from the 1880s onwards towards a more internationalist-nationalism within the Society. This approach was part of a wider movement in Scottish and European archaeological and historical studies, which situated national histories within international comparative contexts.

Within the Society, perceptions of the Scottish past went beyond a British context and placed Scottish history and prehistory into a European, and occasionally global, comparative framework. This was history that presented Scotland as a distinct nation producing its own identifiable material culture, with the Society part of what Margarita Díaz-Andreu has identified as an international community of scholars investigating their respective national pasts.[969] The Society's wide-ranging connections with other learned societies, museums and antiquaries in both Britain and Europe meant that the study of the Scottish past was never conducted in isolation. There was a dialogue between Scottish, British, European and even worldwide objects and histories, as Fellows strived to place Scottish historical change and cultural history into its international context. The common master narrative that encompassed national histories from across Europe was that of modern civilised progress. Historians and archaeologists in Scotland presented Scottish history as part of this master narrative, allowing them to argue that Scotland had been a

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[968] Watson, 'National Museums', 756-9 and 771-2.
[969] Díaz-Andreu, *Nineteenth-Century Archaeology*, p. 3.

contributor to British and European societal and economic development not only in the past, but as a distinct modern nation that continued to exert an influence in the present.

Against this background of collecting, interpretation and display, objects attained a variety of narrative functions in nineteenth-century historical publications: as literary tools, illustrations of historical change and sources from which new information could be extracted. However, analysis here has shown that material-culture histories developed as a distinct strand of historiography separate from (and complementary to) published narrative histories of Scotland. Roey Sweet argued that by the mid-nineteenth century the antiquarian focus on interpreting material and visual sources led to the consolidation of social and cultural history as a key facet of historical research.[970] These practices were the basis for the systematic and technical approaches to Scottish archaeology and material-culture history that developed in the Society by the late-nineteenth century. Fellows did not have a nostalgic preoccupation with personalities of the past, as was claimed by Marinell Ash and Tom Nairn.[971] Rather, the analytical approach to studying objects that developed in the Society encouraged Fellows to investigate Scotland's broader social history and ask more technical questions of their material sources. How were they made? What were they made of? How did this relate to Scottish artistic, societal and technological progress? This was historical information that was extracted 'from things' as much as it was 'of things' and the answers to these questions contributed to broadening who (and what) were included in Scotland's national story. The material approach to investigating history predated such practices in universities and highlights how scholars working with objects outside the academy encouraged social history perspectives ahead of its emergence in the historical profession.

The expanding membership of the SoAS and associated expertise supported the more technical approach to studying objects that emerged in the late-nineteenth century, resulting in increasingly detailed Scottish material-culture histories appearing in the *Proceedings* and Fellows' monographs. Alongside these technical object-histories, material and archival analysis allowed Fellows to authenticate more reliably an object's connections to well-known historical figures and events. But the result of these concerns particular to material-culture history was that although objects were placed as an essential part of Scotland's national story, they were also detached from it. Object histories were often better appreciated in dedicated material-focused publications. At the same time, decoding

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[970] Sweet, *Antiquaries*, p. xvi; Sweet, 'Antiquarian Transformations', pp. 158-70.
[971] Ash, *Strange Death,* pp. 10-1; Nairn, *The break-up of Britain,* pp. 92-195.

objects required specific skills and specialist expertise, such as is now employed by art historians, historical archaeologists and curators of the twenty-first century. Nineteenth-century Scottish material-culture histories were informed by the methods and ideas shared by skilled amateurs and new museum professionals within the interdisciplinary environment of the Society. But objects of the historical period were not (and arguably still are not) fully integrated into narrative accounts of the Scottish past. Despite this, material-culture histories were a key part of the development of Scotland's national historiography in the nineteenth century and this thesis argues that it is only by studying the interrelated development of archaeology, art history, archival history and narrative history that their combined influence on the construction of national narratives can be fully appreciated.

As NMS prepares once again to reinterpret its galleries of Scottish history and archaeology, this thesis argues that a deeper understanding of the Society in the nineteenth century provides a valuable foundation from which to build new interpretations.[972] In the twenty-first century, NMS curators are identifying the gaps in the collection and the missing stories of Scotland's past where objects were not collected if they did not fit the museum's previous aims or contemporary historiographical practices. As part of this process, the interpretive potential of the existing Scottish collection is being rethought and reassessed. A critical examination of nineteenth-century motivations and practices, which created the core of the Scottish collection, is essential to this work. Although the Scottish history and archaeology collection has significantly expanded at NMS in the last 130 years, the findings of this thesis suggest that the legacy of nineteenth-century collectors and the Society is writ large in the objects that the museum preserves and presents today. Current curators at NMS are approaching the Scottish past with different gendered, political, social and moral questions to their predecessors. Transnational perspectives are influencing museum spaces across the globe, while in Scotland, Scottish nationhood is once again a focus of historical and museological interest in the aftermath of the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum and Brexit. The data collated throughout this project has re-attached historical and contextual information to objects within the NMS collection and information that may not have been prioritised in past displays can now be reassessed and contribute to future representations of Scotland's national and transnational stories within the museum's galleries.

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[972] NMS, 'Strategic Plan', https://www.nms.ac.uk/about-us/our-organisation/strategic-plan/ [accessed 1 Nov 2020], see Strategic Action 1.2. Plan for the redevelopment of the Scotland Galleries at the National Museum of Scotland, p. 14.

This thesis has contributed to the expanding field of material-culture historiography and demonstrated the complex ways in which history, archaeology and curatorship intersected in nineteenth-century Scotland as each discipline systematised its approaches to studying the past. It has demonstrated that an appreciation of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and its museum's collection is essential to our understanding of the development of national historiographies, research practices and the longer-term development of public history, not only in Scotland, but as part of wider developments in Britain and Europe. Its original contribution to knowledge is that is has adopted a multi-faceted approach to the investigation of the Society's development by analysing collecting practices, display strategies, research methods, associational activities and the influence of key individuals. It has shown that there were identifiable relationships between collecting, exhibiting and writing about the past, which influenced (and were influenced by) the development of archaeology and archival history within nineteenth-century associational culture. The interdisciplinary approach of the research underpinning this thesis has provided the foundation from which to build a nuanced discussion of the close relationships between museum collections and national histories. The interrelated development of museums, associational culture and national historiographies is relevant to understanding the construction of national narratives throughout Europe. This thesis has shown that despite Scotland's position as a peripheral nation within a unitary British state, the Society and its membership were as concerned as their European counterparts with defining nationhood through collecting, displaying and writing about the material remains of an explicitly Scottish past, highlighting what made Scotland both an historic and modern nation in its own right.

Appendix I: Data Analysis

The following data is extracted from spreadsheets and pivot tables.[973] This data underpins the analyses discussed within the main body of the thesis and can be divided into the following categories:

1. **Membership Information:** Sample of the membership lists from the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* from volume 1 1851-2, volume 9 1871-2 and volume 26 1891-2.

2. **Object Information:** Acquisition numbers, acquisition method, status of donors, whether objects were exhibited, categories of object and interpretive function of objects as defined within this thesis.

3. **Papers' Information:[974]** Comparison of types of paper presented at SoAS meetings, whether objects were exhibited with papers and the status of those objects (in SoAS collection, in private collections or acquired by the museum subsequently) and the backgrounds of authors of papers.

Some of this data has been collated from disparate and incomplete sources, especially for the period 1832 to 1851. However, there is abundant information to identify general trends and patterns, which provides the evidence for the arguments proposed by this thesis. The data in this appendix will be referred to throughout the thesis but the tables and graphs will not be replicated in the main chapters.

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[973] The original spreadsheets can be consulted at https://doi.org/10.34908/2den-fn92
[974] Some papers were unpublished but consulted in manuscript form in the SoAS archive held at NMS.

Membership Information

The data collected was number of Fellows, Honorary Fellows and Lady Associates, occupation of Fellows (grouped by category), occupations of Fellows in the SoAS Council and geographical composition of the membership.

Membership numbers and percentages

Table 1 Membership numbers.

Membership List	Fellows	Honorary Fellows	Lady Associates	Total
1851-2	238	25	0	263
1871-2	372	21	0	393
1891-2	736	23	11	770

Sources: SoAS, 'Preliminaries – vol. i – part i', *PSAS,* 1 (1855), pp. i-xvi; SoAS, 'Preliminaries – vol. ix – part ii', *PSAS,* 9 (1873) pp. i-xxviii, SoAS, 'Preliminaries – vol. xxvi', *PSAS,* 26 (1892), pp. i-xxxvii.

Table 2 Number and percentage of Fellows divided by category of occupation.

Category of occupation	1851-2 List		1871-2 List		1891-2 List	
Academia	10	4%	9	2%	24	3%
Clergy	23	10%	30	8%	89	12%
Legal	45	19%	58	16%	118	16%
Medicine	20	8%	22	6%	50	7%
Military	8	3%	10	3%	19	3%
Museums, libraries and archives	2	1%	12	3%	12	2%
Politics	6	3%	16	4%	18	2%
Printers, publishers and booksellers	13	5%	13	3%	20	3%
Banking and accountancy	8	3%	15	4%	37	5%
Craftsmen	7	3%	8	2%	11	2%
Artistic professions	15	6%	12	3%	10	1%
Manufacturing	3	1%	7	2%	26	4%
Civil service	7	3%	11	3%	21	3%
Architect	7	3%	13	3%	32	4%
Engineering	2	1%	1	1%	7	1%
Education	6	3%	7	2%	9	1%
Tradesmen	1	1%	0	0%	2	0%
Merchants and insurance services	0	0%	14	4%	19	3%
Auctioneers	0	0%	0	0%	3	0%
No occupation listed	55	23%	114	31%	209	28%
Total	238	100%	372	100%	736	100%

Sources: As for Table 1; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020]; Scottish Post Office Directories, https://digital.nls.uk/directories/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020]; SoAS, 'List of Members of the Society 1831 to 1851', *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 (1857), Appendix, pp. 1-12; SoAS, *General Index and Index of the Illustrations to the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1851-1890* (Edinburgh: Neill & Company, 1892); *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* https://www.britannica.com/ [accessed 20 Jul 2020].

Table 3 Occupations of SoAS Council members.[975]

Category of occupation	1851-2 List		1871-2 List		1891-2 List	
Academia	0	0%	1	5%	1	5%
Clergy	2	9%	0	0%	0	0%
Legal	4	17%	2	9%	3	14%
Medicine	2	9%	1	5%	2	9%
Military	1	4%	0	0%	0	0%
Museums, libraries and archives	1	4%	3	14%	1	5%
Politics	1	4%	0	0%	2	9%
Printers, publishers and booksellers	2	9%	2	9%	1	5%
Architect	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
Banking and accountancy	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
Administration	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%
Craftsmen	1	4%	1	5%	1	5%
Artistic professions	5	22%	0	0%	1	5%
Civil service	0	0%	4	18%	2	9%
Education	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
Engineering	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%
No occupation listed	4	17%	8	36%	4	18%

Sources: As for Tables 1 and 2.

Table 4 Geographical composition of the membership.[976]

Location of residence	Fellows 1851-2		Fellows 1871-2		Fellows 1891-2	
Edinburgh and Leith	146	61%	164	44%	268	36%
Glasgow	2	1%	7	2%	44	6%
North East Scotland	9	4%	44	12%	81	11%
Lothians and South East Scotland	9	4%	28	8%	43	6%
Central Scotland	21	9%	47	13%	112	15%
South West Scotland	3	1%	8	2%	19	3%
Highlands and Islands	7	3%	18	5%	54	7%
England	24	10%	49	13%	97	13%
Ireland	2	1%	3	1%	1	0%
Wales	0	0%	1	0%	4	1%
Isle of Man	1	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Outside UK	1	0%	0	0%	12	2%
Not stated	13	5%	2	1%	0	0%

Sources: As for Tables 1 and 2. See Appendix III for a map of Scotland defining the extent of each geographical region.

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[975] The percentages for the 1891-2 list come to 104% due to rounding up to the nearest whole number.

[976] The totals range from 99% to 101% due to rounding up to the nearest whole number.

Object Information

The tables and graphs containing object data are divided into three sections. The first section compares the acquisition method, quantity of acquisitions of historical items and status of donors. The second section uses this study's definitions of interpretive function to compare the quantity and percentage of historical objects that were collected by the SoAS museum defined as 'national relics', 'material witnesses' or 'material evidence'. The third section provides data to demonstrate the quantity and percentage of historical objects that were acquired (divided by category) and whether these objects were exhibited.

Acquisition information

Table 5 Acquisitions from 1832 to 1891.

Decade	Unknown		Gifts		Purchases		Treasure trove		Total acquisitions
1832-41	1	2%	57	95%	0	0%	2	3%	60
1842-51	7	3%	169	60%	102	36%	2	1%	280
1852-61	2	1%	270	92%	8	3%	13	4%	293
1862-71	21	3%	519	67%	65	8%	168	22%	773
1872-81	3	1%	251	86%	36	12%	2	1%	292
1882-91	4	0%	422	44%	522	54%	11	1%	959

Sources: NMS, SAS Minute Books, SAS.MB.1827-1840, SAS.MB.1840-1853, SAS.MB.1853-1868, SAS.MB.1868-1880, SAS.MB.1880-1887, SAS.MB.1887-1896; NMS, Donations to the Society of Antiquaries 1850-1858; NMS, Register of Donations National Museum of Antiquities 1860-96; *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 1-26 (1855-92); SoAS, *Archaeologia Scotica,* 3-5 (1831-90); SoAS, *Catalogue of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1892); NMS, Adlib database.

Figure 1 Comparison of donor status from 1832 to 1891.
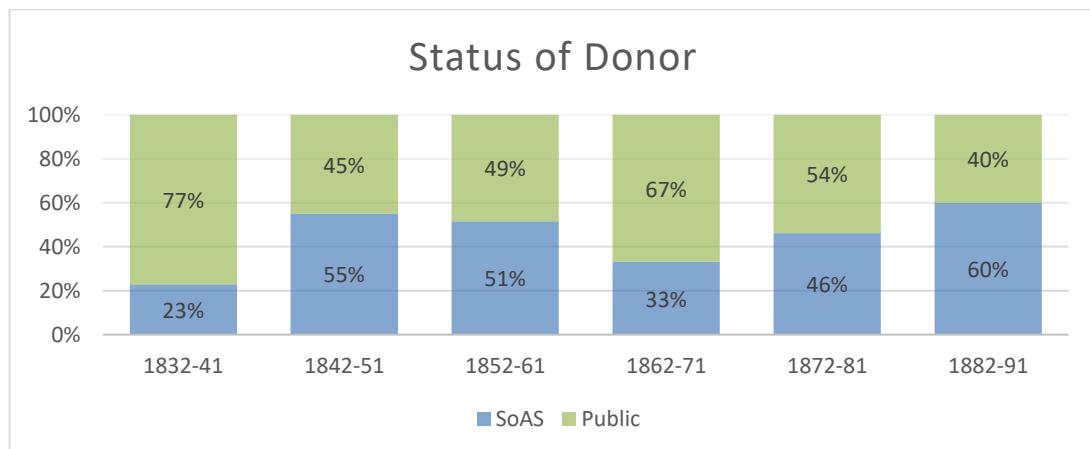
Sources: SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 1-26 (1855-92); SoAS, *Archaeologia Scotica,* 3-5 (1831-90).

Interpretive Functions

Figure 2 Comparison of interpretive functions.
Percentages of interpretive functions assigned to objects divided by decade.
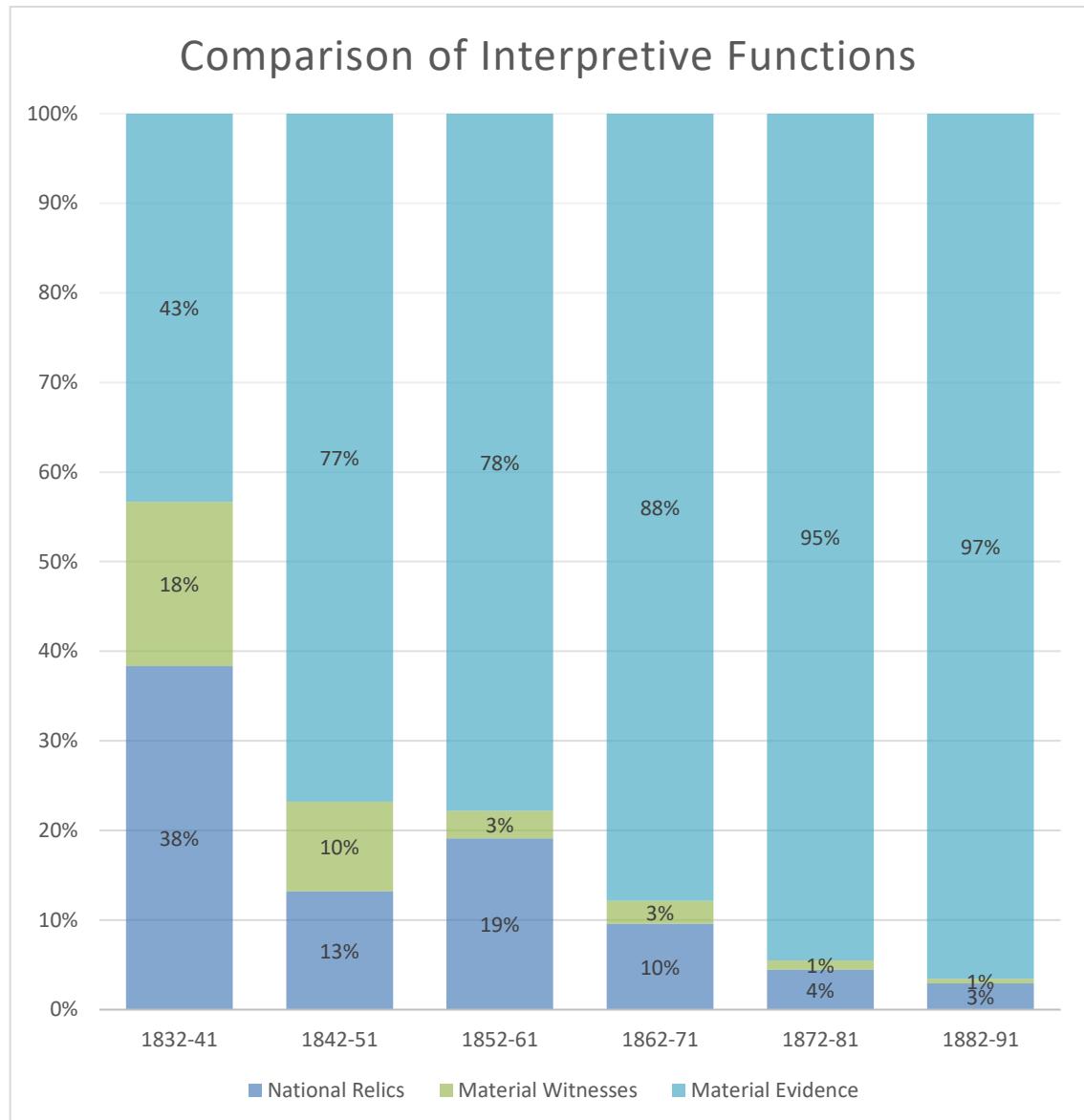
Sources: As for Table 5.

Table 6 Acquisition quantities divided by interpretive function.

Decade	National Relics	Material Witnesses	Material Evidence
1832-41	23	11	26
1842-51	37	28	215
1852-61	56	9	228
1862-71	74	20	679
1872-81	13	3	276
1882-91	28	5	926

Sources: As for Table 5.

Object categories and exhibition

The following tables show the quantity of objects acquired and exhibited by the museum between 1832 and 1891. The tables indicate both the quantity and percentage of objects that were exhibited. Included within these totals are objects that were exhibited when they were acquired, those that accompanied papers, and items that were exhibited on their own and then acquired later.

Table 7 Category and exhibition data 1832 to 1841.

Object Category	Quantity	Quantity of Exhibited
Arms and Armour	16	
Buildings and Features	7	
Charms	1	
Coin Dies and Medals	2	
Domestic Utensils	10	
Dress and Personal Ornaments	3	
Ecclesiastical Buildings	2	
Ecclesiastical Objects	4	1
Horse-trappings	1	
Instruments of Punishment	3	
Miscellaneous	2	
Seals and Stamps	7	
Tobacco and Snuff	2	
Grand Total	**60**	**1 (2%)**

Sources: As for Table 5.

Table 8 Category and exhibition data 1842 to 1851.

Object Category	Quantity	Quantity of Exhibited
Arms and Armour	51	3
Buildings and Features	57	19
Charms	7	
Coin Dies and Medals	12	
Domestic Utensils	45	2
Dress and Personal Ornaments	5	1
Ecclesiastical Buildings	29	10
Ecclesiastical Objects	11	1
Horse-trappings	6	
Instruments of Punishment	5	
Miscellaneous	42	1
Seals and Stamps	8	2
Tobacco and Snuff	2	
Grand Total	**280**	**39 (14%)**

Sources: As for Table 5.

Table 9 Category and exhibition data 1852 to 1861.

Object Category	Quantity	Quantity of Exhibited
Arms and Armour	47	6
Buildings and Features	19	1
Charms	3	
Coin Dies and Medals	35	1
Domestic Utensils	58	2
Dress and Personal Ornaments	38	1
Ecclesiastical Buildings	23	
Ecclesiastical Objects	14	5
Horse-trappings	2	
Instruments of Punishment	4	
Miscellaneous	14	2
Seals and Stamps	28	2
Tobacco and Snuff	8	
Grand Total	**293**	**20 (7%)**

Sources: As for Table 5.

Table 10 Category and exhibition data 1862 to 1871.

Object Category	Quantity	Quantity of Exhibited
Arms and Armour	54	2
Buildings and Features	47	1
Charms	4	
Coin Dies and Medals	164	
Domestic Utensils	131	12
Dress and Personal Ornaments	68	2
Ecclesiastical Buildings	35	2
Ecclesiastical Objects	170	6
Horse-trappings	6	
Instruments of Punishment	6	
Miscellaneous	31	
Seals and Stamps	42	22
Tobacco and Snuff	15	
Grand Total	**773**	**47 (6%)**

Sources: As for Table 5.

Table 11 Category and exhibition data 1872 to 1881.

Object Category	Quantity	Quantity of Exhibited
Arms and Armour	25	4
Buildings and Features	9	3
Charms	2	
Coin Dies and Medals	11	
Domestic Utensils	134	39
Dress and Personal Ornaments	40	
Ecclesiastical Buildings	11	1
Ecclesiastical Objects	12	3
Horse-trappings	7	6
Instruments of Punishment	7	1
Miscellaneous	12	
Seals and Stamps	15	
Tobacco and Snuff	7	
Grand Total	**292**	**57 (20%)**

Sources: As for Table 5.

Table 12 Category and exhibition data 1882 to 1891.

Object Category	Quantity	Quantity of Exhibited
Arms and Armour	149	61
Buildings and Features	68	5
Charms	10	1
Coin Dies and Medals	52	3
Domestic Utensils	383	200
Dress and Personal Ornaments	147	74
Ecclesiastical Buildings	6	3
Ecclesiastical Objects	48	26
Horse-trappings	8	1
Instruments of Punishment	9	
Miscellaneous	31	14
Seals and Stamps	30	2
Tobacco and Snuff	18	6
Grand Total	**959**	**396 (41%)**

Sources: As for Table 5.

The following graph represents the object category data from tables 7 to 12 as percentage of total acquisitions per decade.

Figure 3 Object categories represented as percentage of total acquisitions.

Division of Acquisitions by Category

	1832-41	1842-51	1852-61	1862-71	1872-81	1882-91
Tobacco and Snuff	3%	1%	3%	2%	2%	2%
Seals and Stamps	12%	3%	10%	5%	5%	3%
Misc.	3%	15%	5%	4%	4%	3%
Instruments of Punishment	5%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%
Horse-trappings	2%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%
Ecclesiastical Objects	7%	4%	5%	22%	4%	5%
Ecclesiastical Buildings	3%	10%	8%	5%	4%	1%
Dress and Personal Ornaments	5%	2%	13%	9%	14%	15%
Domestic Utensils	17%	16%	20%	17%	46%	40%
Coin Dies and Medals	3%	4%	12%	21%	4%	5%
Charms	2%	3%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Buildings	12%	20%	6%	6%	3%	7%
Arms and Armour	27%	18%	16%	7%	9%	16%

Sources: As for Table 5.

Papers' Information

The data related to papers from *Archaeologia Scotica* and the *Proceedings* is divided into three sections. The first section contains the quantity of papers presented at meetings and categorised by 'type' of paper as defined by this study. The second section provides information on the occupational background of Fellows who presented these papers. The third section contains tables demonstrating how many papers were accompanied by the exhibition of objects and the acquisition status of these objects. All the data related to papers is divided by twenty-year periods to correspond with the years discussed within the thesis sections.

Quantity and categorisation of papers

A paper has been defined as three or more pages long. Shorter communications of one or two pages have not been included in these figures.

Table 13 Quantity and percentage of papers divided by 'type' of paper.
The papers are divided by this study's definitions of 'type' of paper reflecting the way objects were utilised within each paper and represented in order of what type of sources they examined.

Type of history	Sources	1832-51		1852-71		1872-91	
History from and of things	Material Culture	4	20%	37	24%	89	42%
History from architecture	Material Culture	9	45%	36	23%	36	17%
History from things in texts	Documents	0	0%	13	8%	10	5%
History and things as illustrations	Documents	3	15%	8	5%	6	3%
History without things	Documents	4	20%	62	40%	71	33%
Grand Total		20		156		212	

Sources: NMS, SAS Communications 1842-1852; SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 1-26 (1855-92)*;* SoAS, *Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 and 5 (1857 and 1890).

Background of authors

The following series of graphs combine the occupations of Fellows who presented papers with the type of paper they presented.

Figure 4 Background of authors of papers 1832 to 1851.
Quantity of papers separated by occupation of author and indicating 'type' of paper.
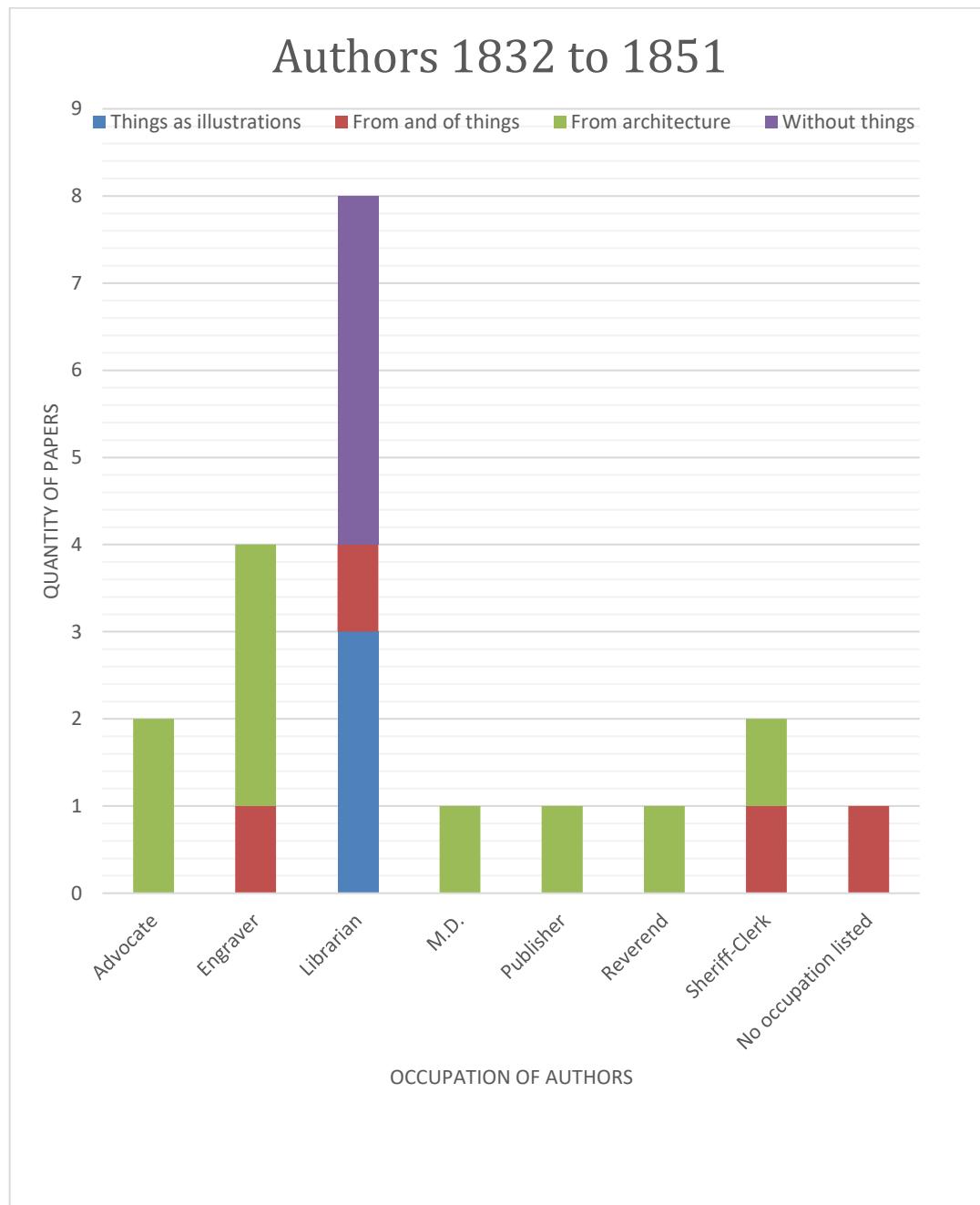
Sources: As for Tables 1, 2 and 13.

Figure 5 Background of authors of papers 1852 to 1871.
Quantity of papers separated by occupation of author and indicating 'type' of paper.
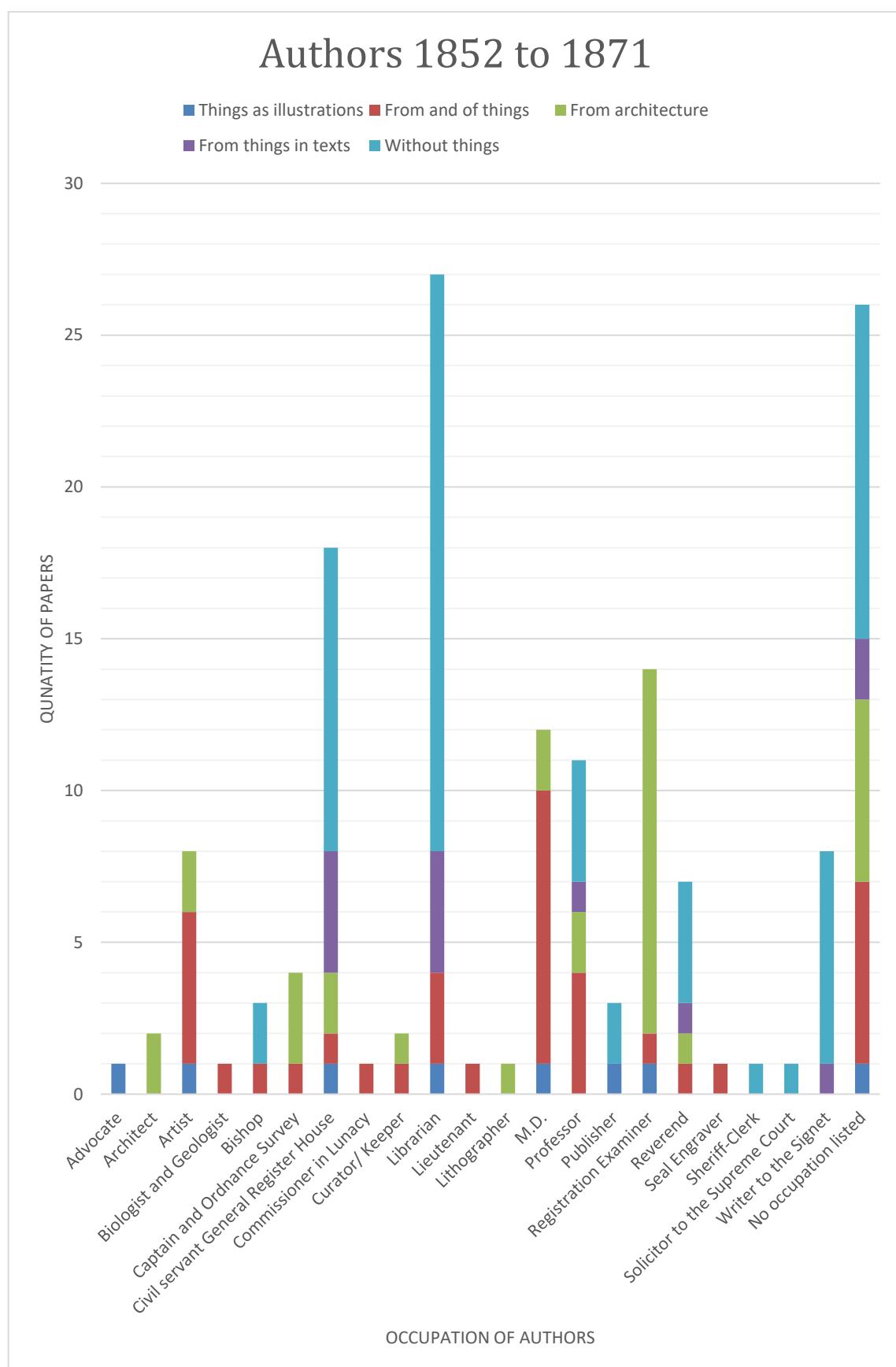
Sources: As for Tables 1, 2 and 13.

Figure 6 Background of authors of papers 1872 to 1891.
Quantity of papers separated by occupation of author and indicating 'type' of paper.

Authors 1872 to 1891

Legend: ■ Things as illustrations ■ From and of things ■ From architecture ■ From things in texts ■ Without things

OCCUPATION (y-axis: 0 to 40)

OCCUPATION OF AUTHORS (x-axis): Advocate, Architect, Artist, Banker, Brewery Owner, Captain and Ordnance Survey, Chairman of training college, Chemist and Lecturer, Civil Engineer, Civil servant General Register House, Journalist, Keeper/Curator, Librarian, Lieutenant Colonel, Lithographer, M.D., Merchant, Newspaper owner, No occupation listed, Politician, Professor, Queen's and Lord's Remembrancer, Registration Examiner, Reverend, Sheriff, Shipbuilder, Silversmith, Solicitor, Solicitor to the Supreme Court, Surgeon, Writer to the Signet

Sources: As for Tables 1, 2 and 13.

Exhibiting objects with papers

The following set of tables contain the quantity of papers that were accompanied by the exhibition of one or more objects and the status of these objects. For this section all communications under three pages in length have also been included.

Table 14 Quantity of papers accompanied by objects 1832 to 1851.

Status of objects	Quantity of papers accompanied by objects
Acquired	3
Private	3
Acquired later	2
Grand Total	**8**

Sources: SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 1-26 (1855-92)*; SoAS, Archaeologia Scotica,* 4 and 5 (1857 and 1890); NMS, SAS Minute Books, SAS.MB.1827-1840, SAS.MB.1840-1853, SAS.MB.1853-1868, SAS.MB.1868-1880, SAS.MB.1880-1887, SAS.MB.1887-1896; NMS, Donations to the Society of Antiquaries 1850-1858; NMS, Register of Donations National Museum of Antiquities 1860-96.

Table 15 Quantity of papers accompanied by objects 1852 to 1871.

Status of objects	Quantity of papers accompanied by objects
Acquired	32
Acquired later	6
Private object copied	1
In Museum	2
In Museum and Private	1
Private	12
Grand Total	**54**

Sources: As for Table 14.

Table 16 Quantity of papers accompanied by objects 1872 to 1891.

Status of objects	Quantity of papers accompanied by objects
Acquired	17
Acquired and in Museum	1
Acquired and Private	2
Acquired Later	14
Acquired Later and Private	4
In Museum	1
In Museum and Private	1
Other Museum	2
Private object copied	1
Private	18
Grand Total	**61**

Sources: As for Table 14.

Appendix II: Spreadsheet categories

- Object name

- Category

- 1892 catalogue number

- 1892 catalogue page

- Associated numbers (from Adlib)

- 1876 catalogue information (if cannot find in 1892 catalogue)

- Exhibited and year

- Owner of object which was exhibited

- Acquisition method

- Associations (historical and/or geographical)

- Interpretive function

- Heirloom

- Minute book reference

- Accession register reference

- Donor name

- SoAS or public donor

- Accession date

- Used in written history (references to papers and monographs)

- PSAS reference (reference to donation in *Proceedings*)

Appendix III: Map of Scotland

Figure 7 Map of Scotland defining areas employed in membership analysis.
Source: Eric Gaba – Wikimedia Commons user: Sting, CC-BY-SA-4.0,3.0,2.5,2.0,1.0 edited to define geographical divisions.

Appendix IV: Royal Institution Plan
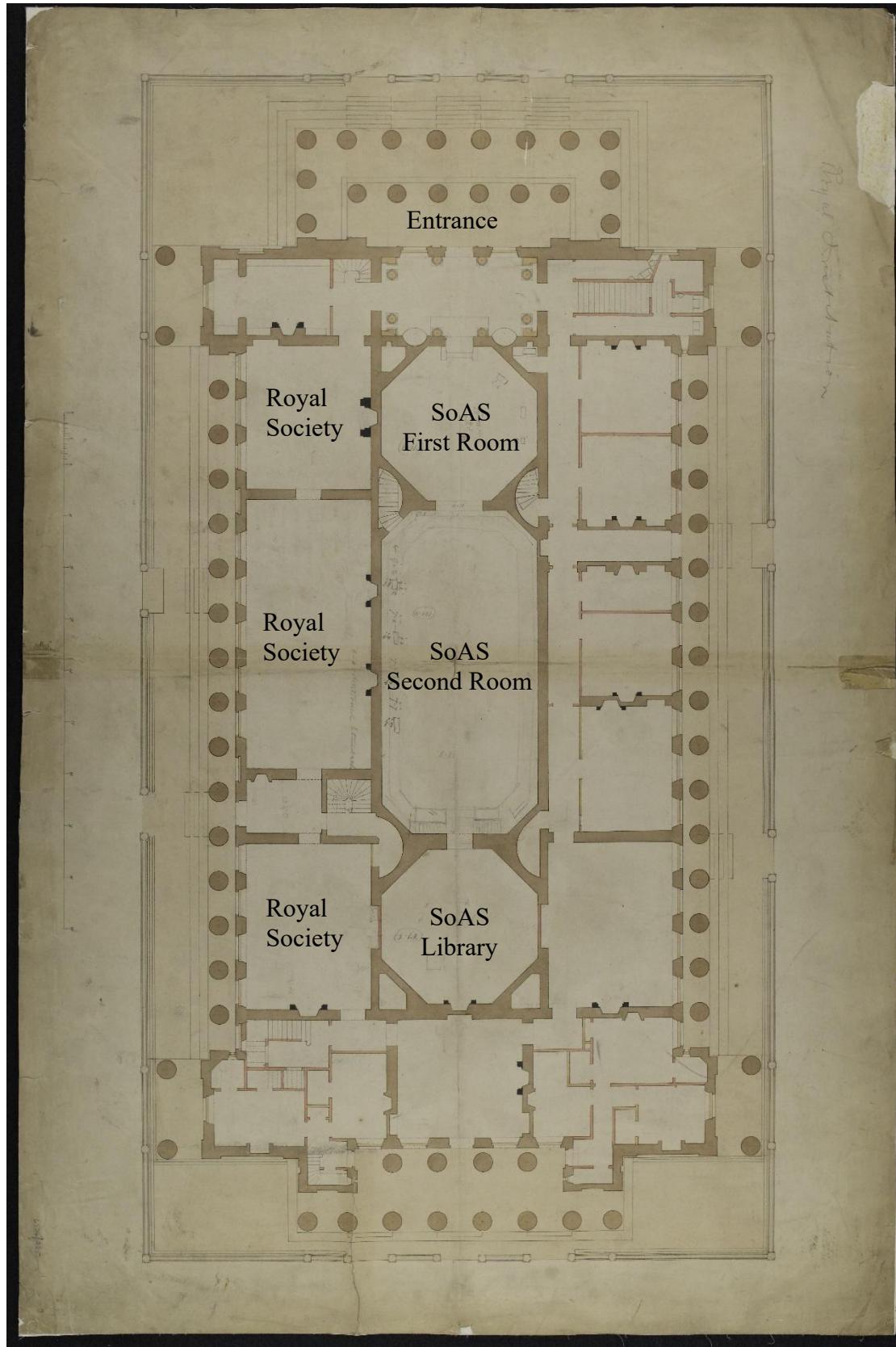
Figure 8 Plan of Royal Institution Buildings, n.d., NRS, RHP6504/225.
Royal Scottish Academy, ground floor, edited to show room locations.

Appendix V: Queen Street Plans
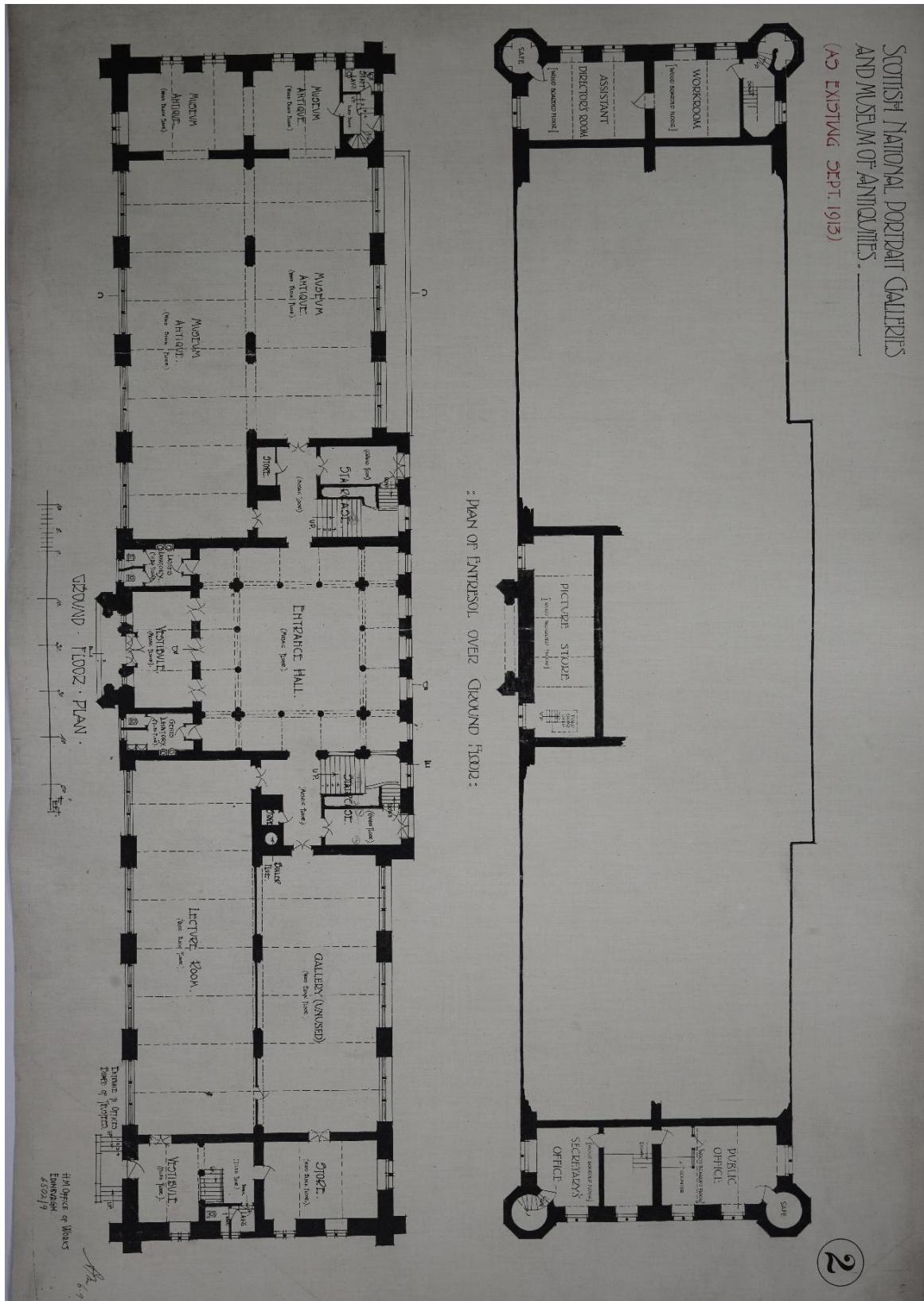
Figure 9 Ground floor plan, Queen Street, 1913, NRS, RHP6502/9.
Plans of Antiquities Museum, Edinburgh.
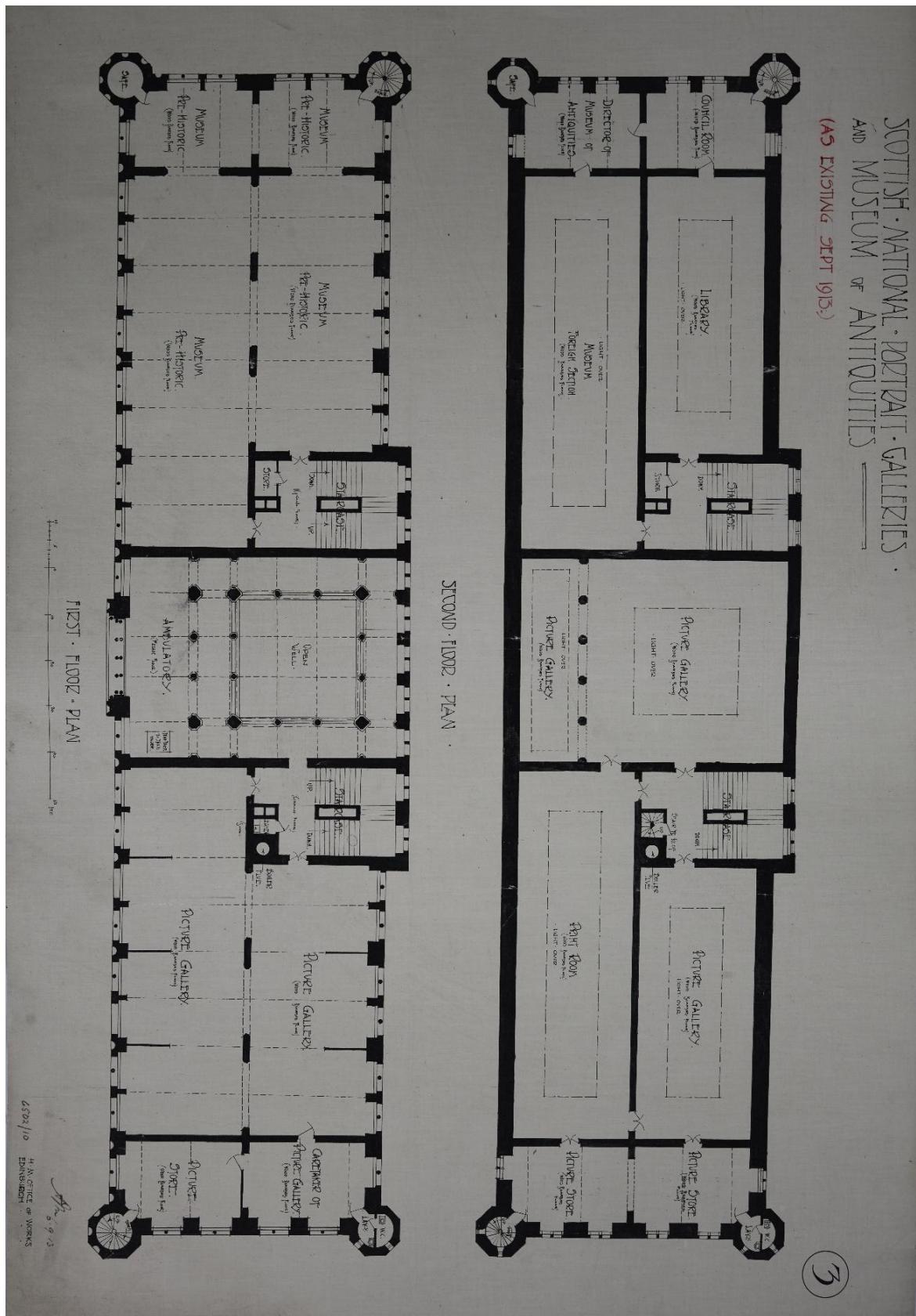
Figure 10 First and second floor plan, Queen Street, 1913, NRS, RHP6502/10. Plans of Antiquities Museum, Edinburgh.

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**Addendum to Collecting the Nation: Scottish History, Patriotism and Antiquarianism after Scott (1832-91)**

Correction of an error in the data and thesis

An error with the data spreadsheets was identified by the author after this thesis had been examined and final corrections accepted. Details and correction are as follows.

In the spreadsheet that contained information on acquisitions, one of the collections donated was listed as being from a member of the Society or SoAS staff. It should have been listed as a public donation. This is because although the collection originally belonged to Fellow of the Society Adam Sim (1805-68), it was subsequently donated by his sister Mary fourteen years after his death. When the author corrected the spreadsheet to identify Mrs Mary White as the donor, the accompanying column indicating status of donor was not updated and the relevant graph was affected. This error applied to the 156 items donated by Mary and due to the size of the collection it invalidated some of the conclusions drawn from that data.

The corrected graph from Appendix I, Figure 1 is as follows:

Figure 1 Comparison of donor status from 1832 to 1891.
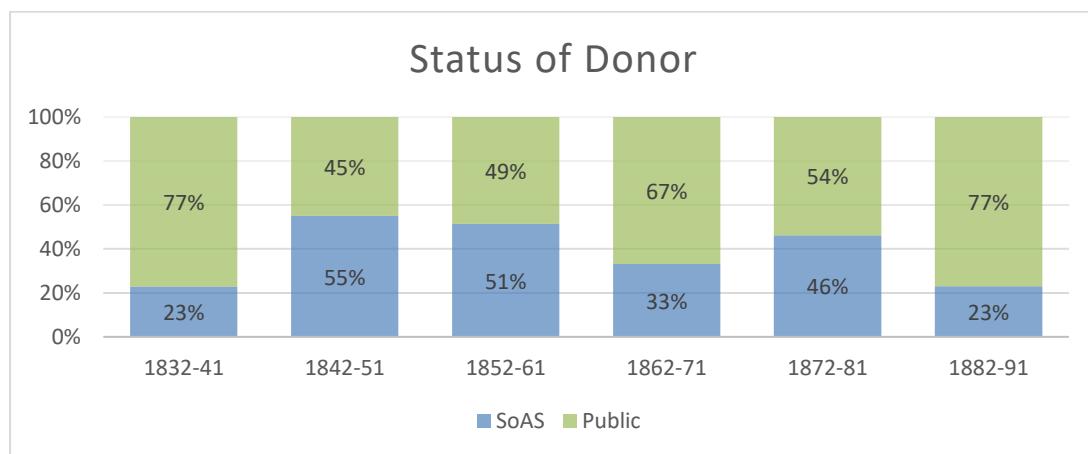
Sources: SoAS, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* **1-26 (1855-92)***;* **SoAS,** *Archaeologia Scotica,* **3-5 (1831-90).**

The analysis of this data in the text in Chapter 6, p. 156, is therefore invalid because public donations to the SoAS museum did not fall after 1882 due to competition from regional museums. In fact, the opposite seemed to be the case. Despite the increase in regional museums in the late-nineteenth century, the SoAS museum continued to attract the majority of its donations from outside the Society's staff and membership.

The relevant spreadsheet in the National Museums Scotland Research Repository has been updated to reflect this correction.