



## Memories of Auld Scotland

IN 1870 or thereabouts, the Otago politician and writer Vincent Pyke had a friendly dispute with a Scottish settler named George Brodie. Though himself an Englishman who had never strayed further north than Cheltenham, Pyke boldly asserted that he understood the Lowland Scots idiom well enough to write in it. To Brodie, such a claim was absurd.

Pyke issued a challenge. He would write a story for Brodie to inspect before sending it on to Messrs Chambers, in Edinburgh, for publication. If accepted, Pyke would win the day. The multi-talented Pyke soon produced 'Lost at the Goldfields: A Tale of the Otago Diggings', which in due course appeared in *Chambers Journal*, and was later republished in Dunedin. It can be read in the Hocken Library's run of the *Southern Mercury*, 11 June 1875, p. 555.

The anecdote not only illuminates one of the many by-ways of the Hocken's Scottish holdings, but reminds us that the whole way of life in southern New Zealand was drenched in Scottishness. Dr Hocken was not a collector of Scottish material for its own sake, and little of that kind of material is recorded here (consult the main University Library for its considerable holdings in Scottish history etc). But the diaries, journals, correspondence, newspapers and published literature of the earlier settlers, particularly during the period up to the 1920s, are so permeated with Scottish connections and allusions that this bulletin can do little more than point the way.

### Art

English rather than Scottish influence predominates in the Hocken Pictures Collection. J.A. Gilfillan and J.M. Nairn are the best-known Scots artists represented, though Nairn only by his work in New Zealand. Others, such as J.H. Scott, were Scots-born. Works depicting Scottish scenes include:

Barraud, W.F. 'Edinburgh Castle', aquatint, undated.

Currie, J.C. 'The University of Glasgow from Kelvin Bridge', watercolour, 1934.

Edgar, J.D. Charlton. 'Solway Bay', etching, 1930s/1975.

Gibb, W.M. 'Pollokshaws, Glasgow', watercolour, undated.

Gilfillan, J.A. 'Dumbarton Castle, from Aberfoil', 'Loch Lomond from Inch Murrin'. 'Glen Iorsa Arran from southwest', 'Greenan Castle coast of Ayr', 'Ivory House Douglas', 'Portencross Castle', 'On the Gair Loch', 'Law Castle, West Kilbride', all pencil, period 1822-41.

Nicoll, A.F. 'Carse of Gowrie', oil, 1916; 'Newhaven, Fifth of Forth', oil, undated.

Roberts, W.S. 'The Old Water-mill, Ardvorlich, Lochearnhead', watercolour, 1875.

Taylor, J.D. 'Loch Scene', oil, n.d.

Thomson, J.T. 'Abbey St Bathans House, Berwickshire', oil, 1878/83; 'Dye Water, Berwickshire', oil, 1854/69; 'Royal Border Bridge, Berwick upon Tweed',

watercolour, 1855; 'View on the Dye, Longformakus, Berwickshire', watercolour, 1855. See also his very readable *Rambles with a Philosopher*, Dunedin, 1867. Portraits are held of the Ettrick Shepherd and other Scots notables (George Rennie for instance), and of emigrant Scots in New Zealand, such as Capt. Cargill. John Brown's cartoons often portray early Dunedin settlers in the trappings of Scottish dress; as does an unattributed 'Scrap Book of Pen Sketches', set on the West Coast.

### Autobiography

Ayson, William. *Pioneering in Otago*, Reed, Dunedin, 1937. From Glenshee, Perthshire.

Begg, Neil. *The Intervening Years*, McIndoe, Dunedin, 1992. Scion of a noted Scottish family.

Barns-Graham, J.W. *Sheep Station, N.Z.*, G. Ronald, Oxford, 1950. Scots settler's New Zealand-born son who shared his life between N.Z. and Scotland.

Campbell, John Logan. *Poenamo*, W. & T., 3rd ed., 1952. Edinburgh-educated doctor who became the 'Father of Auckland'.

Deans, John ed. *Pioneers of Canterbury. Deans Letters 1840-1854*, Reed, Dunedin, 1937. The original Christchurch settler came from Riccarton, near Kilmarnock, hence the transfer of the place-name.

Smith, Sir Sydney, *Mostly Murder*, London, 1959; the boy from Roxburgh who became a leading pathologist in Edinburgh.

Stewart, W. Downie. *The Journal of George Hepburn*, C.S.W. / Reed, Dunedin 1934. Hepburn, from Fifeshire, settled in Dunedin.

Sutherland, Temple. *Green Kiwi*, W. & T., 1956. From Dundee to N.Z. in the 1920s.

### Biography

Beattie, Herries. *Mackenzie of the Mackenzie Country and MacKenzie the Sheep Stealer*, Cadsonbury, 1994, combining the 1948 and 1959 original editions.

Brooking, T.H. *And Captain of Their Souls*, Otago Heritage, Dunedin, 1984. Wm Cargill.

Brooking, T.H. *Lands for the People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of N.Z. A Biography of Sir John McKenzie*, Univ. of Otago Press, 1996.

Eccles, A. & Reid, E.N. *Donald Reid. Pioneer, Statesman, Merchant, 1837-1919*, Dunedin, 1939.

Fenton, P.C. *To Catch the Spirit. The Memoir of A.C. Aitken*, Dunedin, 1995. The mathematics genius who settled permanently in Edinburgh.

Griffiths, G.J. ed. *The Advance Guard*, 3 vols, Dunedin, 1973-74; 17 of the 25 essays relate to Scots settlers.

MacDonald, Sheila. *The Member for Mount Ida*, Ferguson & Osborn, Wellington, 1938. Parliamentarian from Tain, Ross-shire.

McNeish, James. *The Mackenzie Affair*, H. & S., Auckland, 1972. James Mackenzie, the sheep stealer, and his Scottish origins.

McPherson, Flora. *Watchman Against the World*, W. & T., 1962. Norman McLeod and the Waipu Scots.  
 [Quin, Wm]. *Tapanui Station, Brooksdale Estate, 1858–1910*, Quin & Rodger, Tapanui, 1910. J. and D. McKellar, runholders.  
 Robinson, Neil. *James Fletcher: Builder*, H. & S., 1970. Emigrated from Kirkintilloch to Dunedin in 1908 to become a leading industrialist.  
 Robinson, Neil. *Lion of Scotland*, H. & S., London, 1952. Norman McLeod and Waipu.  
 Robinson, Neil. *Not as Strangers*, Auckland 1967. The Scottish background of the extended Fergusson family which provided New Zealand with four Governors and Governors-General; see also Fergusson, Bernard. *The Trumpet in the Hall*, London, 1970, etc.  
 Ross, J. O'C. *William Stewart, Sealing captain, trader and speculator*, Roebuck, Canberra, 1987.  
 Scott, Sheila. *John Bathgate . . . His life and times in Edinburgh, Peebles and Dunedin, 1809–1886*, Peebles, 1977.  
 Stone, R.C.J. *Young Logan Campbell*, Auckland U.P., 1982. Founder of Auckland.  
 Thorn, James. *Peter Fraser. New Zealand's Wartime Prime Minister*, Odhams, London, 1952.

### Business

Angus, J.H. *Donald Reid Otago Farmers Ltd.*, The Company, Dunedin, 1978. Reid was from Perthshire.  
 Lambert, Gail. *Pottery in New Zealand*, Heinemann, Auckland, 1985. Includes Peter McSkimming, from Glasgow, and other Scots.  
 Roberts, A.A. *A Family Affair: a History of Murray Roberts & Co. Ltd.*, Hastings, 1983.  
 Ross, Norah M. *One Hundred Years with Ross and Glendinning Ltd.*, Dunedin, 1967.  
 Stevenson, G.W. *The House of St George. A Centennial History 1864–1964. Irvine & Stevenson's St George Co. Ltd.*, The Company, Dunedin, 1964. James Irvine was from Kilsyth, near Glasgow; William Stevenson, from Beith.

Many other published business histories have Scottish connections, and Hocken Archives holds records from a number of businesses founded by Scots.

### Fiction

Adam, R.N. *The Counterfeit Seal: A Tale of Otago's First Settlers*, Dunedin, 1897.  
 Bathgate, A. *Sodger Sandy's Bairn. Life in Otago Fifty Years Ago*, NSW Bookstall Co., Sydney, 1913.  
 Brown, Esther C. *Scottish Mother*, Vantage Press, New York, 1957. Autobiographical novel.  
 Ferguson, Dugald. *The King's Friend: a Tale of the Scottish Wars of Independence*, Gardner, Paisley, 1905.  
 Hodge, Merton. *The Wind and the Rain*, London, 1936. Based on his stay in Edinburgh for medical studies, and originally a long-running play on the London stage  
 McDonald, Georgina. *Grand Hills for Sheep*, W. & T., 1949. Centennial prize-winning novel of a family emigrating from Lewis to settle in Otago.  
 Summers, Essie. *No Legacy for Lindsay*, Mills & Boon, 1965. Lindsay Macrae emigrates from Scotland to join Euan Hazeldean on Rhoslochan station near Roxburgh. Many of her romantic novels feature Scottish links.

### Genealogy

*The Tartan and the Gold*, issued after the N.Z. Society of Genealogists conference in Dunedin in 1982 contains

several papers of Scottish interest; and see also general works relating to genealogy. The list of booklets with Scottish family coverage is virtually endless:  
 Akers, Molly J. *Macraes to New Zealand*, 1994, 448p.  
 Ayson, Peter D.G. *The Ayson Story. Glenshee to Otago 1853–1990*, 1991, 164p.  
 Calder, D.J. *Genealogical Table of David Calder*, 1949, 32p.  
 Chisholm, Alex. *From Loch Leven to West Taieri*, 1972, 39p. Chisholms.  
 Deuchrass, S.M. *The Blairgowrie McNabs*, 1994, 171p.  
 Gordon, W.A. & Herron, J.A. *The Gordons of Garston*, 1996, 98p.  
 Jeffery, Beverley. *McPherson Family of Dunedin, 1865, 1995*, 207p.  
 Jenks, H.S. *Thomas and Agnes McLennan and Their Descendants*, 1989, 83 leaves.  
 Leitch, A. *The Family Tree and Brief History of Alexander Finlay McKenzie and Elizabeth McFarlane of 'Glen Dhe', Dunrobin, West Otago*, 1994, 116p.  
 McDonald, K.C. *Cairn of Remembrance: Story of the Southland McKerchars*, 1970, 73p.  
 McKerchar, B. *Transplanted Scots: The Thomson Story*, 1991, 48p.  
 McKinnon, K.E. *The McKenzies of 'Mains O' Blair'*, 1971, 82p.  
 McLay, E. Maud. *Scattered Feathers, a McLay History*, 1981, 197p.  
 Murison, Barbara ed. *The Children of the Captain: Stories of the Cargill Family 1813–1983*, 1984, 46p.  
 Neave, E. & M. *The Land of Munros, Merinos and Matagouri*, 1980, 125p.  
 Pearce, D. *A History of the Craig Family: Scotland to Otago, 1858–1990*, 1990, 77p.  
 Reid, Ken. *The Reids of West Taieri*, 1990, 48p.  
 Rutherford, Alma. *From Far Strathearn*, 1983, 48p. McEwans.  
 Somerville, L. *The Otago Somervilles*, 1971, 48p.  
 Trotter, Margaret. *The McRaes of 'Braintra', Hokonui . . .*, 1984, 174p.  
 Walker, J.A.R. *John and Agnes Vesper Walker, of Falkirk and Glasgow, Scotland, and Invercargill N.Z. and their descendants*, 1995, 29 leaves.  
 Williamson, W. & Christie, P. *100 Years on Inverloch*, 1975, 159p. Christies.  
 Hocken Archives holds papers from many Scottish emigrant families, such as Adams, Begg, Cameron, Cargill, Cromb, Farquhar. Gow, Johnstone, McKenzie, McNeur, Park, etc, too numerous to list individually.

### General accounts

Hall-Jones, F.G. *Historical Southland*, Invercargill, 1945. Basically a Scottish province.  
 Hocken, T.M. *Contributions to the Early History of N.Z. (Settlement of Otago)*, London, 1898. The first significant history of the Scottish origins.  
 Kirk, W.R. *Pulse of the Plain. A History of Mosgiel*. Township and its name owed much to the Burns family, and remained strongly Scottish.  
 McLintock, A.H. *The History of Otago*, Dunedin, 1949. Still the most comprehensive account of its Scottish origins.  
 McKenzie, N.R. *The Gael Fares Forth. The Romantic Story of Waipu and Sister Settlements*, W. & T., Auckland, 1935.  
 Pearce, G.L. *The Scots of New Zealand*, Collins, 1976.  
 Reed, A.H. *The Story of Northland*, Reed, Wellington 1956, 1975. Includes Waipu etc.

## Heraldry

The Watt Collection of heraldry includes the late Dr Morris Watt's correspondence with the Lord Lyon King of Arms (the premier officer of arms in Scotland) about the granting of arms to various corporate bodies including the Dunedin City Council, Otago University, and a number of halls of residence and Dunedin secondary schools. Books in the collection include Sir Thomas Innes of Learney's classic, *Scots Heraldry*, and Sir James Balfour Paul's *Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art*, two standard works; also Sir Thomas's *The Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland* (1938) and Robert Bain's *The Clans and Tartans of Scotland. The Surnames of Scotland*, by George F. Black, is of value to genealogists and Albert Mackie's *Scottish Pageantry* is a readable account of historic ceremonies and regalia. A rare volume, one of a limited edition printed in 1866, is *An Inquiry as to the Armorial Insignia of the City of Glasgow*.

## Music

Anon. *Dunedin Highland Pipe Band (Inc) Golden Jubilee*, Dunedin, 1949.  
Entwistle, Bob. *Occasional Fiddle Tunes*, Dunedin, 1990. Gaelic Society and New Edinburgh Folk Club.  
Miller, F.W.G. and others. *The History of the City of Invercargill Caledonian Pipe Band . . . and the Caledonian Pipe Band of Southland, and the Southland Pipe Band, 1896–1996*, Invercargill, 1996; also Miller, F.W.G. *Jubilee of the Caledonian Pipe Band*, 1947.  
Seator, George and Jean. *Celebrating 21 Years of Presenting Scottish Culture to the South*, [1992], Invercargill.

The Hocken holds some sheet music and a number of recordings of Scottish folk music. Consult the on-line index or the Hocken staff.

## Organisations

Anon. *Lodge Otago Kilwinning, No.143. Golden Jubilee*, Dunedin, 1955.  
Anon. *Rules of the Caithness and Sutherlandshire Assn. of Otago*, Dunedin, 1873.  
Anon. *Rules of the Caledonian Society of Otago*, Dunedin, 1906.  
Allnutt, W.C. *Jubilee of Lodge St Andrew No. 432, Scottish Constitution*, Dunedin, 1914.  
Entwistle, Evelyn. *History of the Gaelic Society of N.Z.*, Dunedin, 1981.  
Satterthwaite, Lenore. *The Burns Heritage. A History of the Dunedin Club*. Dunedin, 1991.

### In Archives

Caledonian Society of Otago, 2.2m; minute books of directors' and committee meetings from 1868, annual reports, rule books, press cuttings, programmes etc.; a significant collection. Also the Port Molyneux Caledonian Society, 86–102.  
Dunedin Burns Club; clipping books 1887–1966, minute books 1943–64, letter book 1892–94, rules, programmes 1940s–1980s; a significant collection from one of the oldest Burns Clubs in the world, and the 69th to be affiliated (in 1894) to the Burns Federation.  
Gaelic Society of N.Z. Inc.; photographs, minutes, reports, song book, scrapbook etc.  
Lodges: Papers lodged from the Lodge Otago Kilwinning No. 417, Lodge St Andrew 432, and others with

Scottish affiliations.

Mt Ida Curling Club, 0.1m, 1878–1978; Ranfurly Curling Club, AG301.  
N.Z. Scottish Regiment Ex-Members Assn.; videos of 16mm films, c1941, 96201. Also 2nd Battalion Ex Members, 82–032.  
Orkney and Shetland Society; records 1929–85, 95–127; Shetland Society, formed 1995, 97–095.  
Piping & Dancing Assn of N.Z., Dominion Council, 2.8m; includes correspondence from the 1920s of pipers and dancers emigrating from Scotland; also five 16mm films of Scottish dancing. Ibid, Otago Centre, 0.9m; programmes, minutes etc.  
Royal Scottish Country Dancing Society, N.Z. Branch, Otago Region, records 1955–92, 1m; also McIntosh papers, 97–055.  
Scottish Society of Dunedin Inc., minutes etc 1920–1960s, 2 boxes, 87–040.  
[Note: The substantial records of the New Edinburgh Folk Club are partly of Scots interest, but the Claymore Swords Club was simply a fencing club formed in 1959].

## Presbyterianism

Chisholm, Rev. James. *Fifty Years Syne. A Jubilee Memorial of the Presbyterian Church of Otago*, J. Wilkie etc, Dunedin, 1898.  
Collie, John. *The Story of the Otago Free Church Settlement*, Dunedin, 1947.  
Dickson, J. *History of the N.Z. Presbyterian Church*, Dunedin 1899.  
Elmslie, J.G. *John Elmslie, 1831–1907*, Caxton Press, Christchurch, 1963. Presbyterian minister from Bennachie, Aberdeenshire.  
McDonald, Georgina. *The Flame Unquenched . . . History of the Presbyterian Church in Southland*, Presbyterian Bookroom, Christchurch, 1956.  
McEldowney, Dennis ed. *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840–1990*, Presbyterian Church, Wellington, 1990.  
Matheson, Peter. *The Finger of God in the Disruption. Scottish Principles and New Zealand Realities*, Dunedin, 1993.  
Matheson, Peter. *From Scotland with Aroha. Exploring our Presbyterian Heritage*, Dunedin, 1988.  
Merrington, E.N. *A Great Coloniser. The Rev. Dr. Thomas Burns*, Dunedin, 1929.  
Ross, C. Stuart. *Life and Times of D.M. Stuart*, Dunedin, 1894.  
Somerville, J.S. *Jack in the Pulpit*, Dunedin, 1987.  
[The very substantial Presbyterian literature can be consulted in detail through the indexes].

## Reminiscences of Scotland

Blair, W.N. *Reminiscences of Islay: Highland Scenes and Sketches*, Dunedin, 1888.  
Campbell, Robert. *Reminiscences of a Long Life in Scotland, N.Z. etc*, Dunedin, 1904.  
Lilico, James. *Sheep Dog Memoirs*, Invercargill, 1934.

## Scotland visited or revisited

Bannerman, E. *Notes By the Way*, Waimate, 1918.  
Bell, Sir F. Gordon. *Surgeon's Saga*, Wellington 1968.  
One of several books by New Zealand medical figures who carried out postgraduate study in Edinburgh.  
Baxter, M. *The Memoirs of Millicent Baxter*, Cape Catley, 1981. Her sustained interest in the old clan history also coloured J.K. Baxter's poetry.  
Chisholm, Alec H. *The Incredible Year*, Auckland, 1944; pp. 85–141 etc.

Chisholm, Rev. James. His diary of a tour of Scotland, May-December 1892, is in Hocken Archives, 96–188.  
 Duncan, A.H. *Netherton, or Life in a Scottish Village*, 1887. The author of the classic Otago work, *The Wakatipians*, wrote this pleasant book after he retired to Aberdeenshire.  
 McHutcheson, William. *The New Zealander Abroad*, J. Hamilton, Glasgow, 1888; pp.167–260.  
 Rutherford, A.W. *The Impressions of a N.Z. Pastoralist on Tour*, W. & T. 1912; pp. 96–113.  
 Sumpter, H.K. *Travelling Light*, Invercargill, [1934]

### Scots visiting N.Z.

Begg, James. *A Visit to New Zealand . . .*, 1874.  
 Kennedy, David. *Kennedy's Colonial Travel*, 1876. Noted singer touring New Zealand.  
 Kennedy, Marjory. *David Kennedy, the Scottish Singer*, 1887.  
 Lauder, Sir Harry. *Roamin' in the Gloamin'*, London, n.d.  
 See also the indexes to *N.Z. National Bibliography*.

### Verse

John MacLennan, himself 'a Maori . . . born on the tussocky plains', wrote these lines:  
*My mother has tales of the purpling heather,  
 She tells them so fondly I cannot but hear;  
 And, hearing, I vow I could listen for ever,  
 Tho' often she speaks through a fugitive tear.*  
 His poem 'From Dunedin to Dingwall' (*Neptune's Toll and other verses*, W. & T., 1907), is a typical example of a New Zealander carrying on memories, in this case, of Ross-shire. Other collections of nostalgia and dialect include:  
 Barr, John. *Poems and Songs, Descriptive and Satirical*, Edinburgh, 1861; *Poems*, Dunedin, 1874. Poet to the Caledonian Society.  
 Blair, John. *Lays of the Old Identities*, Dunedin, 1889.  
 Clyde, Alan. *'Te Kooti' and Other Poems*, Dunedin, 1872.  
 Donaldson, R.M. *Scotland For Ever! Bluebell and Heather; songs and poems*, Christchurch, 1932.  
 Ferguson, Dugald. *Castle Gay and other poems*, Dunedin, 1883.  
 Francis, Robert. *A New Zealand Harp*, London, [1926].  
 Hargreaves, R.P. ed. *The Poetical Works of George Scott*, Dunedin, 1982. From Fifeshire.  
 Hogg, William. *Lays and Rhymes*, Nelson, 1875.  
 Kinross, Andrew. *My Life and Lays*, Invercargill, 1899. From Glasgow.  
 Robertson, A.C. *Salt Sea Tang*, Dunedin, 1927. Bard of the Gaelic Society.  
 Smith, Hugh. *Poems by an Ayrshire Scot*, Reefton, 1923.  
 Stenhouse, W.M. *Poems, Songs and Sonnets*, Glasgow 1886; *Lays from Maoriland . . . Scottish and English*, Paisley, 1908. Stenhouse was president of the Dunedin Burns Club.  
 Summers, John. *Simeon Stylites Twa*, Christchurch, 1994. Summers took more than three years to write this 250p work in Lallans shortly before his death.

### Miscellaneous

Anon. *A Souvenir of the Scotch Carnival, Garrison Hall . . .*, Dunedin, 1895.

Anon. *Welcome to Sir John Falconer, Ex-Lord Provost of Edinburgh*, Dunedin, 1948.  
 Cupples, George. *Scotch Deerhounds and Their Masters*, 1894. Published in Scotland, but notable for the Dunedin subscribers who sponsored its publication.  
 Grant, J.G.S. The prolific pamphleteer of early Dunedin, strongly represented in the Hocken, was born in Banffshire.  
 Griffiths, G.J. *In the Land of the Dwindle River*, Dunedin, 1982. Includes Orcadian street names of Palmerston.  
 Perry, Stuart. *The N.Z. Whisky Book*, 1980.  
 Stuart, W.D. *The Satyrs of Southland*, 1982. Illicit whisky distilling.  
 Taylor, D.W. *The Monro Collection in the Medical Library, Otago University*, University of Otago Press, 1979. Medical ms and printed works, 1600–1800, assembled by three generations of a Scottish medical family.

An interesting item is the 1848 Gaelic bible, *Leabrhraichean an T-seann Tiomnaidh, air n tarruing o'n cheud chanain chum Gaelic albannaich*, presented to John Cameron at the Achosmieh School in 1850 as 1st prize for proficiency in English reading, and given to the library in 1969.

*Architecture*: Scottish architects were influential in the early settlement; and the stone buildings of Dunedin, in particular, still show those Scottish influences. Such individuals as Lawson, Troup, Forrester (Oamaru), Salmond and Troup are well represented in the architectural literature, and the Hocken holds some of their plans.

*Maps*: Scotland is represented in a range of atlases, but by only one map — Edinburgh in 1878.

*Microfilm*: Archives of the N.Z. and Australian Land Co., Edinburgh; also material relating to the Otago Association in the N.Z. Company archives.

*Newspapers etc.*: See Trimble's Catalogue p. 399 for Scottish journals in Hocken's original collection (a browse through Trimble will reveal further scattered Scottish material).

*Photographs*: Limited coverage of such subjects as piping, highland dancing and curling (including a fine panorama), as well as portraits of Scots settlers and their descendants; but quite a number of albums donated to the Hocken over the years contain photographs of Scottish scenes.

*Posters*: The Hocken holds several of the early emigration posters that were distributed around Scotland.

*Theses*: People and events of the Scottish settlement of Otago figured among the less exhaustive theses of the 1930s and 1940s. A more recent thesis of note is Margaret Morgan's 'The Right Man for His Time: Donald McNaughton Stuart D.D.', MA, OU, 1992. Many theses are held in the Central Library (such as J.S. Hardy, 'A Study of the Scottish Influence on the Development of Education in Otago, 1848–1856', MA Education, OU, 1973), or the libraries of individual departments. One of interest in the Hocken is: Jonathan Adams, 'Thomas Chalmers and the Condition of Scotland Question: Ideas of a Christian Thinker', BA Hons, OU, 1978.

