Society of Antiquaries of Scotland

‘Remember Now Thy Creator’

Scottish Girls’ Samplers, 1700–1872

Naomi E A Tarrant

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'Remember Now Thy Creator'


A
NEW MAP
OF
SCOTLAND,
for Ladies
NEEDLE WORK.
London.
Published by LAURIE & WHITTLE,
No 53 Fleet Street January 2d
1797.
ORKNEY ISLES
SHETLAND ISLES
Pentland Firth
English Statute Miles
CATH NESS SH.
Wick
SUTHER LAND SHIRE
Lewis
Harris
N.Uist
Skye
S.Uist
Barra
Col
Mull
Tirey
THE WESTERN ISLANDS
Dornoch
Firth of Dornoch
ROSS SHIRE
Tain
Dingwall
Cromarty
Firth of Murray
Forres
Elgin
Banff
Inverness
NAIRN SH.
MURRAY SHIRE
BANFF SHIRE
ABERDEEN SHIRE
Tivie
Inverury
New Aberdeen
INVERNESS SHIRE
Ruthven
MEARNS Cowie SHIRE
ANGUS Brechin Montrose
ARGYLL SHIRE
PERTH Dunkeld SHIRE
Perth
Firth of Tay
Inverary
DUMBARTON SH.
Dumbarton
CLACKMAN SH.
KINROSS SH.
FIFE Cupar
FIRTH of FORTH
Stirling
STIRLING SH.
LINLITHGOW SH.
EDINBURGH SHIRE
HADDINGTON Haddington SH.
BERWICK Berwick SHIRE
Jura
Isla
RENFREW SH.
Renfrew
BUTE
ARRAN SHIRE
AIR SHIRE
Air
LANERK Lanerk SHIRE
PEEBLES Peebles SHIRE
SELKIRK SH.
ROXBURGH Jedburgh SHIRE
IRELAND
KIRKUDBRIGHT SHIRE
Kirkudbright
DUMFRIES SHIRE
Dumfries
WIGTON SH.
Solway Firth
ENGLAND
GERMAN or NORTH SEA

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SCOTTISH GIRLS' SAMPLERS, 1700–1872

Naomi E A Tarrant

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Dedicated to the sampler makers,
known and unknown, who laboured to
produce these 'efforts of an infant hand'
that are commemorated here.

Detail from 6.35, sampler by Margaret Doig. Leslie B Durst Collection.

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This book has been a long time in the making but I hope the wait is worthwhile. It does not pretend to be the last word on the topic, merely an introduction to samplers from a particular area of the world in the hope that others will find them an equally enthralling subject to study. I look forward to others doing some more in-depth studies in the future.

I would like to thank the Publications Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and, in particular, Erin Osborne Martin and Alison Rae. Museum curators in Britain, Ireland and the USA have always been helpful in showing me the collections in their care. These include Dilys Blum, Clare Browne, Linda Eaton, Edwina Ehrman, Rosemary Harden, Carol Humphrey, Anthea Jarvis, Susan Payne, Pamela Parmal, Rebecca Quinton, Christine Rew, Alex Ward and Dr Susan M Parkes of the Church of Ireland College of Education, Dublin. Since I left the National Museums Scotland my former colleagues have been helpful, and I thank them again for their courtesy and help. Many private owners have contacted me over the years about samplers in their care and to them I extend thanks for sending me photographs of their pieces. Margaret Swain's papers have also revealed a wealth of information on samplers that she saw, but these privately owned embroideries are not readily available for others to see and it has been impossible to contact most owners to acquire photographs to use in this book. Dealers, those who sell antique pieces, and needlework dealers who reproduce old samplers have also been generous with their time and knowledge, and I thank Joy Jarrett and Rebecca Scott of Witney Antiques, Amy Finkel, Titi Halle, Erna Hiscock, Margriet Hogue and Jacqueline Holdsworth. Then there are the embroiderers whom I have met over the years at talks, on trips and at memorable meetings where discussion of samplers has ranged far and wide; I think particularly of the two held at Ackworth.

The Internet has been a rewarding hunting ground as most auction houses now have online catalogues with photographs; in the past printed catalogues did not have illustrations of all their lot numbers. EBay has also proved an interesting site to explore, and there are several blogs and some fascinating websites devoted to samplers. All these avenues have over the years produced an incredible number of interesting Scottish samplers, which has made the task of sorting them out and piecing the story together both exhausting and enjoyable. Others to whom thanks are due are Helen and Philip Bennett, Eileen Bennett, Hugh Cheape, Micheál and Elizabeth Feller, Linda Hadden of The Sampler Guild, Lisa Haisch, Ronda Haas-Huntze, Lorraine Mootz, Dorothy Bromily Phelan, Molly Rorke, Alison Rosie and Jennifer Scarce. Above

OPPOSITE. Detail of 1.4. NMS A.1994.1328.

IT 1815. 16⅜ in (41.6 cm) x 12 in (30.5 cm). Micheál and Elizabeth Feller Collection.

all, thanks are due to Leslie B Durst, someone who has been collecting samplers for many years. She has a particular interest and love of those by Scottish girls and has carried out extensive research on the genealogy and background of the makers of the samplers in her collection. Special thanks go to the late Margaret Swain, an embroidery historian who also published widely on textiles and furniture and wrote the definitive account of the embroideries of Mary, Queen of Scots. She always had something positive to say about even the scrappiest effort and taught me much about looking at samplers. Nor should I forget my mother, Annie Davies Tarrant, who first taught me how to embroider; I hope she would have approved of this book.

Naomi E A Tarrant

INTRODUCTION

What is a sampler?

Samplers worked by young girls in the past have long been a subject for books, which often give patterns of old pieces and suggestions for new ones. On the whole, samplers have been viewed solely from the embroiderer's perspective because they have both fascinated and intrigued. However, there is more to these works and recent research has begun to explore other aspects of samplers. This book considers samplers made in Scotland within the context of girls' lives. It is illustrated by a wide selection of pieces from public and private collections and shows the variety that was made by young girls as they learned needle skills.

Today we assume that samplers are embroidered and that those who make them are embroiderers. Embroidery is the decorating of cloth with stitching and is seen as an extra embellishment, not necessary to the function of a garment or piece. But other words that might be used include 'sewing' and 'needlework'. Sewing usually refers to the making of garments, the most important needlework activity, requiring learning how to join two pieces of cloth to make a secure seam. Fabric was expensive in terms of labour and materials in the days when every part of its production was done by hand. Embroidery is an old skill known at least from the Bronze Age, but was not the only way clothes or furnishings could be embellished.

Embroidery has not always been a craft associated with women, and even today in some parts of the world professional embroiderers are men, for example in India. In order to train in the craft skills needed for working embroidery, small practice pieces must have been used, especially when expensive silk or metal threads were involved, and these are the origin of what would become known as samplers. Samplers exist from many European countries dating from the sixteenth century onwards, although little research has been done on some areas. The making of samplers was also transported to the new colonies in America by the mid-seventeenth century,[1] and by the nineteenth century samplers are found from most European countries and from those areas of the world where European influence or colonies existed.[2] Earlier embroidery traditions from the Nazca and Paracas cultures of South America, for example, also created samplers, although they are not well known.[3] The Paracan examples are dated between 800 BC and AD 100, but none appears to have been published. Samplers were also found on archaeological sites in Egypt dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth century AD.[4] Contrary to popular belief, the mainly geometric patterns on these pieces were not copied wholesale by European embroiderers. Geometric designs are well suited both to weaving designs, where threads intersect at right angles, and to embroidery, and there is a very long tradition of these patterns from most civilisations. Both the Egyptian and Paracan examples are true samplers, and as each had a rich embroidery tradition the

workers were presumably trying out stitches and patterns.

DEFINITIONS

The word 'sampler' derives from the Old French word *essemplaire*, meaning an example, which in turn comes from the Latin *exemplum*. In English the word has traditionally been regarded as meaning an exercise in embroidery worked by a young girl as part of her schooling, which is the subject of this book. But there are other meanings for the word, and today if the word 'sampler' is entered into a search engine on the Internet there will be hits for other definitions.

The word 'sampler', or variations of it, was used in both English and Scots from the medieval period onwards and had a common source. Etymological dictionaries help to pinpoint when the object might have been in common use and also at what date it is first noted in both written and printed sources. A search of older dictionaries reveals the meaning of the word 'sampler' when the objects were actually being made. For Scotland, the various languages that were spoken there, Scots and Gaelic as well as English, need to be explored. In Middle English, *saumpleweth* is a sampler of cloth used to match a colour, while a *saumpler* could be a copy of a book from which other copies were to be made, a model, a replica and a surgical instrument, as well as a surname: Stephanus le Sampler is recorded in 1250 but it is not clear to what his surname related.[5] No mention is made of the word, though, in relation to embroidery. There are few dialect words in English for a sampler. *Sampleter* was used in Warwickshire, while *sampleth* was found in Durham, Cumberland, Lancashire and Yorkshire, and *sampluth* too in Yorkshire.[6] Like English, the Older Scots tongue, as the Scots language up to 1700 is known, used the word in the first instance to mean an example to be imitated, a model, for all kinds of things, with its use in embroidery as a secondary definition. It had religious connotations too, as Christ was to be seen as a 'sampler', a model for people to follow. However, in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* there are references to the use of the word from at least 1540 in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts as well as in letters and inventories in the later sixteenth century.[7] This is well before we have any surviving pieces, exactly as in England and Wales.[8]

In the earliest printed dictionary of Scottish Gaelic, Robert Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary in Two Parts* of 1825, *samplair* is given in Gaelic for 'sample', 'example', and in the English–Gaelic section the word 'sampler' appears with *samplair* as its translation. In the Highland Society of Scotland's *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* published in Edinburgh in 1828, *samplair* is included and translated as 'a copy', 'pattern', 'exemplar'. The word 'sampler' does not appear in Alexander MacDonald's *Gaelic and English Vocabulary* of 1741. Later dictionaries, including Edward Dwelly's *Faclair Gàidhlig* (1901–11) seem to follow with *samplair*, although the word has dropped out of today's dictionaries of Scottish Gaelic. Armstrong's dictionary of 1825 with its Perthshire bias might well catch the most reliable version of 'sampler' in Scottish Gaelic, implying also that this was the area where the working of samplers might well have infiltrated the Gàidhealtachd.[9]

EARLY HISTORY

In medieval Europe there were embroidery workshops staffed by professional embroiderers making both church vestments and pieces for secular clients. The so-called Bayeux Tapestry is actually an embroidery that would have been made in a professional workshop, and it demonstrates that such establishments were well known

OPPOSITE. I.1. Maryann Taylor was born in 1796 in Arbroath, the daughter of William Taylor and Margaret Gold. In 1806 she worked her sampler, which shows some similarities with those worked by Mrs Sturrock's pupils in that town, particularly Jesie Balfour's. However, there is no 'school' pattern for any of the girls' samplers, except that they all appear to choose fairly obscure verses. Maryann includes a stag lying down, a very old motif found on seventeenth-century samplers. 20 in (50.8 cm) x 16 in (40.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


WTMOMIT
WT
DT
Range where you rlease in water earth and air
God is in every thing and every wherexx
WSB
© Leslie B Durst Collection


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by the late eleventh century. The apprentices at these embroidery workshops probably learned by doing small examples, and other embroiderers must have tried out new stitches, patterns, effects or colours before they were used on expensive new garments and hangings. So samplers would have existed, they just do not survive from that era, and so far no written evidence of them has been found.[10] Presumably, like many crafts, the skills of the embroiderer were taught by example and working, and not by a written text, and the only printed books that dealt with any aspect of the craft were those with patterns for use in making lace and embroidery that start to appear from the 1520s, published in Germany, Italy and France, although not until the 1590s in Britain. Most of these books copied patterns from each other, so that over about a hundred years there was little difference in the designs produced.[11] It is not clear how widespread domestic embroidery was before the latter part of the sixteenth century, but there is ample evidence for women in their own homes making a wide variety of household and personal items trimmed with embroidery and lace from the mid-century onwards. This suggests that domestic embroidery was increasing.

The professional embroiderers who had staffed the medieval workshops must have found life more difficult after the Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century abolished vestments for churchmen, as these would have been a major part of their work. The royal courts in England and Scotland both used professional embroiderers to make the official pieces, such as coats of arms for thrones or suits of clothing for members of the royal family, and this work continued.[12] Records of the Broderers' Company of London were lost in the Great Fire of 1666 but various articles survive that show that work for professional embroiderers was still important in the seventeenth century and that the traditions of the workshops of the medieval period lived on. In Scotland there is the Hay Banner, possibly worked for the visit of James VI and I to Edinburgh in 1617, a coat of arms and a trumpet banner of Charles II, and a herald's tabard with Queen Anne's Arms dating to 1702–7, all in National Museums Scotland (NMS).[13] As well as these official embroideries there are the two sets of wall hangings known as the Lochleven and Linlithgow hangings and wrongly described as the handiwork of Mary, Queen of Scots, which are also the work of a professional embroidery workshop.[14]

The lack of surviving garments and furnishings before the mid-sixteenth century makes it difficult to assess the importance of domestic work, that is, embroidery done by women in their homes for their own use and not to sell. It is not clear how much making of garments went on at home in this period and how much might have been done by women who made their living from this work. Plain sewing, that is, the making of under- and over-garments and household textiles such as sheets, is a hidden aspect for most periods, while embroidery was to be seen in furnishings and clothing. From the sixteenth century, embroidery on garments becomes more obvious, as the portraits of the period make clear. Surviving inventories also suggest that the increase in wealth led to more textiles being used in homes and many of these were decorated with embroidery. Other crafts that came to be associated with women's skills also became popular at this time, such as lace making and knitting, and both of these were practised by professionals. These too added to the comfort of clothing, the better fit of knitted stockings, for example, or to their decoration, particularly lace, which together with embroidery could add considerably to the cost and elegance of a person's dress. What made all the products of these crafts desirable were the skills that someone who had been well taught and who worked at them all the time brought to them, and that required a professional. Women who were busy running a household, looking after a family or working to earn money for a living did not have time for decorative work. It required time and a father or husband with money to allow a wife or daughter leisure to embroider.

The earliest dated sampler so far found in Britain is that worked by Jane Bostocke for her cousin Alice Lee and dated 1598, although there are earlier dated ones from Germany and the

Netherlands.[15] There are, however, several of the so-called 'spot motif' samplers that might be earlier in date, named from their patterns or small designs, such as an animal, scattered at random over the linen.[16] A recent discovery of a sampler, possibly by Mary Fitzalan, who died aged sixteen in 1557, shows popular blackwork designs, such as those used on shirts and chemises of the period, as well as a Garter motif, relevant as her husband, the Duke of Norfolk, was a Knight of the Garter.[17] Names or initials and dates begin to appear on samplers in the early seventeenth century but do not occur with any frequency until after 1660. So far none of these surviving seventeenth-century samplers with names can be ascribed to Scottish girls.

It could be argued that the word 'sampler' does not fairly describe the embroideries that girls made after the early years of the seventeenth century. Surviving samplers that can be dated before the early 1600s suggest that the samplers were in fact examples of current embroidery patterns and techniques that a woman might want to preserve as a record for future use. It is not clear that they were worked by girls and they could just as easily have been the work of women, who, because the printed pattern books were expensive, chose a sampler as a cheaper way of recording their interests. For example, the Countess of Atholl wrote to her sister Lady Levinstoun in 1560 requesting the return of her sampler, as she had 'many warks [works] begun bydand [remaining] on it'.[18] An embroiderer, having worked the stitches onto cloth, would then have known how to work them again. The Jane Bostocke sampler is a case in point.[19] She was nearly forty when she made the piece for her cousin, who was two years old.[20] It is unfinished, which may mean that Jane died before she could complete it. What survives suggests she is making a pattern book for the little girl with a number of popular designs that could be used for both clothes and furnishings. Wealth increased in the sixteenth century through more trade and new routes, and helps to account for the greater number of household textiles towards the end of the sixteenth century. This trend is very marked in all European countries and perhaps explains why samplers appear in increasing numbers as more and more girls and women were embroidering items.

Spot motif samplers are considered to be the earliest and truest samplers because they show examples of motifs, patterns, stitches and colours (illus I.2). On these pieces the various motifs are worked in a haphazard fashion wherever there is a space and sometimes patches are found in them.[21] Others are more ordered, such as Jane Bostocke's. The designs and patterns could all have been used on contemporary embroidery, as surviving pieces and portraits show. By the mid-seventeenth century the more popular long samplers start to be very ordered, with bands going across the width, and the occasional alphabet, dates and initials are found.[22] Also to be found are white-work samplers that include needle lace patterns and there are some pieces that are half white work and half coloured embroidery.[23] By the eighteenth century the sampler tends to be square in shape and develops into a more structured piece with border, alphabet, name and date, and sometimes with a verse.[24]

COLLECTING AND RESEARCHING SAMPLERS

Interest in samplers started in the late nineteenth century, just as they were beginning to stop being made as a routine part of a girl's education. There are several mentions in the periodical *Notes and Queries* from the 1870s, mainly in connection with the verses on samplers, but it is surprising to find that some of the early writers, such as Mrs Head, do not appear to understand why samplers were made, nor do they record anything about the makers. It is as if these women who wrote about samplers had not made any themselves and therefore did not understand their significance. This is reinforced by the sometimes sneering references to samplers in the press of the late nineteenth century, for example in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* for 27 November 1886, in a review on the improvement in contemporary embroidery. In the 1890s there had been two articles on samplers published

in art journals of the day, but the first attempt to study the history of samplers was by Marcus Huish in 1900. He worked on an exhibition of samplers in London for the Fine Art Society that was enlarged to include 'Pictures in imitation of Tapestry' and miscellaneous embroidered items such as clothing. The book associated with the exhibition, though, dealt only with samplers and pictures, not clothing. A second edition was published in 1913 and until recently was still in print. This book was illustrated with several black and white photographs and a few in colour and attempted to set out a framework for dating samplers. Huish looked for but did not find any regional differences. The book and exhibition led to several other articles being written in various journals, but only one, by Florence Lewer in *The Essex Review* (1908), attempted to look for samplers specific to a particular area. In Scotland, G A Fothergill wrote an article in the journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland on Scottish samplers, but he did not find any of the traits that today can be associated with samplers made there.[25] Subsequently samplers formed part of the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry held in Glasgow in 1911. However, the catalogue was not illustrated with any pieces, and although several samplers have since been identified as being in the exhibition the whereabouts of the majority are now unknown.[26] One aspect of this interest in samplers was that they had a better press in the twentieth century, and they were always good for small filler pieces in the provincial newspapers, such as that in the *Dundee Courier*, 24 October 1929, on 'Why the Sampler has come back into fashion'.[27]

The exhibition in London also appears to have sparked off a collecting mania for samplers among people who already collected embroidery, such as Sir William Burrell. Some of these collections, for example those of Mrs Longman and Dr Glaisher, found their way into major museums, and the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge both hold large collections of samplers from all parts of the world, while Sir William's collection is to be found in Glasgow in the Burrell Collection.[28] Fothergill also mentions a large collection of samplers in the possession of Mr and Mrs C Rees Price in Glasgow, numbering about ninety, although only ten were Scottish. Most of the latter appear to have been lent to the 1911 exhibition. A collection made by Dr Douglas Goodhart in the mid to late twentieth century is now owned by the National Trust and is at Montacute House, Somerset.[29] Sampler collecting fell out of popularity by the mid-twentieth century but the increase in all types of textile sales from the late 1960s onwards led to renewed interest in them and several books were published. One of the earliest and still one of the best is Averil Colby's, published in 1964, in which she attempted to define elements of samplers. Museums also published illustrated catalogues of their sampler collections but today these are published online.[30] Samplers lend themselves to being photographed digitally and as they are flat do not need the kind of mounting or support that clothing requires to show its structure.

Several authors have attempted to use samplers and the embroideries that are closely related to them to study aspects of women's lives. In America samplers have long been regarded as 'folk art', which they are not. Folk art can be defined as the work of artists who follow current trends but have not had the training, so that their work has a naïve quality to it. In America, for example, this includes many portrait painters. It can also include objects that are not part of contemporary culture but which have a specific relevance and use to 'folk', the people, usually in rural areas, who make and use objects for their everyday work, for example bird decoys. Samplers do not fit into either of these categories and should be seen as part of mainstream culture

OPPOSITE. I.2. Spot motif sampler, early seventeenth century, showing various motifs and patterns suitable for cushions and covers, with a small patch in the bottom left corner. This sampler could have been worked by an adult rather then a child and shows a wide variety of stitches. Linen worked in silks and metal threads in braid, Ceylon, buttonhole, double running, eyelet, long-armed cross, rococo, satin, tent and pulled stitches. 18¾ in (47.6 cm) x 8¼ in (21 cm). NMS A.1962. 1058, formerly in the collection of the Needlework Development Scheme.

worked by young girls. Seeing samplers as part of a folk art tradition has led some writers to view them as naïve, but all children produce such work before they have learnt the requisite skills. Other writers with a feminist perspective have used samplers and embroideries to look at the way women were regarded in the past, and how they themselves saw their position, with reference to the subject matter of their work.[31] Examples include the seventeenth-century embroidered pictures with their emphasis on depicting some of the female heroines of the biblical stories, such as Esther, Judith and Susannah. The verses on samplers have also attracted attention in studies about the religious attitudes of the period, particularly, through the morbid quality of some works used, the attitude to death.[32] Recently, more research has been directed to studying any regional differences, as well as identifying schools or teachers by the style of work produced by their pupils.[33] Following on from the work of Betty Ring, several major regional surveys in America have recently been published. But there is still much that can be learned about girls' lives by studying their most famous surviving work, their samplers.

Collecting may be the most obvious afterlife for samplers, but an intriguing and unexpected use can be found in the pages of *Hansard*, the official report of the proceedings in the Houses of Parliament. In 1908 the United Kingdom government introduced the Act that is regarded as one of the foundations of the modern welfare state, the Old-Age Pension Act. This gave pensions to people aged seventy and over from January 1909. Because the government had estimated the number of likely seventy-year-olds from the 1901 census returns, they were alarmed by the greater numbers who actually came forward to claim pensions. This meant an increase in the money needed to cover the extra number of pensions and required asking Parliament to vote for additional funds. On 1 March 1909 there was a debate in the House of Commons on the Supplementary Estimates for 1908–9 regarding the extra funding required for Old-Age Pensions. The debate was long and detailed with instances of some Members of Parliament bemoaning the fact that some people were cheating and others saying that proving entitlement to a pension was proving difficult for some people and that the appeals procedure against refusal was flawed. In the middle of the debate Mr Burns, the President of the Local Government Board, which was responsible for the administration of the Act, spoke of the difficulty the administrators found themselves in because of the absence of baptismal certificates and other documentary evidence. He then went on:

> It has been sometimes interesting, at times pathetic, at times humorous, when one saw the way in which some of the applicants brought auxiliary evidence of their ages. One of the most interesting cases which I had submitted to me was that of a lady of Irish nationality whose only evidence that she was seventy-two was a sampler which she had made when she was a girl of ten or twelve years of age. In the corner of the sampler was worked a record of her birthday in 1836. That was the only evidence she had and the Pension Officer went into her case, and I personally concerned myself in it. It shows how much harm may be done if great trouble is not taken in a case like that. The lady admitted that she had begun crocheting in the date in the right-hand corner, but her mother represented to her that the two corners were not exactly the same. The applicant remembered that she had picked half the '1836' out of the sampler, and then put it on one side, and had left it for forty years. The old lady was asked whether the half of the 36 left in the corner of the sampler was not her real age.
>
> That was a case in which the President of the Local Government Board had personally to intervene, and I can say that nothing gave me greater pleasure than on Sunday night last to walk across Clapham Common, with two inches of snow on the ground, to visit the old lady, who was in her bed, and to inform her

> that in my judgment it had been satisfactorily determined she was more than entitled to the benefit of the doubt.

Proving their age was considered to be relatively easy in England and Wales, which had had registration of births, marriages and deaths since 1837, but much more difficult in Ireland, where such registration was only introduced in 1864. The 1841 and 1851 censuses were also permitted but the irregularities of these and inconsistencies between the two made it difficult to rely on them. During a debate in the House of Commons in May 1909 on the large number of people in Ireland disallowed pensions because they did not have any documentary proof of their age, the following contributions by members are of interest:

> Mr T M Kettle: I remember one afternoon, on which the President of the Local Government Board of England came down and told us a very pathetic story, which was received with the enthusiastic approval of the House, of how he had tramped over the snow, down somewhere near Clapham Common, to visit an old lady, and how he had directed that she should be paid an old age pension, although the chief evidence, and the only evidence, on her behalf, was a year which was worked on a sampler. I am not sure that I know what a sampler is, but my hon. Friend near me tells me it is something which was worked in wool. At any rate in this case the date was worked upon it, which the President of the Local Government Board thought was sufficient evidence on which to grant a pension at Clapham. I suppose it was, but I do not think it would be held sufficient evidence by the Local Government Board in Ireland; so far as I know there is no human being of the type of the President of the Local Government Board connected with that office who would tramp two miles across the snow to award a pension to anybody, except perhaps himself.

Another Irish member, T P O'Connor, later in the debate remarked, 'I notice that my young Friend with all his erudition did not know what a sampler was, but a sampler to me is like some dim familiar affectionate echo from that past which, in my case, spreads over a much longer period of life than that of my young Friend. A sampler was a familiar article of furniture, if I may so describe it, in every household in Ireland when I was a boy, the same age as my hon. and learned Friend.'[34] How many people were able to claim their pension by this means is not known, or if a sampler ever proved a person's age for any other reason.[35] Indeed, it is a good thing that the elderly lady mentioned did not unpick her age or date from the sampler, as some girls are thought to have done.

1.1 and 1.2 Front and back of Lady Ann Duff's sampler bag that held her executry papers, possibly early seventeenth century, linen worked in silk. It shows various small motifs including a deer, pelican in her piety and a rose that may be the model for a later square-headed flower found on some samplers. NRS GD248/27/1, reproduced by permission of The Earl of Seafield.

CHAPTER 1

Scottish samplers

EARLY EVIDENCE FOR SCOTTISH SAMPLERS

As in the rest of Britain, references in written sources mentioning samplers appear in Scotland before there are any surviving pieces. One of the earliest so far found is in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts for 1540:[36]

> Item, send to Lady Jean vij hank of sindry howis of Paris silk, weyand twa unces half unce, price of unce vj s, Summa xv s
>
> (Item, sent to Lady Jean 7 hanks of sundry colours of Paris silk, weighing two and half ounces, price per ounce 6 shillings Total 15 shillings [Scots])

> Item, gevin for ane elne fine bontclaytht to be hir samplaris, price thairof ij s
>
> (Item, given for an ell fine bontcloth [boutcloth] to be her samplers, price thereof 2 shillings [Scots])

Lady Jean was Jean Stewart, one of James V's illegitimate children, born about 1533, so she was seven years old at the time she received the linen and silks for her samplers.[37] The king took responsibility for all his children born out of wedlock, so their names occur at various times in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts.

An entry in an inventory of 1561 suggests fabric that has had the design drawn onto it:[38]

> 'Twa samplar peces of cammes pennit to be sewit.' 'Pennit' literally means having quills, but as quills were what was used for writing with at this period the context suggests the canvas had been prepared with a design ready to be worked.

Another early record is from the Glasgow burgh records dated 15 March 1577:[39]

> This quilk daye Jonet Finny, sewister, is decernit and ordanit be probaoum of famous vitnes, to delyuer to Jonet Maxuell, dochtir to George Maxuell, four sampillaris within xv dayis nixt.
>
> (This day Jonet Finny, sewer, is judged by evidence of a reputable person to the court and ordered to hand over to Jonet Maxuell, daughter of George Maxuell, four samplers within fifteen days.)

It is not clear from this why Jonet Finny had the samplers or what kind they were. Was Jonet Maxuell another sewer, or a teacher, or were they some she had inherited and did Jonet Finny steal them or borrow them or pretend they belonged to her?

A recent discovery of a spot motif sampler in the National Records of Scotland (formerly the National Archives of Scotland) suggests that Scottish girls also made this type. This particular sampler has been made into a bag and survived because it contained the Executry papers of Lady

Ann Duff (illus 1.1 and illus 1.2).[40] A label attached to it reads: 'this Bag contains Papers relative to Lady Ann Duff to be given to Sir James Grant of Grant in the event of her death & before her interment'. It was hoped that Lady Ann had made the sampler as a girl, but it is almost certainly a good deal older.[41] It is of linen, much worn and rather sparsely worked in coloured silks with motifs, some not finished, but a search of published samplers for comparison does not lead to any conclusion about its date or indeed its place of origin. The most likely explanation is that the sampler was found in either her marital or girlhood home and, being practical, she used it as a receptacle for her papers.[42]

The only reference to an existing seventeenth-century Scottish sampler is found in the catalogue of the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry held in Glasgow in 1911. It was worked by Helen Boggie and dated 1689. There was no description included in the catalogue and its present whereabouts are unknown, so the development of specific Scottish traits in samplers before the early eighteenth century is unclear.[43] None of the names on surviving seventeenth-century samplers are particularly Scottish, and in fact it is difficult to place where the majority of girls who made them lived within the British Isles. Only the recording of their teacher's name or initials as well as their own allowed the identification of a school run by Judah Hayle in Ipswich in the 1690s.[44]

Perhaps the way samplers were collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has meant the loss of any firmly dated Scottish samplers before about 1714. The delightful band samplers of the seventeenth century appear to have appealed particularly to collectors, and dealers obviously combed the countryside for them. Collectors such as Sir William Burrell were not interested in provenance when attached to samplers, or indeed to any other decorative domestic items, unless they had a connection to a royal or notable person. This meant that they were sold without their personal history. Moreover, owners often wished to remain anonymous or did not in fact know the identity of the person named on the sampler or how they might relate to their family. Family history research was not well developed and the means of tracing families in detail was a truly difficult task without the benefits of modern computer programs and the industry of volunteers who have transcribed and published all types of archive material.

A further difficulty is the way items were inherited in the past. Small items could also be given to friends or family members. This is probably how the Kerr samplers arrived at Fingask Castle, Perthshire.[45] They probably came to the castle through the marriage in 1792 of Janet Murray Scott-Kerr, daughter of William Kerr of Chatto and Sunlaws and Elizabeth Graeme, with her cousin Patrick Threipland of Fingask. The names on the samplers are Stwart [sic] and Nancy (illus 1.3). These were Janet's brother Stewart, born in 1774, who died in 1797, and her youngest sister, Rebecca Agnes, known as Nancy, born 1777 and died in 1796, and the samplers probably found their way to Fingask when the family home was broken up. This is one of the few instances where it is certain that a boy made a sampler.[46]

Surname changes could occur where an inheritance required it and this can lead to further confusion. Textiles were expensive and clothes were often left to named individuals in wills. Even if the garments did not fit they could have been altered or sold, but household textiles would not have required any alteration. James Beattie, the poet and Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen University, bought a large quantity of household textiles at a roup, including sheets and tablecloths, on 27 November 1775 from William Urquhart of Meldrum's effects, which were sold after his death.[47] If these had been marked with Urquhart's initials, Beattie would have had them unpicked and re-marked with his own. This was a trick also used by thieves to disguise theft. All these factors have a bearing on the true provenance of samplers, and it is not always easy to determine how a piece was acquired or how it relates to the present owner.

Samplers are not usually mentioned in inventories but a rare occurrence is to be found in the

very detailed inventory of the House of Burray, Orkney, drawn up in 1710. After going through the various rooms of the house listing all the items in them, there is given a list of a miscellaneous collection of things 'found in the Studdie'. Together with Sir Archibald Stewart's silver-handled sword, a pair of Hudson's Bay beaver gloves and footsocks, baby clothes, twenty pieces of wallpaper and a good deal of cloth, is:[48]

It. two samplers for Children.

This early reference to samplers that actually existed proves that Scottish girls were using them even if the reference implies that the samplers were for children's use and not necessarily by them. But the question then arises as to how they were to be used: as a set of motifs to be copied, or perhaps as a pattern for copy when making their own samplers?

SURVIVING SAMPLERS

Apart from the sampler by Helen Boggie and Lady Ann Duff's bag which can be deemed to be seventeenth-century, there are very few samplers dating before 1740. The sampler by HB in the National Museums Scotland collection is, sadly, too late to be considered Helen Boggie's. Based on the dress of the little girl, it is more likely to date from about 1710–20 (illus 1.4). The earliest known dated piece is an alphabet sampler of 1713, now in a poor condition, but it has alphabets worked in red and green, a feature that two samplers dated to 1729 share: Isobel Lumisden's and one by an unknown girl (illus 1.8).[49] Other samplers date to the first four decades of the eighteenth century, including an all-letter one by Dorothy Greame [sic], 1734, with the Lord's

1.3 St[e]wart Kerr of Chatto and Sunlaws' sampler, made of fabric similar to sackcloth and worked in wool, *c.* 1780. WK stands for William Kerr Scott-Kerr, Stewart's father who died in 1782. EG is his mother Elizabeth Graeme, then the initials of his siblings, Alexander, Robert, Elizabeth, Barbara and Janet who married Patrick Threipland 21⅝ in (54.9 cm) x 10¼ (26 cm). NMS A.1993.55.

LEFT. 1.4 HB's sampler of *c.* 1710–20, showing the sampler maker in her striped dress and embroidered apron. This piece shows all the elements of an early Scottish sampler with red and green letters, more than one alphabet and crowned family initials, worked in silk on linen. 16½ in (41.9 cm) x 7⅝ in (19.4cm). NMS A.1994.1328.

OPPOSITE. 1.5 Dorothy Greame's sampler dated 1734 has the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, worked in silk on linen. 12 in (30.5 cm) x 8⅛ in (20.6 cm). NMS A.1962. 1056, formerly in the collection of the Needlework Development Scheme.


ABCDEF IKLMNO RSTVWX
THE LORDS
OUR FAHER WHC
THY NAME THY KI
WILL BE DONE IN
SAME IN HEAVEN
GIVE VS O LORD
FORGIVE OVR DE
TRESPASSES AS
LEAD VS NOT INTO
EVIL KEEP US FREE
FOR THINE IS THE KINGDOM
IS TIME TO REMEMBER
THE TEN COMMANDMENTS
THOV SHALL HAVE NO OTHER
GODS BVT ME NOT MA
NO IMAGE BOWE THE
KNEE TAKE NOT THE
NAME OF GOD IN VA
IN DO NOT THE SABB
ATH DAY PROFANE
HONOVR THY FATHER AND MOTHER
THOU MAY SEE THAT THOU MO MV
THER DO FROM THE MALICE OF
EP THEE CLEAN BEAR NOT AGAINS
NST THY NEARE BE MEAN TALES
WITNESS BEAR THOU
NOT OF THAT WHICH
IS THY NEIGHBOURS
DO NOT COVET
DOROTHY
CRAMER
SAMPLER 1734

Prayer and the Ten Commandments (illus 1.5).[50] In the tradition of seventeenth-century band samplers is Jean Morison's of 1728, with band patterns and small motifs as well as several alphabets (illus 1.6).[51] Baby Hunter's sampler of 1737 is a typical long sampler with bands, alphabets and family initials. Although it was given to the National Museums Scotland by a descendant, nothing was known about the maker and his strange name, or indeed if it was worked by a boy, as the donor believed.[52] By the 1730s the square design was being made, for example by Agnes Morrow in 1736 and Bethia Campbell in 1737.[53] But the samplers still had band patterns, alphabets and small motifs (see illus 7.6). Pictorial samplers appear to become popular in about 1740 when Jean Murray worked hers with a house as well as bands and mottoes (illus 6.2).[54] She also included the Ten Commandments and her parents' initials. This appears to be the date when the characteristics of samplers made in Scotland become more obvious.

Most of the early samplers where the girl has been identified were by the daughters of lawyers, merchants or burgesses in the larger and wealthier trade incorporations, and most lived in the larger towns or cities such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth and Aberdeen. But there are too few samplers surviving from the period before 1740 to say these were the only girls making samplers. By the second half of the eighteenth century girls from a wider background are recorded, girls such as Isabel Ramage, 1770, whose father was a porter; but what did such a description mean at the period? There is no definition in the *Scottish National Dictionary* that fits an occupational description, so presumably the term is English.[55] Men could change their occupations several times, as noted in parish records and the later census, so what a man did at the time of a child's baptism may well have changed when she came to make a sampler. Later in the eighteenth century, probably because the provision of education for girls was increasing, samplers are found worked by girls from more rural areas and from less wealthy backgrounds. But it was the provision of schools to the wider community that saw the spread of sampler making to all levels of society and throughout the whole country. In some areas, such as the Hebrides, the Northern Isles and the Highlands, the surviving samplers are mainly quite late in date (illus 1.9). One early example is the sampler made in 1818 by Ann MacColl, the minister's daughter in Tiree, a small island in the Hebrides off the west coast of Scotland, which illustrates the problems girls in such a remote community faced (illus 1.10). Tiree had a relatively large population at the time and in the 1790s *Statistical Account*, written by Ann's father, the Reverend MacColl, there was felt to be a need for more schools and especially one for girls. It is possible that Ann's sampler was worked in a school that was set up in the early years of the nineteenth century as a result. Samplers are recorded by the daughters of weavers, tailors, vintners, farmers, fleshers, servants, bakers, joiners, sailors, innkeepers, maltmen, gentlemen, soldiers, labourers, shipmasters, shoemakers – in fact virtually all possible occupations. What is surprising is that samplers by the daughters of the nobility are rare for any period, as these are the children who would have been expected to have a good education for their time and their parents had the money to acquire it. This is also the case in the rest of the British Isles.

OPPOSITE. 1.6 Jean Morison's sampler of 1728 is narrow with alphabets, band patterns, boxers, small motifs and initials worked in silk on linen. 18 in (45.7 cm) x 8⅝ in (21.9 cm). NMS A.1927.775.


Eccles 1841
Mary Macrae • Stornoway • January 1859
© Leslie B Durst Collection


© Leslie B Durst Collection

OPPOSITE. 1.7 Mary Macrae's sampler of 1859 includes a script-style alphabet as well as older style ones. Lewis is a Gaelic-speaking area but Mary's sampler is in English, the language that the government required everyone to learn. Gaelic was probably her first language which she would speak at home. She was the daughter of Angus Macrae and Ann Murray, born April 1843 and baptised 2 January 1844 in Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, in the Outer Hebrides. She married Donald Smith of Uvia Mhor, Lewis and they emigrated to Marston Township, Compton County, Quebec, Canada, where they had seven children. Mary died in 1917. 16¼ in (41.3 cm) x 16¼ in (41.3 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

LEFT. 1.8 Another early sampler dated 1729 by an unknown girl, worked in silk on linen. This is similar to others that can be dated to the 1720s and early 1730s such as that by Isobel Lumisden (see illus 7.1) with several alphabets in red and green, and crowns. Although there is a date and initials, the maker has not included her name. 16⅝ in (42.2 cm) x 8⅛ in (20.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


© Leslie B Durst
Collection

OPPOSITE. 1.9 Isobel Douglas, dated 26 September 1729. A squarish sampler worked in bands and including three alphabets, although none are in red and green, and family initials. In the lower half are the three most common reversed-flower bands, one with lover's knot, one with six-petal flower and twisted stem, and one with a beaded stem. At the bottom is another leftover seventeenth-century device of small animals including a moth and caterpillar. It is worked on very fine linen in silks. Isobel was the daughter of John Douglas and Janet Muir and was baptised in Edinburgh on 1 March 1717, so was twelve when she worked her sampler. Her father was an armourer and deacon of the Hammermen, a major incorporation as guilds were known, which covered any trade that meant working with a hammer on metal. The Hammermen had been entrusted with the Blue Blanket, presented by King James III to the craftsmen of Edinburgh for their help freeing him in 1482. Isobel therefore belonged to a family of some importance in the city. 21 in (53.3 cm) x 17½ in (44.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

RIGHT. 1.10 Ann McColl's sampler dated 1818 was worked on the island of Tiree. 15¾ in (40 cm) x 7½ in (19 cm). © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection E.1953.92, reproduced by permission.


All flesh is grass and the glory of man as the
flower of grass the grass withereth and the
flower thereof falleth away but the word
Of the lord endureth for ever 1 Peter 1 24
WG
WG CG
IGJ

CHAPTER 2

Samplers in the schoolroom: education for girls

This chapter aims to place the making of samplers within the context of education of girls in Scotland. It is a complex and controversial subject, and we can only hope to give an outline here. There is also the difficulty of teasing out the provision for girls as opposed to boys, and where these provisions were intended for all children, whether they were in fact applied equally to girls and boys.

Where did girls in Scotland learn to make samplers and why? Current research suggests that the majority of samplers were made in a school of some kind, or with a teacher who specialised in sewing and embroidery, rather than at home with their mother or other female relative. Evidence for girls' education is not easy to come by in general for Britain but even less so for Scotland. Most studies that feature women's education have tended to look at the battle for girls to learn academic subjects and the admission of women to university. Recent work has concentrated on the daughters of the elite, where more plentiful records in the form of letters and accounts survive in family archives.[56] The education of middle-class girls, however, has been less easy to study.[57] Much less has been written about the education of girls from their early years, what today we would term their elementary education, to the time they might go to a boarding school from about the age of twelve, if they belonged to upper- or middle-class families. By this time most girls would have made an alphabet sampler and any needlework they did at boarding school was likely to be of a more specialist nature.

By the seventeenth century, boys were taught a range of subjects including Latin, rhetoric and possibly arithmetic, geometry and surveying, and they might also learn music and dancing. There was no attempt to teach them trades or crafts, which were the preserve of the apprentice system, jealously guarded by the guilds, or incorporations as they were known in Scotland. Girls, however, were required to learn different skills. For them the housewifely arts were seen as important and most of these could be learned at home. For girls higher on the social scale, learning the ways of 'polite society', what later became known as 'being finished', was important.[58]

In 1560 Scotland became a Protestant Presbyterian country and the new religious leaders set about devising a structure of government for their congregations. Education was seen as important and knowledge of reading was required of all children because they needed to

OPPOSITE. 2.1 Mary Gibson's sampler of 1822 was worked at the school at Forester's Croft on the Strathallan estate in Perthshire, on a wool ground in silk. So far, no suitable candidates for her have been found in the baptism registers. Her sampler is full of small motifs including Adam and Eve, peacocks, corner designs and a large building with three doors. Her parents were probably WG and IH as these initials are worked more prominently than the others. Mrs Henderson was probably the teacher. 17¼ in (43.8 cm) x 13¼ in (33.7 cm). NMS A.1966.341.

be able to read the Bible in their own language. Salvation was to be achieved through justification by faith, obtained by an individual's reading the Bible and hearing sermons given by godly ministers, not through the intercession of saints or priests. *The First Book of Discipline* set out the objectives of the reformers for a school in every parish. They had hoped to use the money and lands of the old monastic foundations as the basis for funding the new schools, but the laity, particularly the nobility, frustrated this laudable aim by taking much of the land for themselves.[59] The idea of education for all therefore suffered a setback and it was hard work in a poor country to establish a nationwide school system that would serve all children in all communities within Scotland. In 1616 an Act was introduced that placed the burden of providing schools on all members of a parish, making it a community function. In 1633 another Act provided for levying a tax on the heritors (landowners) for the provision of a school, although the effect of both these Acts appears to have been negligible. The seventeenth century, though, was a time of war and famine in Scotland and the various attempts to provide schools in each parish produced mixed results, although research has proved that more schools were founded than was previously thought.[60] A later Act in 1696 appears to have been more successful and through the early years of the eighteenth century, parish schools were created in more areas. In many towns and cities much of the initiative to set up schools was left to the burghs, wealthy benefactors, or, later on, benevol-ent societies.[61] There were also many private schools set up by individual teachers, often of very short duration, usually known as venture schools. Sometimes parents would club together to hire a schoolteacher for a period, as did the poet Robert Burns' father. John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, near Stirling, mentions in a letter of 1808 that 'My two ploughmen, both of them parents of families, finding themselves deficient in arithmetick, have put themselves to a *night* school set up by my servants for their infantry … The attempt is laudable and they may be much the better for the addition and subtraction …'[62] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries estate owners started schools for children of their estate workers and local villagers. Samplers from some of these schools survive, for example Mary Gibson's sampler 'sewed at Foresters Croft at the right honourable Lady Amelia Drummond school 1822', and naming Mrs Henderson, who was presumably the teacher (illus 2.1). Forester's Croft is on the edge of Strathallan Castle Estate and Lady Amelia was the wife of James Drummond, later Viscount Strathallan. Fothergill mentions a school started by Lady Rosebery at Cramond for the daughters of the Dalmeny Estate workers.[63] The nearby estate of the Earls of Hopetoun also had an estate school, known as the Blue Gate, or sewing, school in Abercorn parish. Samplers dated from 1813 to 1880 are known to exist from this school in private collections (illus 2.2). All these initiatives suggest that education was important to Scots and they attempted to fill the need in whatever way they could. But a good deal of basic learning was probably taking place at home, especially for girls.

In towns in the nineteenth century, more enlightened factory owners also started schools for the children of their workforce. The best known of these was at New Lanark, the cotton mills founded by David Dale in 1786, in partnership with Richard Arkwright, on the banks of the Upper Clyde. Later the mills were sold to Dale's son-in-law, Robert Owen, the Welsh social reformer and philanthropist, and a model village was built which came to embody utopian socialism. Owen was particularly concerned with the children of the workers and a school was built for them with a curriculum based on Joseph Lancaster's ideas. A sampler worked at New Lanark School by Margaret Sheddon, aged eleven

OPPOSITE. 2.2 Janet Jamieson worked her sampler at the Blue Gate school, Abercorn parish, in 1832. She was baptised in Abercorn on 8 December 1822 to James, a farmer, and Janet Orr and married a flesher, Alexander Turnbull, in 1852. Now rather faded and discoloured, the sampler shows a typical two-storey pedimented house with fence, worked in silk on linen. As well as a verse from Ecclesiastes 12:13 she includes nearly twenty sets of initials, mainly with the surname beginning with J. 16¾ in (42.5 cm) x 19¾ in (50.2 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


Agnes Jamieson
Bluegate 1852
Fear God and keep
his commandments
for this is the duty
of man
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

ROBt OWEN·ESr MRS OWEN

RO·WO·ACO·JDO·DDO·RO·MDO·

MISS DALE·MD·MD·JJD·

William·Sheddon· Mary·Forsyth· Alexander·She
ddon· John·Sheddon· Mary·Sheddon· William·She
ddon·Susanna·Sheddon· John·Sheddon·Susanna·
McIndoe·Alexander·Forsyth·MaryAnn·Sawrs·

Have.thou.no.other.God.but.me.
Unto.no.image.bow.thy.knee.
Take.not.the.name.of.God.in.vain.
Do.not.the.sabbath.day.profane.
Honour.thy.father.and.mother.too.
And.see.that.thou.no.murder.do.
From.whoredom.keep.thee.chaste.and.clean.
And.steal.not.though.thy.state.be.mean.
Of.false.report.bear.not.the.blot.
What.is.thy.neighbours.covet.not.

This.was.done.at.New.Lanark.School.by.Margaret
Sheddon.Aged.11.years.finished.her.Sampler.19.
October.1812.Agnes.Richmond.JR.AR.HK.JB.

years, and dated 1812, survives (illus 2.3). It names Robert and Mrs Owen and Miss Dale, with several initials ending in O and D, as well as Margaret's parents and siblings. It includes the Ten Commandments, crowns and a few simple motifs. Another philanthropic factory owner was Colin Dunlop of the Clyde Iron Works, who set up a school for his employees' children at Fullerton, which is where Elizabeth Perret worked her sampler, aged thirteen in 1866.[64]

The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, the SSPCK, founded in 1709, was granted powers to erect schools 'for the instruction of children particularly female children, in some of the most necessary and useful arts of life'.[65] Some of these schools succeeded and others failed. In Gaelic-speaking areas the use of English was resented, although Gaelic was later introduced into the curriculum, with the production of a Gaelic Bible. The Society was also disliked because of its religious stance. Part of the reason for its formation was an effort to counteract the threat of a possible Roman Catholic revival in the Highlands, where there were many who still belonged to that church and where there was a threat of a revival of Jacobitism.

That Scotland succeeded in providing enough schools before the 1872 Education Act at least to produce a basically educated population is a credit to the men and women who worked hard to provide this through the various initiatives of the Church of Scotland and private individuals. For example, the minister who wrote the entry for Dunrossness in the *New Statistical Account* in 1841 noted: 'There are few or none of the people who cannot read', which was obviously a source of pride to him. The 1872 Education Act for Scotland was the start of the state's provision of the major part of the education service. In an age when children of poorer families often had to work as soon as they were physically able, school attendance was always rather difficult to enforce and at times like the summer harvest all able-bodied men, women and children were out working in the fields. Indeed, the long summer holidays enjoyed by children today can be traced back to the need for everyone to help with the harvest, and even small children could play their part in this. This meant that the majority of children in Scotland had a very patchy education until the law forced their regular attendance at school.

In theory, the local schools, which each parish was supposed to set up after the Reformation, took both girls and boys. In practice this did not always happen and it is sometimes difficult to determine whether girls were attending a particular school or not. The curriculum of most schools was very basic, reading being the dominant activity because of the need to read the Bible and the Catechism in the vernacular.[66] Learning to read had the advantage of spreading knowledge of the Bible, which was also used as a textbook, with passages from it being reproduced in many books as well as on samplers. All children had to learn the Shorter Catechism and they were examined on it. *The Westminster Shorter Catechism*, 1647, is a simple question-and-answer format on God, sin, human nature, Jesus Christ, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, that aids memorisation. A simpler version, *The ABC with the Shorter Catechism*, was provided for children. The majority of boys and girls were taught only to read, although boys were more likely than girls to be taught writing as well. It is clear from various accounts that many children, in particular boys, in rural areas could read well and that those who could afford it owned books. There were also chapbooks and a growing number of small booklets with stories suitable for children being produced in the eighteenth century.

Susan Sibbald was the daughter of Dr Thomas Mein RN, of Eildon Hall.[67] She often

OPPOSITE. 2.3 Margaret Sheddon's sampler was worked at New Lanark in 1812 and lists her own family as well as the initials of various members of the Owen family. Her father was butler to Robert Owen. It is a beautifully worked piece with the Ten Commandments, some small motifs and a set of crowns, and at the bottom is Agnes Richmond's name, who was probably her teacher. Margaret uses cross stitch throughout with the sentence at the bottom showing one way of working the stitch so that it produces stitches worked as a square. 16⅞ in (42.9 cm) x 13¼ in (33.7 cm). © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection E.1980.158, reproduced by permission.

accompanied her father when he was out planning new plantations, and while he conferred with the forester she talked to an old shepherd, Willie Carruthers: 'I always found Willie reading, he subscribed to the circulating Library at Melrose, and he knew more of Ancient and Modern History, I am ashamed to own, than I did although I had left school only eighteen months before.' Presumably Willie had time to read because as a shepherd he did not have to be moving all the time or use his hands as a man would who was working on an arable farm. However, many people simply did not have time to read and the church frowned on anyone reading books on a Sunday that were not of a religious nature. Lending libraries were another sign that reading was something that Scots of all levels enjoyed and by the early nineteenth century there were a surprising number of these. The quantity of books known to have been published in Britain from the early seventeenth century, and the number of editions some of them ran into, are surely an indication that the ability to read was more widespread than some accounts suggest.[68] For example, in 1622 printer Andrew Hart's testament noted 15,000 texts while the testament of Agnes Campbell, Mrs Anderson, who ran a flourishing print business and was printer to the College in Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century, included a detailed inventory with over 50,000 books in stock including 29,000 Bibles.[69]

Writing was always an extra in the school curriculum and was usually costed separately. Today we tend to see reading and writing as going together, but in the past they were seen as two very distinct accomplishments, because the majority of children did not require to learn to write. The ability to write is usually taken to indicate literacy and the signature has been the most common means of assessing this, but as R D Anderson points out, this is not direct evidence of an ability to read, or of a good command of writing skills.[70] There is some evidence from England that when couples were being married the vicars were reluctant to allow poor or labouring people to sign their name in the marriage register, as they were required by law to do, in case they did not do it neatly, so they made their mark instead. This relates to the period after 1753, when a new law required churches to use printed forms in a bound book for marriages. The Act did not apply to Scotland and it was not until general registration in 1855 that the bride and groom had to sign, so it is even more difficult to guess at literacy rates before this date. It will probably never be possible to gauge with any accuracy the level of literacy in Scotland in the past.

How well girls could read and how much they read is likewise very difficult to ascertain. Few memoirs, autobiographies or biographies deal with the topic of elementary education in any depth. Any mention is usually vague, such as that their mother 'taught them their letters', but how or what texts she used is only rarely noted, and the phrase means that they were being taught to read, not to write. In the Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh, are building blocks with letters on them used by the children of Thomas Ruddiman, Keeper of the Signet Library, and National Museums Scotland hold a sampler worked by his daughter Allison in 1740.[71] Most memoirs and biographies before the late eighteenth century are more concerned with the religious life and struggles of the author than their education or social life. Reading and writing, however, became more important as letter writing increased throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By 1800 better roads allowed quicker delivery of goods between towns, and trade directories list destinations and which days of the week carriers would leave for various places. Letters and parcels could therefore be delivered more reliably than in the past. For a woman who

OPPOSITE. 2.4 Elisabeth Low of Forgandenny, aged nine, has a rather old-fashioned appearance to her sampler of 1818. She includes the Ten Commandments and the thistle with a variation on the usual motto, 'I have power to defend myself and offend others'. There are alphabets as well as the names of her parents and 'Beatrex Bruce'. Elisabeth was the daughter of James Low, schoolmaster of the parish of Forgandenny, and Elisabeth Mitchell, and was baptised on 16 April 1809 by the Reverend John Willison. Beatrix Bruce was born on 13 April 1788, the daughter of George Bruce, wright, and Margt Balmain, also in Forgandenny, and she may have been the schoolmistress. 16½ in (42 cm) x 12⅜ in (31.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Have thou no other
Gods but me unto no
image bow thy knee
take not the Name of
God in vain do not the
sabbath day profane
Honour thy father and
Mother too
And see that thou no
Murder do from
whoredom keep thee
chaste and clean And
steal not tho thy state
be mean of false report
bear not the blot what
is thy Neighbours
covet not
I have pow er to defend my self and too offend other
I have pow er to defend my self and too offend other
James Low Elisabeth Mitchell Beatrex Bruce
Elisabeth Low aged 9 Forgandenny October
© Leslie B Durst Collection

set up in business, being able to read, write and keep accounts was crucial for success, but such were in the minority.

What did eighteenth-century society see as the purpose of education? The Edinburgh Presbytery Minutes were quite clear when it came to the education of orphans: 'to prepare orphans for the business of life and the purposes of eternity' (29 December 1742). This is probably the basic belief of most adults at the time with regard to the education of their own offspring. Alexander Law makes the point that most people in the eighteenth century saw education as being for the disciplining of the mind and body, but the poor, as well as being taught virtue, had to be trained in industry.[72] At the orphan hospitals, as these institutions were usually known, the girls would make all their own clothing and if there was a boys' section as well, they made the boys' shirts, and also the sheets and other household textiles that were required.[73] Contributions in kind by the pupils helped to cut down the cost of running the hospital and taught the girls a useful skill.

For middle-class girls, the sentiments of the author of *The Polite Lady: a course of female education, in a series of letters from a mother to her daughter*, first published in 1760, would seem to encapsulate their parents' attitude to sewing:[74]

> For though there are many other female accomplishments more showy and specious, yet there is not any one more useful [i.e. than sewing], nay, I may venture to say, there is none equally so. What an infinite number of the female sex, and, perhaps the most virtuous part of it too, live by the needle? How greatly does it contribute to render our persons more decent, more agreeable, and more beautiful? What a surprising difference is there between the appearance of lady Morton, whom you have often seen at church, and Doll Common, the cinder-wench? And yet this difference is chiefly owing to dress; and dress depends chiefly on the needle.

The basic skills taught to girls were therefore those that could enable them to earn their own living and support their families. Life being uncertain, there was never any guarantee that marriage would not end in widowhood with several small children to support, but with a needle, a pair of knitting pins or a spindle a woman could always earn some money to support herself. So girls were taught plain sewing, that is, the making of underwear and other basic garments, knitting, mainly used for making stockings, and spinning flax and wool. Apart from reading and religious instruction, that was all they were expected to know.

Girls in larger households or from wealthier families had to learn about managing a home and they might well know the basics of cooking, but as more families became wealthier during the eighteenth century the skills girls had to learn changed. At one time they might have had to do much of the cooking but now the family might well employ a cook. More elegant skills, such as pastry making, might be something the women of the household would be interested in, and so pastry schools appeared. The making of pastry and other delicacies required expensive ingredients and it was incumbent on a housewife to know how to keep control of these. Girls from this kind of background were also expected to keep accounts, not only of housekeeping money but also of their own private allowances. This would be useful when they married and had their own home.[75]

Plenty of teachers can be found in trade directories, newspaper advertisements or town minutes. For example, in late seventeenth-century Edinburgh there were seven schoolmistresses and

OPPOSITE. 2.5 Jessie Henderson's sampler starts with alphabets worked in different styles, reversed flower stem border and octagons with the Ten Commandments. There are other verses, many initials under 'turban-like' crowns and small motifs around a building that represents the Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh. Below she has also included the castle with a head in the doorway and a thistle and motto and a rose in octagons. She also names her teacher, Miss Catherine Gibson, but the other initials and names are probably of the other pupils. It is worked in silk on wool but the date has been unpicked. 19½ in (49.5 cm) x 12½ in (31.8 cm). © CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection E.1979.2.17, reproduced by permission.

eighteen schoolmasters for an estimated child population of 10,000.[76] Over 350 women teachers have been traced from various sources over the period 1660 to 1870 and many more could be identified by a more thorough search. Small private schools often had a very short life and teachers who had no school are unlikely to turn up in any documents, except perhaps bills in family papers. One woman who wrote briefly about a school she and her sisters opened in 1848 in Cupar, Fife, is Henrietta Keddie, who wrote novels under the pen name Sarah Tytler.[77] The sisters opened the school first as a day school and it later became a boarding school, finally closing in 1870 when Henrietta moved to London. In her memoirs Henrietta is much more concerned with describing how music dominated middle-class girls' education at this time. According to the 1861 census a young German teacher joined the sisters, but no mention is made of needlework. The number of educational establishments and teachers found does suggest that education was viewed more highly than has perhaps been appreciated. To suggest that the subjects taught to females were merely to keep them in their place is to forget that the education of boys was also geared to the station in life that they were destined to fill. The ethos behind the education of all children was the same.

The 1825–6 Pigot's trade directory lists over 160 teachers or schools throughout Scotland that taught girls, although what they taught is not usually mentioned. This was the first directory to be divided into trades and professions rather than just an alphabetical list. These are by no means the only schools at this period, as there were probably several that did not wish or could not afford to advertise in the directory, and there were probably governesses and other teachers not noted as well. Of the surviving samplers that mention a teacher, the majority can be dated to the first forty years of the nineteenth century. However, the identification of teachers named on samplers in any documents is usually rather tentative. Some very elaborate samplers were worked at institutions such as the Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh, where Jessie Henderson embroidered the façade of the building and dedicated her sampler to Miss Catherine Gibson (illus 2.5). Catherine Gaunt, however, worked a very plain sampler at the Orphan Institution, Glasgow, while Jane Christie worked a beautifully neat sampler in 1823 at the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, Glasgow.[78] For the later part of the nineteenth century it is the schools set up in the parishes that are most often noted on samplers.[79]

CITY SCHOOLING AND TOWN SCHOOLING: EDINBURGH AND FORRES

Two places in Scotland where the provision of schools for girls was attempted, Edinburgh and Forres, contrast in size although their provision is very similar. By the eighteenth century Edinburgh, as befitted the capital of what had been a sovereign country, was different from most other cities and towns in Scotland.[80] It was the headquarters of the law, it had an old and well-regarded university and many wealthy merchants, and despite the fact that no parliament now met there it was still seen as the place where all wealthy and noble families might resort in order to meet their friends and to form alliances. It boasted the best shops and the milliners regularly imported the latest fashions, so it was a magnet for both men and women.

While their brothers might be attending the Royal High School in Edinburgh, girls would be attending a private school. If their parents did not live in Edinburgh, they might board with friends or family members. Boarding schools became more popular as the eighteenth century progressed, possibly because better roads were making travel around Scotland less hazardous. The Reverend John Mill, minister in Shetland, records in his diary taking his eldest daughter Nell with him when he went to Edinburgh to

OPPOSITE. 2.6 'Jennet Riddal McDonald her sampler sewed in the Edinburgh Castle Female School in the 12 year of her age October th 8 1830'. Jennet has included a large building with the verse 'Jesus permit', crowned family initials, a thistle and alphabets. A school for soldiers' children in Edinburgh Castle is mentioned as receiving money from a concert in Edinburgh in 1819. 17¾ in (45 cm) x 13 in (33 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


Jessy Riddal Mc Donald Her
Sampler Sewed In Edinburgh
Castle Female School In The
12 Year Of Her Age October
TH 8 1830
© Leslie B Durst
Collection


Elisabeth Greenhill finished this work at the ladies school
In her 11 Year
prov c 31
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

attend the General Assembly in 1768. She was to attend the Misses Scot in Edinburgh, 'a minister's daughters of good reputation, to teach her to make her own cloathes, at least, and to see more of the world, as she has got already what this Country afforded as to sewing and working stockings, writing, arithmetick, dancing, Church music, etc.'[81] Helen Mill was born on 5 August 1755, so she was thirteen when she went to Edinburgh. He father does not mention when she returned but she probably spent about a year in the city. Like their counterparts in the rest of Britain, young Scottish ladies were thought to need to be educated in the niceties of etiquette, known as 'being finished', and to acquire suitable accomplishments to show off. The Honourable Mrs Ogilvie, for example, ran a finishing school teaching 'contemporary manners'.[82] These included playing a musical instrument, singing, dancing, embroidery and other similar crafts, and possibly knowledge of a modern foreign language, but not, of course, Latin or Greek. To cater for the demand for these acquirements, specialists, particularly in music, dancing and languages, set up as teachers, sometimes going to girls' homes, but also visiting some of the girls' schools. There are at least eight schools advertising in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* in 1787, mostly boarding and offering the usual accomplishments, although one mentions mantua making and another, a day school, reading and writing. By the time they went to a boarding school the girls, like Nell Mill, would have been competent in the basics.

For poorer children there were the charity schools. The first Charity or Free School in Edinburgh was mentioned in the Town Council minutes in 1699.[83] Reading, writing, arithmetic and the twelve common tunes for the Psalms were taught, and in addition the wife of the precentor of the Tolbooth kirk was to instruct the girls in working stockings. In 1743 there was a Charity Workhouse established where spinning, weaving and other female activities were taught.[84] In the 1840s there was a sewing school attached to the Workhouse as well as a school where the usual subjects were taught, which were examined on a half-yearly basis.[85]

The Orphan Hospital, founded in 1733, took in about 200 children, admitting orphans from any part of Scotland. According to the *Second Statistical Account* for Edinburgh, a 'good plain education is given to both sexes, and the girls are exercised in the domestic duties of the house to train them for servants'.[86] There were also two schools catering for two specific groups, one for the girls of the members of the Merchant Company, founded in 1694, and the other for members of the Trades Incorporations, founded in 1704. These schools were designed to help the less fortunate members of the burgess class and it was not a stigma to be educated by them. They were both funded partly by the generosity of Mary Erskine, who died in 1707.[87] The schools aimed to produce capable housewives; so as well as reading, writing and arithmetic the girls spent a good deal of their time in practical work, such as sewing and spinning, but also going to market and assisting in the cooking.[88] Later on in the nineteenth century the Merchant Maiden girls had a wider curriculum, as they were mainly becoming governesses when they left, rather than earning their living by sewing.

Other institutions in Edinburgh sought to cater for the needs of a specific group (illus 2.6). These included the Asylum for the Blind, founded in the 1790s, which acquired a house for women in 1822 where they sewed, knitted and spun, earning money to help defray the costs of housing and feeding them.[89] Deaf and dumb children aged from nine to fourteen could attend the Deaf and Dumb Institution, but it had limited funds and so parents often had to pay something. There was also a day school where girls had to learn 'sewing, knitting and other domestic employments'. The Magdalene Asylum was

OPPOSITE. 2.7 Elisabeth Greenhill was baptised in South Leith, Midlothian, on 7 May 1819, the daughter of Andrew Greenhill and Catherine Borthwick, and was eleven when she finished her sampler at the ladies' school in 1830. At the top she has worked crowned and uncrowned initials of family and friends, and GR4 for King George IV. A large three-storey building is worked below a verse from Proverbs 31, beginning 'Many daughters . . .' There is a school in Duncan Street, Leith, in Pigot's Directory for 1837, run by Mrs Nimmo, which may be the school referred to in this sampler. 20½ in (52 cm) x 16¼ in (41.3 cm).
Leslie B Durst Collection.

established in 1792 for taking charge of those 'unfortunate females who, after confinement in the bridewell, were again liable to be set loose upon society'. These women could well be older than those at the other institutions, so 'besides religious instruction and moral superintendence, suitable work is furnished them; and as an encouragement to industrious habits, one-fourth share of the produce of their labour is paid to them in clothes and other necessaries, the remainder going to the funds of the institution'. Despite the inmates of these charitable institutions working to help with expenses, they all required large amounts of donations from the public in order to survive.

Forres, in contrast, was a small royal burgh in north-east Scotland about 30 miles east of Inverness. Many towns in Scotland provided a schoolmaster and sometimes a schoolmistress for the town's children and their appointments are recorded in the burgh records where these survive: it is here that the provision of schooling for girls in Forres has been traced.[90] Forres appears to have had a schoolmistress very early on, as the contract for Elizabeth Craige from Kincorth is dated 23 April 1660. She was to start on Whitsunday and teach reading, writing, sewing and weaving (probably knitting is meant here) of stockings, and she was to have a 'water tight sufficient house with a piece of yaird yeirlie during hir service'. Each child of the town had to pay 6 shillings and 8 pence Scots[91] quarterly for learning to read and write and 10 shillings quarterly to learn sewing and weaving. Those living outside the town had to come to an arrangement over cost with the teacher themselves.

The town records do not show continuous employment of a teacher for girls and there are long periods when no names are mentioned. Barbara Noble accepted a salary of £24 Scots in 1714, but there then appears to be a time when there was no teacher; in fact, teachers do not seem to stay for long at this period. In 1731 Isobel Tulloch was schoolmistress, but the council were looking for a new teacher by 1736. They then appointed Helen Spence, the daughter of a deceased burgess of the town, but by 1738 a new teacher is mentioned, Jean Falconer, who taught sewing white seam and 'Musik vocal and instrumental'. In 1744 Jean Mitchell resigned because the salary was too low, so it was raised to £3 sterling a year. By 1746 Elizabeth Fowler was the teacher but it is possible she also operated a private school. However, by 1748 the teacher was Mrs Cheyne from Elgin, a town just to the east of Forres, and hers is the last name mentioned for many years.

In 1778 a town's schoolmistress was appointed at a salary of £10 sterling a year. The teachers for the next ten years were Miss Charles and then Miss Ross, and in 1788 the salary went up to £20 a year. Obviously the education of girls was seen as deserving more serious attention. In the 1798 'Survey of Moray' it is recorded that girls attended the Grammar School in Forres at a separate hour of the day from the boys. It would be interesting to know what they were taught. The Survey then mentions a boarding school for young ladies 'where various branches of needlework, music, and other parts of female education are taught'. The teacher's salary of £16 a year was paid by the town, but this probably only covered the teaching of basics, as the article gives the cost of music at 2 guineas a year, gumflowers at 4 guineas, tambour at £1 and plain work at 10 shillings. Particular attention was paid to the children's morals and to impress the young with 'proper sentiments of honour and discretion'. This school for girls appears to have continued well into the nineteenth century, with the names of each new mistress recorded until 1838, when the council resolved to discontinue the salary of a teacher for the 'Ladies' Seminary', as it was now known. It was felt that people would prefer to start their own seminary without interference from the town. Apparently there were several

OPPOSITE. 2.8 Meny Ewan's small sampler dated 1815 was worked with several initials in black. Industrial schools were not set up on a regular basis until much later in the nineteenth century when they were intended for children who had committed some crime. The school Meny attended in Montrose is probably more like a charity school where she would have been taught sewing, reading and possibly other household skills. 5⅞ in (14.9 cm) x 6⅛ in (15.6 cm). Micheál and Elizabeth Feller Collection.


Sewed by Henry Ewan at the
Montrose Female School of
Industry April 1815

schools for girls available, including two boarding schools, and 'dame schools' for the younger children. The town did give small sums to teachers of these schools when petitioned to help them.

By 1845 there was felt to be a want for a school in Forres for the daughters of tradesmen, since the poor and the wealthy were already catered for. Eventually in 1848 Miss Isabella Black from Dunkeld, who had opened a private school a little earlier, was appointed town's schoolmistress. She was to teach the elements, that is, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, plain and fancy needlework, as well as music, drawing, history, geography and French. Her sister was her assistant, and the fees were set at 12 shillings and sixpence a quarter for the elements, or £1 if history and geography were included. French, drawing and music were an extra £1 each quarter. Girls over twelve could board at £30 per annum, and those below this age for £25. This 'Ladies' Seminary' was in existence for nearly thirty years. Another long-lived school was opened in 1853. This was 'Fraser's Industrial School', named from a bequest by Colonel Fraser of Drumduan with the backing of the Kirk Session, and it continued until the Public School was founded in the 1880s. Two other schools founded in the mid-nineteenth century were Forres Infant School in 1863 and the Episcopal School. For a small town this was quite an impressive array of educational establishments.

THE 1872 EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT

The government started to look at an overhaul of the education system in the early years of the nineteenth century, when various parish surveys took place. There was a long process of inquiry into schools and their provision in Scotland and one outcome was an Education Committee of the Privy Council, set up in 1839 to review matters. It appears that there was a sufficient number of schools for the population, provided by a mix of church, private, community and charitable institutions, and all were non-sectarian. The Church of Scotland was concerned that too many schools were not under its supervision and therefore the moral and religious training of children was not guaranteed. The Church felt that this could only be achieved by having public schools directly under its control. However, sectarian disputes in the mid-nineteenth century and the Disruption in the Church of Scotland in 1843 meant that this was not possible and different sects were allowed to set up their own schools. It is clear that despite the increase in population as Scotland became industrialised, the mixed provision of schools kept pace with this increase. A Commission set up in 1864 looked at whether the system provided value for money, always a concern for governments. Schools were funded by private and church means and it was becoming a burden to finance them, so many churchmen backed the idea of a new compulsory national system based on Presbyterian values. The 1872 Act introduced a striking new direction for Scottish education under local elected school boards with strict administrative codes and regular inspections, which had no room for non-parochial or private schools, although of course compromises were often made. It also introduced compulsory attendance for pupils.

OPPOSITE. 2.9 Mary Craig was probably a pupil at Bridgeton Public School which is embroidered on her sampler. Dated 1845 Mary has included her parents' initials and name as well as that of the Reverend P. Brown. She was the daughter of Gabriel Craig and Mary Rankin, and was baptised on 12 May 1833 in Rutherglen, Lanarkshire. 22¾ in (57.8 cm) x 22 in (55.9 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

VOICES FROM THE SCHOOLROOM

It might be expected that the memoirs, diaries and journals of women would tell us something of their education, but many of them are disappointing on this aspect of their lives. Fashions in memoirs also had an effect. Those of the seventeenth century often concentrate on religion and the writer's struggle with their faults and perceived sins, none of which appear to be connected to sewing, needlework or embroidery. Vanity might well be mentioned, but rarely in the kind of detail that can be used to reconstruct the teaching of sewing. By the nineteenth

century there was a sense of change occurring at such a rapid rate that the way of life of the immediate past would be forgotten. In this climate the memoirs of several women were written, originally simply for the benefit of their families, but later some were published. From these a sense of the way girls were brought up can be extracted.

Some indication of the state of a middle-class girl's education can be seen from the memoirs of Mary Somerville. Mary was born in 1780 and was the daughter of William George Fairfax, lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and Margaret, the daughter of Samuel Charters, Solicitor of Customs for Scotland. Mary and her family lived at Burntisland across the Forth from Edinburgh.[92] Mary married a distant cousin and after his death was able to pursue her intellectual interests, particularly mathematics and astronomy, becoming a popular science writer. She later married another cousin and died in 1872. Somerville College, Oxford was named after her.

> My mother taught me to read the Bible, and to say my prayers morning and evening; otherwise she allowed me to grow up a wild creature.
>
> I never cared for dolls, and had no one to play with me.
>
> My mother set me in due time to learn the catechism of the Kirk of Scotland, and to attend the public examinations in the kirk.
>
> When I was between eight and nine years old, my father came home from sea, and was shocked to find me such a savage. I had not yet been taught to write . . .
>
> My father at last said to my mother, – 'This kind of life will never do, Mary must at least know how to write and keep accounts.' So at ten years old I was sent to a boarding-school, kept by a Miss Primrose, at Musselburgh, where I was utterly wretched.
>
> [Back home in Burntisland] . . . beside I had to *shew* (sew) my sampler, working the alphabet from A to Z, as well as the ten numbers, on canvas.
>
> [Her Aunt Janet on a visit complained Mary never sewed.] Whereupon I was sent to the village school to learn plain needlework.
>
> When I was about thirteen my mother took a small apartment in Edinburgh for the winter, and I was sent to a writing school, where I soon learnt to write a good hand, and studied the common rules of arithmetic.

Mary Somerville was obviously not a gifted sewer and it was to women like her that Mary Lamb's article 'On Needlework' would have appealed.[93] Lamb, who had worked as a needlewoman for many years, considered that 'needlework and reading are in a natural state of warfare', a sentiment that was beginning to be used by many who saw needlework as an unworthy use of women's time, as well as ruining their eyesight and not developing their mental capacity. But she also made a plea for needlework to be made a recognised profession for those whose only means of making a living was by sewing: 'Is it too bold an attempt to persuade your readers that it would prove an incalculable addition to general happiness and the domestic comfort of

OPPOSITE. 2.10 Catherine Ure Hamilton in 1851 has embroidered a large red house with small side wings and over the door is 'Millars School'. She has also named Miss Wallace as a teacher and the place as Glasgow. As well as two large trees the rest of the space has a verse and many small motifs taken from contemporary embroidery patterns. Her parents were William Hamilton and Mary McIntosh, and she was born 28 June 1839 in Glasgow. William's occupation is listed in the 1851 census as spirit dealer and Chelsea Pensioner, which meant he was in receipt of an army pension. Today he would be described as an out-pensioner, meaning he did not live in the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. In 1851 Margaret Wallace was a sewing teacher at 151 George Street, Glasgow, while Millar's Charity School is listed at the same address in the 1850–1851 Directory for Glasgow. 23 in (58.4 cm) x 21¼ in (54 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


Jesus I my cross have taken
All to leave and follow thee
Naked POOR despised forsaken
Thou from hence my All shalt be
Catherine Ure Hamilton
Glasgow 1851
Miss Wallace Teacher
Glasgow 1851
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

both sexes, if needle-work were never practised but for a remuneration in money?'

Another Scottish girl who has left us some idea of her education is Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, but she was obviously someone who enjoyed sewing and was good at it. In her wonderful *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, Elizabeth gives detailed descriptions of life on the family's Highland estate near Aviemore, as well as at residences in Edinburgh and London.[94] Elizabeth married Col Henry Smith of Baltiboys and spent the rest of her life on their Irish estate in County Wicklow, where she died in 1885. She came from a higher social class than Mary Somerville, as her father was the owner of a large estate in the Highlands and a wealthy man, but this did not affect the way the children were brought up. Reading these memoirs, a modern reader probably wants to have the parents arrested for cruelty; although not untypical for the period, there does appear to be some eccentricity in the way the Grant children were brought up. The education of the girls, though, is wholly typical.

Elizabeth Grant was born in Edinburgh in 1797, the eldest child of Sir Peter John Grant and his wife. In 1802 the family were in London and there were two more children in the nursery, so Elizabeth spent most of her time with her mother's dresser:[95]

> Mrs Lynch taught me to sew, for I was always very fond of my needle and my scissors too. I shaped and cut out and stitched up my doll's clothes from very early days. I use to read to her too, she was so good natured!

Later she remarks, 'My box of baby clothing has never been empty to my knowledge since I first began to dress my doll.'[96] She goes on to say:

> Many a weary hour has been beguiled by this useful plain work, for there are times when reading, writing, or more active employments only irritate, and when needlework is really soothing, particularly when there is an object in the labour. It used as a child to give me a glow of delight to see the work of my fingers on my sisters and brothers, and on the Rothiemurchus babies; for it was only for our own poor that I busied myself, every body giving me scraps for this purpose, and sometime help and patterns, my sisters requiring none as they never worked from choice . . .

In 1804 Elizabeth was sent to Richmond with two aunts, one of whom had been very ill. Here she helped the landlady, Mrs Bonner, in making puddings, preserves and pickles that stood her in good stead later on. Mrs Bonner lent her an old tea caddy 'to put my work in; . . . the empty compartments exactly suited the patches I was engaged on . . .'[97]

For the next three years the family lived in London and here the nurse, Mrs Miller, a sailor's widow, saw that the children learnt their lessons and taught the girls to sew. They also learnt writing and ciphering from a Mr Thompson as well as geography and history. To their mother they read and spelt, while Mr Jones taught music and Mr Beekvelt French. It is clear that for a girl at this period Elizabeth was getting a fairly good education.[98]

In 1807 when she was ten, Elizabeth got to make a sampler. The family were living at Twyford in Berkshire, and Lady Grant was expecting another baby, for which the girls were to make articles of clothing: 'Jane hemmed some new soft towels for it – very badly – and I made all the cambrick shirts so neatly, that I was allowed to begin a sampler as a reward, and to go to Bishop's Stortford to buy canvas and the coloured worsteds necessary.'[99] Unfortunately she never tells us what design she worked: it was probably a series of alphabets on fairly coarse canvas, but she may well not have made a Scottish-style one. It is a surprise to see a sampler being considered a reward for being good at plain sewing, but it was this type of needlework that girls were taught first, so to progress to embroidery stitches would be an indication that the first principles had been well learned.

In 1811 Elizabeth attended a boarding school as a day pupil for a short while:[100]

> Mrs Peter Grant, the widow of one of my great Uncle Sandy's sons, who had had charge of Anne Grant of Glenmoriston, and lived in a small house in Ramsgate, had been found so competent to the task of superintending the education of young ladies, that she had been prevailed on by first one friend and then another to receive their delicate children. At last her house became too small for her family. She took a larger one in Albion Place, engaged a clever governess, to whom she was shortly obliged to give an assistant, and soon had a flourishing school. She limited the number of pupils to eighteen, and generally had applications waiting for a vacancy. She was an honest hearted kind of person, a little given to 'sentiment', well read for her day and accomplished, having been originally intended for a governess by her parents . . .
>
> To Mrs Peter Grant's school I was to be sent every day for so many hours, ostensibly to learn flower painting, and to be kept up in French and singing; but in reality to take down a deal of conceit . . .

Despite telling us earlier in her memoirs that she was taught sewing and cutting out by Mrs Lynch, her mother's dresser, Elizabeth later credits her mother with this. Presumably her education in this type of needlework was an ongoing process and while Mrs Lynch taught her the basics it was her mother who taught her the finer elements of the craft:[101]

> My Mother, when in health, was an example of industry . . . She was a very beautiful needlewoman, and she taught us to sew and cut out, and repair all our own, our father's, brothers' linen. She had become highland wife enough to have her spinnings and dyings, and weavings of wool and yarn, and flax and hanks, and she busied herself at this time in all the economy of a household 'remote from cities', and consequently forced to provide for its own necessities.

Mary Somerville and Elizabeth Grant led very different lives in later years. Mary achieved fame in her lifetime while Elizabeth led a domestic life with husband and family, gaining fame after her death through her wonderful memoirs and diaries. Mary leaves us information on her sewing because she disliked it so much and felt it interfered with learning the topics she was interested in. Elizabeth accepted her place in society and learned the topics required of her, but her skill and enjoyment in sewing come through in her account of her education. These accounts allow us to study how some girls acquired their needlework skills.


I F
Sampler
of
Stitches

CHAPTER 3

Plain sewing samplers

THE USES OF PLAIN SEWING

Plain sewing samplers are not as decorative as the embroidered samplers and do not survive as separate items until the latter part of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, plain sewing was the basis of needlework education for girls, so it is important to consider this aspect first. Children learned to use needles at very young ages. In the nineteenth century, books such as *The Workwoman's Guide*, written by 'A Lady' in 1838, gave 'needle drill', on how to hold and thread the needle, and children as young as three were taught this.[102] Plain sewing samplers demonstrate the proficiency of girls in working the types of stitches required to make garments and accessories, as opposed to the fancy sewing or embroidery that the traditional sampler displayed. This type of sewing is found in making up undergarments and white-work accessories, as well as bed and table linen. Plain sewing included stitches to be learned as well as how to join fabric by seams, how to hem, make buttonholes and so on (illus 3.1). The samplers that survive for this type of work are often of an irregular shape and size, to take account of the various types of work such as gathering into a band or making a scalloped edging. There is no specific Scottish style for these samplers, which are virtually unknown before the second half of the nineteenth century. This has led some to question whether plain sewing was important in the teaching of girls before then. However, we have evidence from several sources that girls did indeed have to learn how to sew a seam before they were allowed to do any embroidery and there exists ample evidence for this in the form of structured learning guides from earlier in the nineteenth century.

It is clear from numerous memoirs, lives, accounts and the regulations from orphanages that girls even in fairly wealthy households made their own and much of the other household linen. Jane Austen, for example, records making shirts for one of her brothers before he went into the navy and Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus sewed baby linen for a new sibling.[103] In addition to baby clothes, men's and women's underwear was usually made at home and until the later nineteenth century was of plain white linen or cotton. The main undergarments were shirts for men and shifts for women, also known as smocks and later chemises, and were basic shapes developed over the centuries from the under-tunics of the Anglo-Saxon period. The shapes allowed

OPPOSITE. 3.1 This is a typical plain-sewing sampler of the latter part of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century. Made by Janet Forsyth in about 1905 when a pupil teacher in an Edinburgh school, it is linen with red silk embroidery. It shows various ways of hemming, buttonholes, scalloped edges, patches, tucks, gusset and drawn thread work. 23⅝ in (60 cm) x 10⅞ in (27.5 cm). NMS A.1962.421.

for the most economical use of the fabric: they were based on squares, rectangles and triangles so that cutting out the garments was not a problem.[104] There were ready-made sources for basic unfitted garments like shirts, but it was cheaper for a household to make all the underwear and household linen it required by buying a bolt of fabric or several yards at one time.

In Scotland, a number of accounts speak of households spinning their own flax and then sending the yarn to a local weaver to make into fabric. On its return it would be cut and sewn by the women as required; others might send it to a local seamstress. Lady Grisell Baillie, for example, expected her maids to spin whenever they had a moment free from other work. Flax spinning was seen as very important to help the linen industry, which was a major industry in Scotland, and women spun the thread for the men to weave the cloth. Spinning schools were set up and the activity vied with sewing for the girls' instruction in some schools and institutions.

For those unable to make their own, such as men living on their own without any female relations to sew for them or sailors who might have little time in port to replace garments worn out or lost, there were ready-made underclothes available even in the seventeenth century. Charity schools appear to have made them for sale as well as for the inmates' use, and later, when they left the orphanages, girls who could sew could find employment in clothes-making workshops. Even tailors employed women for some jobs. In the nineteenth century, when there were more people working in factories, women often had no time to make clothes, so the ready-made market developed further.[105] Dressmaking employed an enormous number of women in the mid and late nineteenth century; even the development of the sewing machine did not make much impact, and this aspect should be borne in mind when considering plain sewing and its importance.[106]

Until the late seventeenth century, divisions within the garment-making trade had kept women out of making top-body items, even those for women, as these were the responsibility of the tailors, who also made corsets and therefore the heavily boned bodices of the period. Women, however, sewed the undergarments. Towards the end of the seventeenth century a looser style of dress for informal wear was developed as a relief from the rigid boned bodices of formal dress. These garments, known as mantuas, were easy to make and had little need of precise cutting, seen as the real skill of the tailor, so it was eventually conceded by the tailoring guilds that women could make them. Men, however continued to make corsets and women's riding habits.

The sewing on mantuas and other similar garments did not need to be particularly fine, because no strain was put on the seams; in fact, it is often very rough, as surviving pieces in museum collections show. Underwear, on the other hand, had to stand up to the rigours of regular washing, so it tended to be carefully sewn. The light muslin dresses of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, however, demanded greater skill in sewing neatly because the fabric was so delicate. Later, clothes began to fit the body closely and sewing became more important throughout the century. Dresses that fit the body need firm stitching to stop the seams from splitting when the garment is worn. New types of seam were brought into use that required extra skill in plain sewing. At the same time there was a growing movement for providing charitable clothing, such as baskets of baby linen that could be lent out to poor parishioners. Another charitable activity was providing cheap clothing. This might take the form of some of the wealthier people in the parish providing fabric that they cut out into parts for suitable garments, such as infants' dresses, that the recipients were expected to sew for themselves. If they could not sew, instruction was provided.

PUBLICATIONS ON PLAIN SEWING

In order to help the women involved in this charitable endeavour, a book was published anonymously in 1789 entitled *Instructions for Cutting Out Apparel for the Poor*. It was 'principally intended for the Assistance of the Patronesses of Sunday Schools and other Charitable Institutions,

but useful for families', so covered all bases. It was published for the benefit of the Sunday School children of Hertingbury in Hertfordshire. The book also had several plates of patterns of garments and a 'List of various Articles and Materials necessary to be purchased for making up Clothing for the Poor'. The author intended the book as an encouragement to parents to send their children to Sunday School, where they would gain a useful skill at the same time as they received religious instruction.

In the same mould is *The Lady's Economical Assistant or The Art of Cutting Out, and Making the most useful articles of Wearing Apparel without waste*, by 'a Lady', published in 1808.[107] This contained twenty-seven plates and directions for making everything from a baby's layette, to men's shirts, women's night gowns and dresses for small children. The Lady says in her introduction: 'It is my wish to render my book of as general service as possible, and particularly so to persons of small fortune, who, with natural and laudable pride, are desirous of making as good an appearance as prudence will admit.' In an age when an appropriate appearance was important her aims surely struck a welcome note.

Books like these started to appear at the same time as works directed more specifically to the education of children were being published. In 1835 an unknown correspondent wrote an article in *The Lady's Magazine and Museum* on the importance of infant schools for children, lauding the system perfected by Mr Wilderspin.[108] Samuel Wilderspin produced his book on infant education in 1824 and there were several editions until his death in 1866. He was a member of the New Church, also known as the Swedenborgians, which coloured his attitude to education, and he believed that children should be encouraged to learn through experience. He set up an infant school in Spitalfields, London, and his book detailed the regime there. According to the article, 'A little girl of five years old, ought to be capable of doing most kinds of plain work: this gentle and sedative employment is a great source of female happiness; and we are grieved to see it banished from the present system of infant education.' It goes on: 'A female child of three years old ought to know how to hold a needle, and to hem coarse linen.' The writer is by no means uncritical of Mr Wilderspin, but Sir John Sinclair, who had visited the Infant school in the Vennel, Edinburgh, approved of his system.[109]

School patrons and ministers regularly examined pupils, ostensibly to make sure that the teachers were doing their job, but also to measure progress in rooting out ignorance and sloth. Those in power in all areas were keen to make sure that the children of the lower orders were growing up industrious and obedient, so that they would not be a burden on the parish by requiring poor relief. The poor were divided into the 'deserving', who lacked funds or family support and who were unable to work, and the 'undeserving', who were able-bodied and could therefore support themselves. Relief was largely organised by the parish and available to those who had been born there or had acquired right of settlement. There were changes over time, the most notable being the Poor Law Act of 1845, which set up parochial boards, but no one wanted to pay relief to people who could in theory support themselves by their own industry.

As the 1816 *Manual of the System of teaching Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and Needle-work in the Elementary Schools of The British and Foreign School Society* (discussed below) puts it: 'The cultivation of the mind bestowed in these elementary schools, opens and expands the faculties of the children, gives them clear notions of moral and social duties, prepares them for the reception of religious instruction, forms them to habits of virtue, and habituates them to subordination and control.' To be fair, it also states: 'The middle and upper rank of society are more dependent upon the poor, than without a little reflection they are apt to be aware of. It is to their labour and skill that we owe our comforts and conveniences' (illus 3.2). Teaching girls the basics of reading, plain sewing and perhaps knitting would enable them to be good wives and mothers, having a skill capable of earning money, and therefore to be reliable citizens and not a burden on parish charity.

3.2 Small examples of plain sewing mounted on a board. These are probably taken from the British and Foreign School Society's manual. Early nineteenth century. 11⅜ in (28.9 cm) x 16⅝ in (42.3 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

THE KILDARE NEEDLEWORK COURSE

One measure of the increased importance of plain sewing is the development of graded courses of needlework for schools to follow. The best known of these was that produced by the Female National Model School based in Kildare Place, Dublin. Their system was based on that first developed by Miss Lancaster, sister of Joseph Lancaster who pioneered the Monitorial teaching system in schools, whereby an older child taught younger children what they had already learned, becoming in effect teachers' helpers. This system was found very useful by nineteenth-century educators, as it proved to be a cheap way of making primary education more inclusive, thus making it possible to increase the average class size. It was later adopted by the National Schools, but fell out of favour when the professional training of teachers became more widespread. It was still obviously in use in Auchtertool Female School, Fife in 1898 when Agnes Burnett worked her sampler.[110] It is inscribed 'Worked by Agnes Burnett the Reward of Good Conduct as a Monitress at the Auchtertool Female School, March 1898'. This is one of three samplers with similar inscriptions and designs known to have been worked at this school, the others dating from 1848 and 1860.[111] Agnes was probably the daughter of William Burnett, a farmer at Auchterderran, and his wife Janet. She was born about 1881 so was seventeen when she made her sampler, and was presumably more of a teacher's assistant than a pupil.

Miss Lancaster's plan was developed by Miss Ann Springman and was published in 1816 as part of the British and Foreign School Society *Manual* referred to above. Joseph Lancaster had first outlined his plan in 1798, but met few backers for a system that would educate the poor at a time when landowners and the establishment were fearful that the example of the French Revolution might spread, although King George III was enthusiastic, saying: 'It is my wish that every poor child in my kingdom may be taught to read the Bible.' By 1816, however, Joseph Lancaster and the Society had parted company. Dr Andrew Bell, a Scottish Anglican, developed a similar system, known as the Madras System, taken up by the Church of England and the army. Lancaster and Bell did not get on, one reason being that the former objected to the fact that Bell's system was used to promote the Church of England.

The Female National Model School at Kildare Place was founded under the auspices of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, a non-denominational organisation founded in 1811 by a group of philanthropists in Dublin. Its aim was 'to provide elementary education for the poor in Ireland' and 'to afford the same facilities for education to all classes of professing Christians without any attempt to interfere with the peculiar religious opinion of any'.[112] Teacher training was regarded as one of its key functions and this it achieved by giving those who were already in post a six-week course in Dublin, only for male teachers at first. The system used the Monitorial system and encouraged 'orderliness, discipline and cleanliness'. The Society also set up a model school in 1815 with a separate schoolroom for boys and girls, adding facilities for boarding a few years later. The success of the male training scheme led the Society to consider setting up a similar one for female teachers, and in 1824 Miss Jane Edkins made a tour of English establishments to see how these were run. In late 1824 six women aged eighteen to twenty-five were admitted and a further twenty-three the following spring. Students had to know reading, writing, arithmetic and scripture and have a high standard of needlework. School management was the main study but the women's training had a strong emphasis on domestic skills, so that half their time was spent on household duties in the residential house and in learning laundry work and cookery.

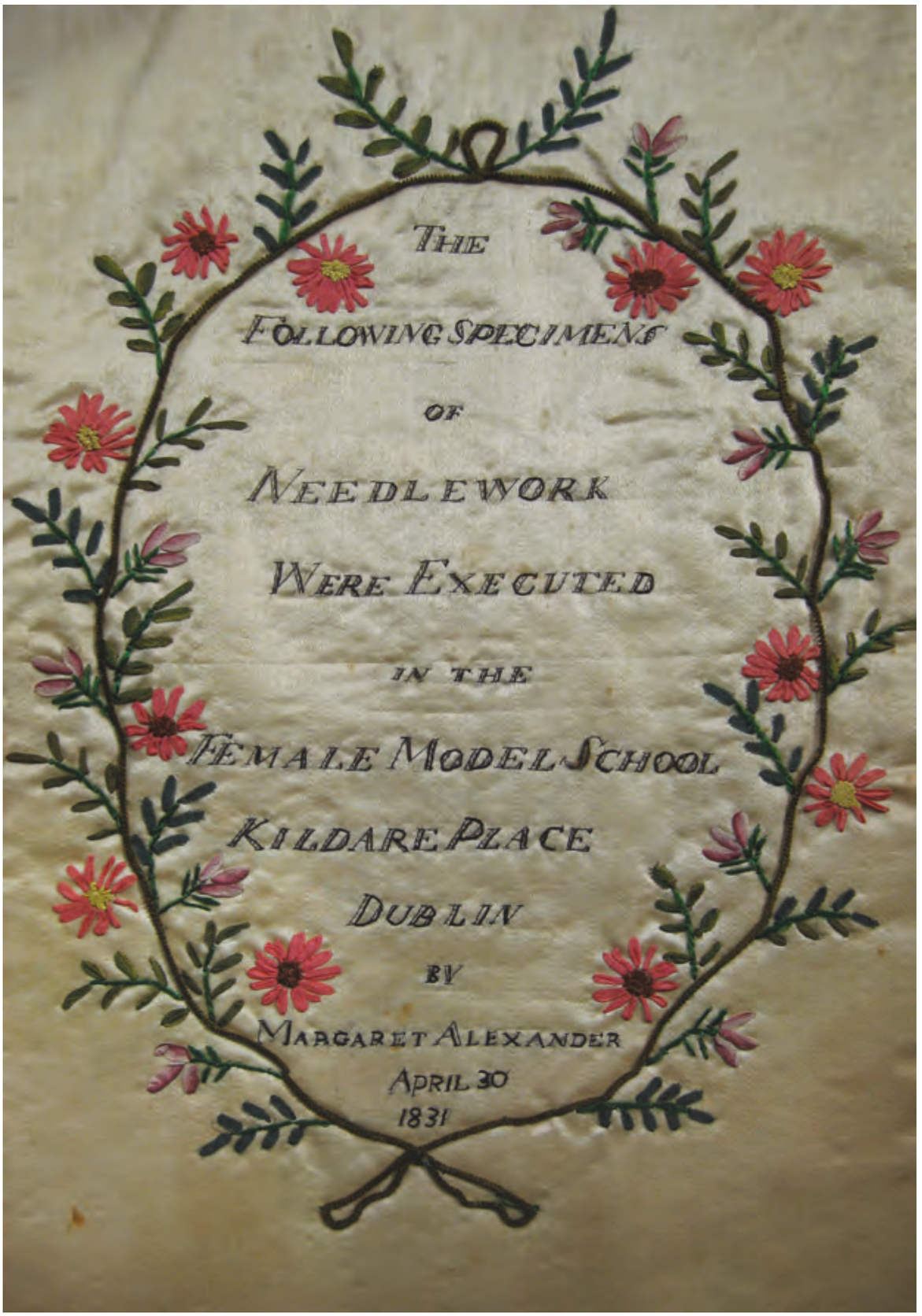
Also founded in the same year was a 'National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in England and Wales', which thus differed from the Irish Society. It set up National Schools, as they were known, and it also published a needlework system book, which included space for examples, although this was much less detailed than the Kildare Place scheme.

In 1816 the Kildare Place Society, as it is generally known, sent a representative over to England and Scotland to study how needlework was taught in schools there. He was disappointed and thought it of a poor standard, so the Society decided to develop its own publication on teaching needlework, based on Miss Lancaster's plan. This was a logical system with precise directions, starting with basics, such as the first stitches to be on paper, and gradually allowing the students to work their way up to making complete garments. It included instructions on knitting, a topic that was to become even more important as the century progressed, as well as plaiting straw for hats and various types of embroidery. It is probably the most influential of the various structured programmes, as the books based on this system survive in greater numbers than those of any other system. It also appears to have been produced for a longer period.

In 1831 the National Board of Education was set up in Ireland to provide elementary education on a secular basis, after which the Kildare Place Society lost its non-sectarian stance and became affiliated to the Church of Ireland. It also lost its government grant and had to close its Training Institute in 1840. Examples of work done by girls who attended the school, or more probably the teacher training institution, can be seen at the successor to the latter, the Church of Ireland College of Education in Dublin. There are two sets of work mounted on large folio sheets of paper, dated 1829 by I Henderson, and 1831 by Margaret Alexander (illus 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5). These start with a piece of hemming and work their way through different exercises including darning, knitting, straw plaiting, various types of white work and coloured embroidery and ending with small garments such as a shirt and a dress. The 1829 folio has several sheets of tissue-like paper with inked designs for the fashionable whitework embroidery to be worked on dresses, petticoats, caps, collars and the large shoulder capes known as pelerines. Presumably the owner became a professional embroiderer. Unfortunately the College has no knowledge of how they acquired the volumes or any information on the girls who owned them, but nonetheless they remain a testament to the excellence of the Society's instruction. A further set, worked by Dorothy Tyrrell in 1832, survived in the hands of descendants until 2002 and another set turned up in 2012, by Christiana Norwood and dated 1831.[113] These wonderful sampler books are likely to be the work of teacher trainees rather than schoolgirls and would act as both the certificate of a woman who had completed the course and as a reference for her when she commenced teaching.

In 1833, *A Concise Account of the Mode of Instructing in Needlework in the Female Model, Kildare Place, Dublin* was published. After 1831, when the National Schools were established in Ireland, they took over the methods introduced by Kildare Place and continued to publish needlework manuals until at least 1862, with 'specimens of work executed by pupils of The Female National Model School' inserted. Needlework was compulsory for girls in the National Schools. The system developed first by Kildare Place as recorded in these printed books was divided into four divisions, which contained sixteen classes. This expanded the number in the Lancastrian system. The first and second divisions, classes 1–8, covered all the things 'needed for executing any piece of plain work'. The last lesson in this group was 'Marking', that is, how to mark items with their owners' initials and date, and it is here that samplers are to be found. The third division, covering classes 9–12, was concerned with darning, mending and patching in various types of garment, as well as knitting and straw plaiting. The fourth division, classes 13–16, was devoted to muslin, lace, worsted and thread work. At the end were directions for cutting out shifts, frocks and caps for girls, and men's shirts, and for knitting stockings. It is possible that most girls would not have taken the later classes and it is not clear how many years the course was designed to take. This system was for schools that taught girls from poorer backgrounds in parish or other sponsored schools, not those privately run, so there may have been a limited number of years, or indeed days in a year, that a girl could attend school before it became compulsory.

Like the 1816 *Manual*, that of 1833 allowed


THE
FOLLOWING SPECIMENS
OF
NEEDLEWORK
WERE EXECUTED
IN THE
FEMALE MODEL SCHOOL
KILDARE PLACE
DUBLIN
BY
MARGARET ALEXANDER
APRIL 30
1831

OPPOSITE. 3.3 The front cover of Margaret Alexander's book of samplers, 1831, made of white satin embroidered with narrow coloured ribbon and chenille threads, the inscription written in black ink. The paper the items are attached to is foolscap size, 17 in (43.2 cm) x 13½ in (34.3 cm). Kildare Place Society Archives, by permission of the Church of Ireland College of Education.

ABOVE. 3.4 A small sampler from Margaret Alexander's book of samplers, 1831, showing an alphabet that is found mainly on Irish samplers. Kildare Place Society Archives, by permission of the Church of Ireland College of Education.

3.5 Miniature dress from Margaret Alexander's book of samplers, 1831, showing a fashionable dress made of fairly cheap cotton fabric but showing all the skills she had learnt in plain sewing. Kildare Place Society Archives, by permission of the Church of Ireland College of Education.

the possibility of purchasing, at extra cost, small examples of needlework showing how the various exercises should be done. Editions of these books in the copyright libraries do not have the needlework pieces and both the 1816 and 1833 volumes are relatively rare.

Later editions of the Female National Model School of Ireland book survive in larger quantities and many have some, or all, of the needlework specimens inserted on specially printed green paper pages at the end of the text.[114] These examples were worked by the girls at the school, as the title page makes clear, and are not the work of anyone who owned the book. The books were intended for teachers, the samples giving them an approved example by which to judge their own pupils' work. The books were not cheap and those with examples in them cost considerably more, so they probably belonged to schools rather than individual teachers. Unfortunately they have suffered because many of the samplers illustrating lesson 8 have been removed, or fallen out. There were also miniature garments and these, when found loose, are sometimes mistaken for dolls' clothes. These manuals of needlework were bought by people all over Britain, and before the Acts of the 1870s that set up local school boards in England, Scotland and Wales, they probably formed the best and easiest example of a structured system to follow.

A further private initiative was published in 1850, with a second edition in 1855, which had similar aims to both the Lancastrian and Kildare systems and was intended for schools. Called *The Sampler: A System of Teaching Plain Needlework in Schools*, it was published by 'A Lady', revealed in the second edition in 1855 to be The Lady E Finch.[115] The structure is similar to the others but the girls appear to work the stitches of each class on one piece of cloth, finishing with a gusset sampler that shows gathering, putting on a frill and buttonholes. Despite its name, the book is a mixture of the Kildare book and *The Lady's Economical Assistant or The Art of Cutting Out . . .* of 1808 (see above), with plenty of diagrams for cutting out basic garments.

These books are important for the understanding of girls' education in the nineteenth century. By the time education was organised on a nationwide basis in Britain these detailed manuals had fallen out of use. Women training to be teachers in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century made samplers as part of domestic science courses, and examples of their work can be found in museum collec-

tions. Two such colleges in Scotland, both founded in the 1870s, were the Edinburgh School of Cookery and Domestic Economy, known as Atholl Crescent after its location, and the Glasgow and West of Scotland College of Domestic Science, familiarly known as the Dough School. The greater use of the sewing machine in schools from the middle part of the twentieth century and the demise of teacher training college courses in home economics that included dressmaking probably killed off the plain sewing sampler.

An interesting example of the encouragement of plain sewing can be found in the *Girl's Own Paper*, founded in 1880, published by the Religious Tract Society, which also published the *Boy's Own Paper*.[116] It was the most popular and widely read girls' magazine of its day. Girls and young women from all walks of life in Britain, including royalty, such as Princess Mary of Teck (later Queen Mary), read it, entered its competitions and wrote to ask for help with various problems. It was a very respectable magazine with a Christian message aiming to make girls accept their lot but always to strive to better themselves through education and hard work, to show Christian charity and to behave with dignity, and it ran regular articles on types of employment suitable for girls. It was a weekly, costing one penny, and included stories, factual articles, poems, music, fashion news once a month, and a page of answers to questions, but it could also be bought as an annual, and many bound volumes of these survive, confirming its popularity. Its competitions included plain sewing and in 1882 it announced one for a sampler.[117] This included an engraving to show how the sampler should be made and instructions on working it. It was to be made of white linen 8 inches by 6 inches (20.3 x 15.2 cm) with a frill of white mull or lawn of 2 inches (5.0 cm). In the centre was to be an alphabet of both capital and lower case letters 'in the correct marking stitch as shown in the illustration'. This was not the cross stitch that had commonly been used before, but satin stitch. The sampler would show off the maker's ability in various plain sewing stitches such as hemming, gathering, whipping and buttonholes, and was to include their name and address. The competition had three divisions, one for girls from twenty to twenty-five, one for girls aged sixteen to twenty, and one for girls below the age of sixteen, and it attracted over 300 entries. The samplers were returned to the girls to 'enable each girl to see for herself, after reading our list of faults, where she fell short'.[118] Each sampler that received a prize or certificate was stamped by the Editor and one or two survive with such a stamp (illus 3.6). Encouraged by this result, the paper decided to hold another sampler competition, with even more detailed instructions and a few minor changes, but the results were disappointing as only eighty-two entries were received.[119] Scottish girls entered these competitions and won certificates, including Mary Margaret Wishart, aged twenty, from Edinburgh, who won a second-class certificate, and Patricia Brown, aged eighteen, of Sangster Cottage, Bridge of Earn, who won a third-class certificate in the second competition. These sampler competitions fitted in with the paper's encouragement of girls to make their own clothes and not buy shoddy ready-mades.

3.6 Edith Mary Hall won a second-class certificate from *The Girl's Own Paper* for this entry in their plain-sewing sampler competition in 1882. The stitch used for the alphabets is satin stitch, not the more usual cross stitch. Edith was christened in Westbury, Wiltshire, on 4 June 1863, the daughter of Alfred and Ann Hall who were farmers. 11¾ in (29.8 cm) x 9½ in (24.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

CHAPTER 4

The elements of embroidered samplers

Embroidered samplers are the pieces that everyone thinks of first when they hear the word 'sampler'. Although this type of sampler was not necessarily designed to teach embroidery stitches in the way that the plain sewing sampler was meant to teach sewing techniques, it nevertheless used common embroidery stitches. It is not always clear how old girls were when they made the long band samplers of the seventeenth century, but those that can be assigned to a girl whose age is known suggest that they were the work of young teenagers, twelve to fourteen years old. Spot motif samplers could well be the work of adult women, as they usually have the clearer purpose of recording patterns and are less ordered than the band samplers, but because they lack names and dates this cannot be verified.

By the eighteenth century, girls were working embroidered samplers. Over time more information was added, with names, dates, ages, places and schools or teachers. From this further information it is clear that girls mainly worked these pieces between the ages of seven and fourteen. Factors that would influence when they made them would be their competence with a needle, whether they were at school or at home and what income level their parents enjoyed. Until the mid-nineteenth century, most embroidered samplers were made at private schools or at home, either with the mother or, more probably, with a teacher. The criteria for the choice of making the more decorative samplers as opposed to the plain sewing samplers are not clear, but there are hints that, as in Elizabeth Grant's case, it was a reward for good work as a plain needleworker.[120] More embroidered samplers than plain sewing samplers survive and, decorative and attractive as they are when framed, they have attracted more interest and attention in Britain. It is, moreover, usually easier to deduce where they were made. Much of this chapter is relevant to samplers made all over Britain, but to begin to understand what the characteristics of Scottish-made samplers are, it is first necessary to analyse elements that make up embroidered samplers: the fabric, the threads and the stitches as well as the patterns worked on them. Each of these elements changed or was modified over time.

OPPOSITE. 4.1 Christian Robertson's sampler shows one of the corner motif patterns. Christian was born on 27 April 1813 and christened on 6 May 1813 in Abdie, Fife. Her parents were Thomas Robertson and Christian Rollo, who married on 18 January 1806, also in Abdie, Fife. 15¼ in (38.7 cm) x 12¾ in (32.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

FABRIC

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, samplers were worked on plain white linen. Narrow band samplers appear to have

acquired their shape because they were taken from the end of a piece of linen, so their length was the same as the width of the linen. Linen was woven in many different widths, weights and degrees of fineness. The measurement for cloth in many parts of Europe was the ell, but each country measured it differently.[121] Linen was woven in Scotland but most of the fine linen used came from the Netherlands and Flanders. There are few, if any, surviving linen items for which we know the source of the cloth, so identifying the linen used for early Scottish samplers is not feasible. It is possible that some samplers in Scotland were worked on re-used linen rather than new fabric. Cloth of all kinds was an expensive and valuable commodity, so Scottish housewives, like their contemporaries elsewhere, had to be good at recycling. As there is little indication that samplers were originally seen as pieces to be framed, it would not matter whether new or old fabric was used.[122]

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sampler makers used linen of varying degrees of fineness but there are other fabrics that are particularly associated with their work. For example, later in the eighteenth century the use of a slightly yellowish wool fabric was popular. This was known as 'boutcloth', and was used for sifting dry goods such as flour, so it was a relatively cheap material. It came in a fairly narrow width, usually about twelve inches (30.5 cm), with blue selvedges, and was of an even weave. The blue lines can be seen on samplers either at the top and bottom or down the sides, indicating which way the fabric was used. Using the selvedges like this meant that no hems were needed on two borders. A sampler with a diamond centre design uses a very fine gauze (illus 4.2). It is perhaps this fabric that is referred to in the account of Mrs Stevens to Lady Whitefoord in 1724. Mrs Stevens kept a school and charged for various items for embroidery, including 'Gauze for a sampler' at 5d [pennies].[123]

Another fabric that came to be used later in the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century is a fairly coarse brownish fabric resembling sackcloth. Bishop Robert Forbes visited a sackcloth factory in Inverness in 1770, where he saw hundreds of little children spinning and working the looms, with a mistress instructing them.[124] Sackcloth often has an uneven weave that affects the embroidery worked on it. It would appear to be a cheap fabric, very suitable for young children to work a first alphabet sampler. It was not often used for working the more elaborate samplers with patterns.

Mid to late nineteenth-century samplers are often worked on a cotton ground, with two threads in each direction creating an openwork mesh, known as double or Penelope canvas, ideal for the thickish, soft, untwisted Berlin wools.[125] This too came in various weights and widths, and the selvedges were usually used for either the top and bottom or side edges. This canvas is most often found in Berlin woolwork pictures, very popular in the middle of the century.

All the fabrics apart from the cotton mesh were originally hand-woven, so suffer from some irregularities in the weave and this can affect the way the patterns and alphabets look. It is a difficult thing to copy exactly in modern reproduction samplers, which usually have a more uniform look.

THREADS

Early samplers appear to be mostly, but not exclusively, worked in silk, a relatively expensive material. Later alphabet samplers are worked mainly in wool, although the picture samplers are usually worked in silk.[126] Quite why there was the division is unclear, as fine wool threads were used for the crewel work so popular for bed and wall hangings in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The 1719 hangings in the collections of National Museums Scotland use fine wool threads of various colours worked on a fine linen ground, so there was no technical reason why wool should not be used for a sampler.[127] Very rarely a metal thread might be included. In the late eighteenth century chenille thread became popular for working the lawns found on the samplers that showed a typical small Palladian villa.

The use of red and green in Scottish samplers

4.2 A very fine silk gauze ground embroidered in silk with a neat pedimented house, thistles and a diamond shape with verse 'This god is the god we adore'. She also includes on the left Adam and Eve, fully dressed standing under a rose bush, with a menacing serpent looming over them. Unfortunately the maker has neglected to put her name to this wonderful piece, although there are several sets of initials. 17¼ in (43.8 cm) x 13 in (33 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

ABOVE. 4.3 Jessy Paterson, aged eight, worked her piece at M. Graham's school, Melrose, in 18[15?]. She has a rather charming scene of a house with roses climbing up the walls, a man and woman, perhaps her parents, a ship with sailor on board and the curious motif of the eagles or phoenix. There are blue lines in the selvedge at the top and bottom of the wool ground. 12¾ in (32.4 cm) x 12¾ in (32.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE WITH DETAIL. 4.4 In the centre of Jean Garland's sampler she has worked wonderfully colourful diamond shapes in eyelet hole stitch. She continues the diamond shape in her trees and fountains worked in cross stitch. Jean was born on 6 February 1811, the daughter of Thomas Garland and Jean Allen of Kilwinning, Ayrshire, and was fifteen when she worked this piece. 16¾ in (42.5 cm) x 13¼ in (33.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.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is also a puzzle, as they were not cheap dyes. One explanation might be that the colours were already associated with women. Surviving plaids used by women as outer garments have a white ground with red and green lines, sometimes forming borders and sometimes all-over checks. Women stopped using plaids as outdoor garments in the eighteenth century, preferring cloaks instead, and many plaids then ended up as blankets on beds. Silk was imported from Italy, either as skeins or in an unprocessed state and it could then be dyed in Britain. Dye takes differently in silk and wool, while the use of mordants can affect the colour and hue of the finished product. By the mid-eighteenth century the green silk that was most popular for use in samplers was a darkish blue-green, which runs badly if it gets wet.[128] The red tended to be a blueish red, which is less likely to run when wet.

Wool threads varied in colour from a sage to a more emerald green and the reds from a pinkish red to a deep scarlet, but neither has the blueish tone of the silks. Once Berlin wools became popular the range of colours was greatly enhanced and some girls obviously revelled in the bright colours available.[129] Berlin wools were originally dyed using vegetable and mineral dyes only, and they show the sophistication and skill of the dyers immediately before the introduction of synthetic dyes from the 1860s onwards.[130]

STITCHES

The variety of stitches used on samplers is wide (illus 4.4).[131] Seventeenth-century samplers in particular covered the range of stitches and techniques that a woman might need to complete some of the furnishing textiles that were becoming popular, such as crewelwork hangings, cushions and tablecloths as well as pictures and boxes. By the eighteenth century the alphabet played a major role in Scottish samplers and so the use of cross stitch came to predominate (illus 4.5).

For alphabets, cross stitch and back stitch were mainly used. These remained the most popular throughout the next two centuries, and cross stitch in particular came to be seen as 'the sampler stitch'. Scottish girls usually worked more than one alphabet, so one of these was usually sewn in eyelet hole stitch and, less often, a square stitch was used. Sampler makers used other stitches as required. By the nineteenth century the average woman probably used very few stitches for any embroidery she might do after she left school. Berlin wool work is seen as the Victorian embroidery par excellence but it was worked mainly in petit point or half cross stitch and sometimes included beads. There were other types of embroidery, as women's magazines of the period testify. Satin stitch and long and short stitches were both used to work the flower and fruit pictures popular in the mid to late eighteenth century. Much of what we see as Victorian embroidery was done professionally, such as the white work known as Ayrshire needlework.

To work elaborate pieces of embroidery, such as the earlier wall hangings, demanded a degree of leisure that very few women enjoyed. As more middle-class families emerged in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century, fewer wives and daughters were required to work for money. This left women with leisure time to be filled, and many late Victorian commentators saw the wool work produced by these women as a useless, time-filling occupation.[132] But the work was often done for sale at bazaars to raise money for charities, including hospitals. The items produced, such as slippers, purses and cushions, were useful pieces, even if they may not always have been used by the buyers. In James Collinson's painting of 1857, *The Empty Purse*, a fashionably dressed young woman stands in front of a stall at a bazaar where there are embroidered slippers and braces among the things to be sold.[133] True, houses were seen as being over-stuffed with textile items by the 1860s, but they did help to brighten up homes, particularly those in towns and cities where smoke from the chimneys could produce a grey day even in summer.

4.5 Ann Scott was in her twelfth year when she worked this sampler, which is undated but probably about 1772–3, in silk on very fine linen. It shows similarities with earlier samplers with two of the popular reversed flower bands, and an elaborate alphabet of solid cross-stitch centres surrounded by back-stitched curlicues. She includes the Ten Commandments, crowns and various initials but also two names, Isobel Steil and Isobel Young, who may be her classmates at school. While Ann Scott is a relatively common name, the two Isobels have been traced to girls born in 1755 and 1756 in the Edinburgh area, making it possible that Ann was born in 1761 in North Leith. 16 in (40.6 cm) x 12 in (30.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


BORN APRIL 1834
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

CHAPTER 5

Distinctive features of embroidered samplers

The most common form of embroidered sampler in Scotland has at least one alphabet as a main component. Sometimes alphabets covered the whole sampler, sometimes a quarter with small motifs filling in the spaces, while others are half and half (illus 5.1 and 5.2). The next most popular type is the pictorial sampler where a scene of some sort is worked, possibly with an alphabet, more usually with a verse of some kind. Less common are more specialised ones. These include techniques found in Dresden and Ayrshire, two types of white-on-white embroidery. Girls who later went on to use their embroidery skills professionally could have worked these samplers, although examples are known by girls who would not need to earn their living. For example, Elizabeth Gardner in Glasgow worked four in the period 1818 to 1822, one of them a Dresden work sampler (illus 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6). It was, however, not uncommon for girls to work more than one sampler. Mary Lindsay at Balcarres asked her mother to tell Miss Innes of Stow that 'My first sampler is finished and I am begun my second.'[134]

OPPOSITE. 5.1 Elspat Macdonald's sampler, about 1840 to 1850, shows how the sampler developed in the schools that were set up in villages and towns for those less able to pay for education. She has worked several alphabets in various coloured wools on linen, mostly stitched in cross stitch but with one in eyelet stitch. She very helpfully gives her birth date as April 1834 and this identifies her as the daughter of George McDonald and his wife Margaret McRobert of Inverness. Although she has a row of very prominent initials in blue and red they are not her parents' and there are such a wide variety of last initials that they may all be her school friends. 20⅛ in (51 cm) x 20⅛ in (51 cm).
Leslie B Durst Collection.

MULTIPLICATION TABLES

Most of the samplers featuring multiplication tables appear to have been worked by Scottish girls, though there are some from elsewhere (illus 5.7). The tables were probably copied from a printed source although occasionally a mistake can be found. However, the chanting of the times-tables by rote in schools was not uncommon even in the mid-twentieth century, so girls may well have relied on this to sew their samplers.[135] It is not clear how they would be used in school, if at all.

EMBROIDERED MAPS

Embroidered maps are usually classed with samplers, although they are more like embroidered pictures than true samplers. Some were bought from print sellers, with the design already printed onto silk or satin; others were free-drawn onto the fabric (illus 5.8). Laurie & Whittle of London produced a fine map of Scotland in 1797, complete with a man in a Highland kilt in a cartouche, and several of these survive (illus 5.9).[136]

LEFT. 5.2 Mary Portes, 1761. Mary is probably the daughter of John Porteous of Broughton, Peebles, baptised on 8 January 1751. She has worked a crowed piece with several alphabets and initials in different colours and bands of floral motifs. 20¾ in (52.7 cm) x 13 in (33 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6 Elizabeth Gardner worked four samplers dated between 1818 and 1822 that show the kinds of work done by a middle-class girl. Elizabeth was born in 1806, the daughter of Andrew Gardner, mathematical optician in Glasgow. Her first sampler is the traditional red and green alphabet worked in wool on coarse linen, with crowns and initials. In 1820 she made a more elaborate, but still very traditional, sampler now faded to pale red and dark blue-green in silk on linen, with alphabets, bands and small motifs. Her third sampler dated 1821 is of Dresden work stitches in muted red and green silk worked on linen. Unusually she has worked her name, place and date at the bottom and an alphabet, partly lower case and partly upper case. The fourth sampler is a small white one divided into nine squares of four darning and five hollie point patterns. Elizabeth's samplers remained together in her family until recently which has made it possible to see how a girl graduated to more difficult embroidery techniques. Elizabeth married John Spencer and had three children, including a daughter Ann who worked a rather plain letter only sampler in 1846. 1= 18¾ in (47.6 cm) x 13½ in (34.3 cm); 2= 11¾ in (29.8 cm) x 8¾ in (22.2 cm); 3= 11½ in (29.2 cm) x 8¾ in (22.2 cm); 4= 9½ in (24.1 cm) x 10¾ in (27.3 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

5.3


ELIZABETH GARDNER
GLASGOW 1818

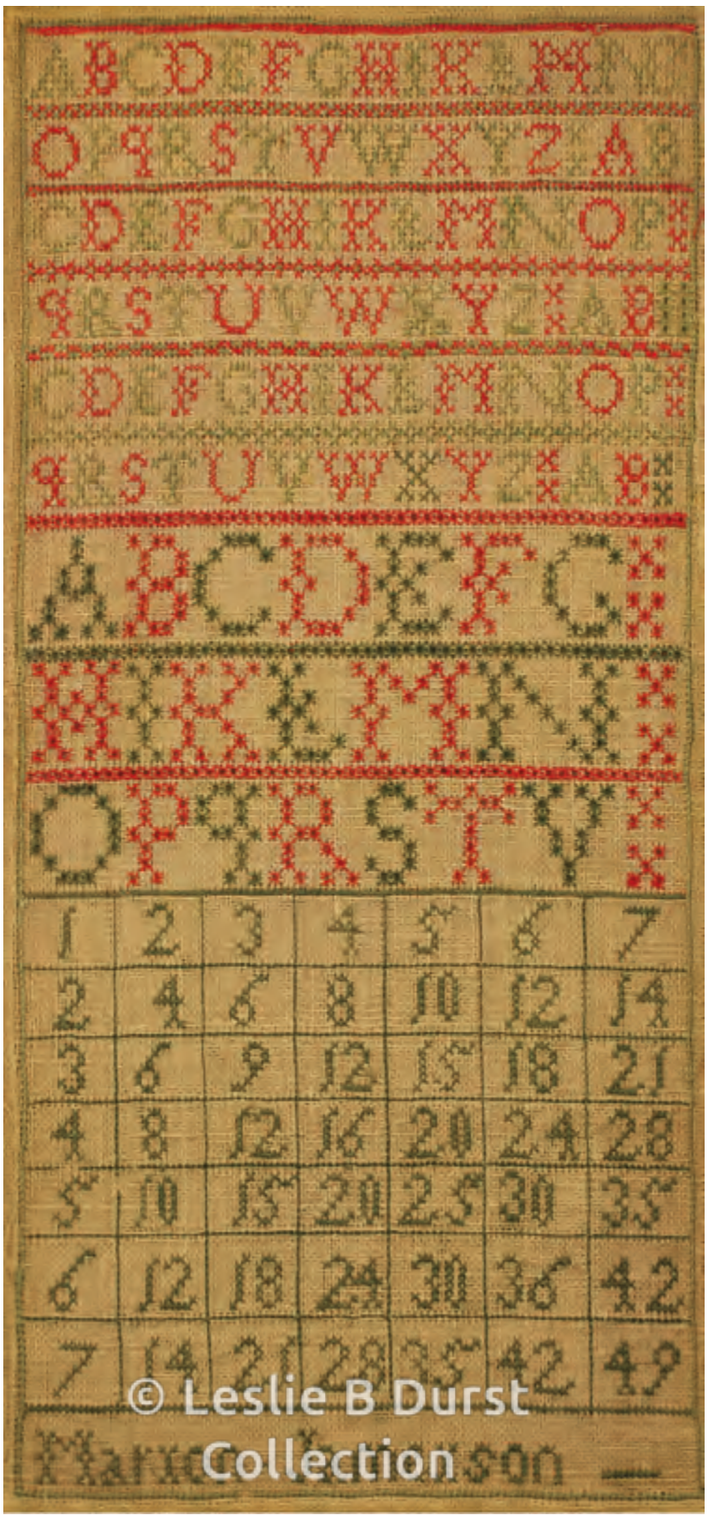
5.4


abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
lizabeth ardner 1820 Glasgo

5.5


lizabeth ardner Glasgow 1821

5.6



5.7 Marion Jameison has divided her sampler in half with alphabets at the top and a multiplication table of one to seven below. It is neatly stitched but there is no date or other means of being able to identify her. 18 in (45.7 cm) x 8¼ in (22.2 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Another popular print for embroidery was 'The World with all the Modern Discoveries', by an unknown publisher. It shows the world in two hemispheres with the major discovery routes marked, including those of Captain Cook, and usually has a wreath of flowers as a border.[137] Map samplers were probably used as part of a pupil's geography lessons, although there is no firm evidence for this, unlike the small embroidered satin globes that were made and used by girls at the Quaker school in Westtown, Pennsylvania.

POLITICAL SUBJECTS

Political events are rarely mentioned on samplers but there are some exceptions. The most notable in Scotland is the Culloden sampler, referring to the Battle of Culloden in 1746 when the government forces defeated the Jacobite rebel army led by Prince Charles Edward Stewart (illus 5.10).[138] Others have GR II or III on them, revealing perhaps sympathy with the government of the day rather than with the Jacobite cause, but on the whole the political turmoils of the day seem to have been of little concern to the girls making samplers.

DARNING SAMPLERS

Darning samplers were popular throughout Britain and the Continent in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Darning was a great skill because it required the mending of holes or worn places in fabrics that might have a patterned weave, such as linen damask (illus 5.11). Darning samplers are rarely dated, but often have initials worked into them. They were also part of the plain sewing exercises, but decorative darning samplers survive too, sometimes with embroidered motifs in one square. It is usually impossible to tell where a darned sampler has been made without some supporting evidence.[139] Girls at the Quaker School at Ackworth usually worked their darning samplers on very fine muslin.[140] There are a few curious examples that are different, of which those that survive all appear to come from

ABOVE. 5.8 Helen Kay's map dated 1816 has probably been hand traced from a print. It records Europe before the results of the Treaty of Vienna after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo the year before. Helen was the daughter of William Kay and Euphans Elder of Lanark, Lanarkshire, born 23 August 1807. 17¼ in (43.8 cm) x 20¾ in (52.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

RIGHT. 5.9 Laurence & Whittle, 1797, printed map sampler. 17 in (43.2 cm) x 14½ in (36.8 cm). This sampler is reproduced full page size opposite the title page. Leslie B Durst Collection.


MARCH
1746

Scotland. These do not start with a piece of cloth with holes cut in it, as in true darning samplers, but like the hollie point samplers a structure of bands of linen tape is used at right angles, creating a number of spaces. The linen tape acts as an anchor for the stitches. The coloured threads are then woven by needle to create patterns of basic weaving designs, such as stripe, check, twill and herringbone, and there are usually three rows of three patterns, nine in all, and the threads are silk in bright colours. These samplers might therefore be termed 'needle weaving' samplers, but they are not made as patterns for weaving, as women did not do this activity. Men were the handloom weavers and the job of the women was to keep the male weaver supplied with spun yarn. These samplers can therefore be seen as another form of darning sampler, making the embroiderer aware of the structure of a woven cloth she might have to darn.[141]

DRESDEN WORK

Dresden work is the name given to white-on-white embroidery usually worked on fine linen and imitating handmade lace of the same period. It was particularly popular in the mid to late eighteenth century for sleeve frills and ruffles, headdresses and neck handkerchiefs.[142] It was cheaper than the lace of the period and because it was worked on a woven cloth, not created by needle or bobbin as was lace, it had a more substantial appearance. Later some of the same stitches were used in the working of the early to mid nineteenth-century white-on-white embroidery known as Ayrshire needlework. Dresden work is pulled thread work: the stitches were pulled tight to create openwork panels within the design, so the base fabric had to be of a fairly open weave in a very fine thread.

OPPOSITE. 5.10 The Culloden sampler, 1746. This is one of the few samplers found with any reference to a contemporary event. Presumably Peter Law, shown killing a kilted Highlander, was a government soldier, but despite the other initials it has not so far been possible to identify Peter or who made the sampler, presumably a daughter or sister. Reproduced by kind permission of National Trust for Scotland.

5.11 Darning piece from Margaret Alexander's book of samplers, 1831. Kildare Place Society Archives, by permission of the Church of Ireland College of Education.

Little is known about Dresden work in Scotland. Teachers were advertising the teaching of white work throughout the eighteenth century but this may well have changed over time as different styles became popular. In the early period hollie point was probably the most in demand, as it is found on babies' caps and shirts of the time. This was a form of needle lace, created by the needle, that required the stitches to be attached to the linen fabric as a base.[143] By the mid-eighteenth century the term 'white work' could well have meant Dresden work. The best examples were probably worked professionally, that is by women whose sole job was making this embroidery.

To teach them the working of these stitches girls were given a coarse canvas and coloured silk threads.[144] The resulting samplers rarely have names or dates, but those that do, together with the distribution of these pieces, suggest that they were mainly a Scottish type. Another clue is the fact that those that survive are mostly worked in red and green (illus 5.12). There are other samplers with the stitches worked in white-on-white, almost as fine as the work on surviving garments, which could be from other parts of Britain, and continental ones are known, but these teaching samplers on coarse fabric would seem to be Scottish.

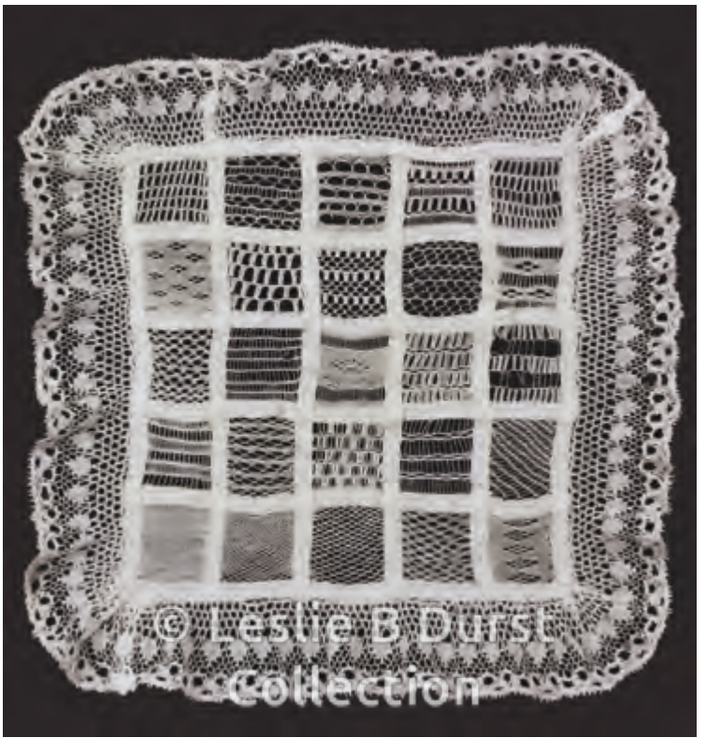
5.12 Coarse linen worked in rust and dark green silk showing twenty-one different stitches to be used for Dresden work. It is from the collection of Miss Janet Campbell, 'a descendent of one of the founders of the Glasgow Sewed Muslin industry'. 16¼ in (41.3 cm) x 8 in (20.3 cm). Private collection, photograph by Ken Smith.

AYRSHIRE NEEDLEWORK

Ayrshire needlework is a style of embroidery that takes its name from the fact that women in Ayrshire worked it, but it grew out of the earlier tambouring of fine muslin.[145] So far, no samplers of tambouring have been found with a Scottish provenance and very few Ayrshire work ones.[146] Tambouring is worked on fine muslin with a hooked needle, the fabric stretched tight over a hoop like a drum skin, hence its name from 'tambour', the French for drum. It was a style of needlework from India and became very popular in Europe, worked in coloured silks, usually on fine white muslin but also white-on-white, replacing Dresden as a form of lighter embroidery. An Italian, Luigi Ruffini, who set up a workshop in Edinburgh in 1783 employing young girls, introduced tambouring to Scotland.[147] The new embroidery quickly spread to the west of Scotland, as is recorded in some of the parishes in the *Statistical Account of Scotland* published in the 1790s. It was a home industry but mainly a professional type of work and not something that most women, as untrained amateurs, would have been capable of doing to the same standard, although it was included in some embroidery manuals.[148]

The introduction of a new style that became known as Ayrshire needlework is credited to Lady Eglinton, widow of the eldest son of the Earl of Montgomerie. In about 1814 she brought home with her a baby robe worked by a French woman, which had inset filling stitches.[149] This she lent to a Mrs Jamieson, who copied the stitches and taught them to women she employed, presumably as tambourers. Those who

5.13 Small square sampler in brightly coloured silk threads showing various fabric ground designs for darning, with needle lace in the centre. Each square is attached to a white linen tape that is then covered by blue ribbon. Early nineteenth century, probably worked by a member of the Robertson family of Selkirk. 6⅜ in (16.2 cm) x 6½ in (16.5 cm). NMS A.1962.507.



5.14 Beatrice Guild's small Ayrshire needlework sampler is edged with handmade bobbin lace, which was probably bought rather than made by her. According to a note on the back, she made it in about 1834. Beatrice was born on 7 January 1822, the youngest child of James Guild, distiller, and Margaret Morrison of Alloa, Clackmannanshire. 5½ in (13.9 cm) x 5½ in (14 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

worked Ayrshire needlework were known as 'floo'rers' (flowerers) because the designs were basically floral. This became a booming industry in Ayrshire with the advent of new fashions in the 1820s and 1830s, such as very large collars, known as pelerines, and embroidered handkerchiefs. Another area was the making of baby caps and baby robes, often today erroneously called christening robes; they were a baby's smart dress worn when shown off to friends and relations. Christenings at this period were not usually the elaborate ceremonies that later became popular.

There are known to have been schools for teaching this work, for example in Paisley, and the lack of samplers for showing the workings of the stitches suggests it was not taught much at ordinary girls' schools, although one sampler is known, worked by Beatrice Guild in about 1834 (illus 5.14).[150] Ayrshire is a very delicate and intricate style of needle lace stitches worked to fill holes cut into the fabric, so required a high level of skill. It is believed that the flowerers specialised, some working the flowers and some the infills, but there has been no detailed work done on this aspect of the industry.[151] It was, however, organised like many other home industries, with the cloth and threads being given out by a man who travelled round a district. He collected the finished work and it was then sent to Glasgow for cutting out and sewing into garments, washing and pressing, before being exported. By the 1840s there was a huge export trade in Ayrshire needlework to Europe and America, but it had to compete with other forms of lace, and later machine embroidery, and declined rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century.


1747
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

CHAPTER 6

Designs embroidered on Scottish samplers

SOURCES OF DESIGNS

Many of the patterns and motifs found on samplers can be traced back at least two or three centuries (illus 6.1). Some are derived from the printed pattern books of the sixteenth century. But exactly how and from where the girls and their teachers acquired the designs is unknown, and there was no one source. Some designs, such as maps and later the more elaborate letters, could be bought as prints. Print sellers sold maps printed on silk where only the outline needed to be embroidered, while the more elaborate letters found on later samplers were reproduced in many women's magazines from the early nineteenth century onwards. Another source was possibly roups, where goods were sold at a public auction. This was where second-hand goods could be acquired, and if all of a household's or person's possessions were being sold, a roup could easily include samplers. Gifts and bequests are other sources, but so far only in Orkney in 1710 has a mention been found in a household inventory. A more likely source of designs is from a sampler lent to a friend to copy. Marion Innes lent Catherine Munro her sampler, which was returned with the comment: 'It has been of great use to my pupils and in their name and my own I beg you will accept of grateful thanks for a loan of it.'[152] Girls would also have seen samplers in the homes of their friends and family, and no doubt they or their mothers exchanged ideas. Later, small motifs were copied from the Berlin woolwork designs that were included in magazines or bought from fancy goods stores such as that owned by Jane Gaugain and her husband in Edinburgh.[153]

While individual motifs may have been copied from existing samplers, there is also a possibility that earlier examples were copied in their entirety. For example, a sampler dated 1820 by Catherine Low follows closely a design seen on three much earlier pieces. In 1740, Jean Murray worked a small sampler crowded with patterns (illus 6.2). In the top third are three bands: one a twisted stem with flower, one with pairs of fat birds facing each other across a small plant, and a third with pairs of peacocks with seven 'eyes' in their tails.[154] Below this is a three-storey building with three gables, a man on the steps, and two black dogs at the bottom.[155] On either side of the building is an octagon with the Ten Commandments, Jean's name and the date. In a band at the bottom is a castle with a face in

OPPOSITE. 6.1 A long sampler by Helen Duncan, 1747, with the top half worked with various bands of patterns, many dating back to the sixteenth century. The lower half has alphabets, numbers and initials. Helen was the daughter of Henry Duncan, lister (dyer), and Margaret Allen, of Dalmeny, near Edinburgh and she was baptised on 24 October 1740 so was only seven when she worked her sampler. 30½ in (77.5 cm) x 12¾ in (32.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

ABOVE. 6.2 Jean Murray's small crowded sampler is one of the earliest known figurative samplers. It has a three-storey building with three gables and a man of the steps. Below is the motif of a castle with a head in the doorway. So far Jean has not been traced in the records but the large initials worked in eyelet holes of PM and IC are presumably her parents. 12½ in (31.8 cm) x 8⅞ in (22.5 cm). NMS A.1976.588.

OPPOSITE. 6.3 Grizel Henderson's sampler, worked when she was eleven years old, is virtually identical to Jean Murray's of 1740, but she includes her parents' names in the right-hand octagon after the Ten Commandments. Grizel was born in 1790 to James Henderson and Christian Ingles and she married William Thomson on 19 September 1831. 16 in (40.6 cm) x 18½ in (47 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


I HAVE THOU NO
OTHER GODS BUT ME
III TAKE NOT THE
NAME OF GOD IN VAIN
V HONOUR THY FATHER
AND MOTHER TOO
VI AND SEE THAT
THOU NO MURDER DO
VII FROM WHOREDOM
KEEP THY CHAST CLEAN
VIII AND STEAL NOT THO
IX OF FALSE REPORT
X WHAT IS THY NEIGHBO
URS COVET NOT
CHRISTEN INGLESS
IH AM IH IH AS
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

the doorway, on the left a thistle in an octagon, and a rose in a similar octagon on the right. A sampler in a private collection with no girl's name but the word 'Abernithy', presumably the place Abernethy, is very close to Jean's in most details, so it is perhaps near it in date and possibly worked at the same school or with the same teacher. Jean's sampler design is the same, except for very minor details, as Grizel Henderson's, who appears to have worked her piece in 1801 (illus 6.3). This means there are sixty years between the two samplers, so the question arises whether Grizel copied a similar sampler to Jean's or whether they all attended the same school, the latter being unlikely as girls' schools did not usually last so long at this period. Catherine Low's piece of 1820 copies these earlier samplers fairly closely but is less crowded and introduces some new elements, including a very rotund man and a woman in a crinoline skirt. She omits the Ten Commandments and has a dog rather than a head in the castle doorway. So possibly Catherine is copying a much older sampler but adapting the design to suit her own aesthetic.[156]

Samplers rarely follow any set pattern and therefore the dating of pieces by a particular design is not possible. It is clear that, even in schools where a set way of making a sampler was required, the makers had a certain degree of personal choice. The standard of workmanship would also differ, as many girls lacked the ability to embroider with neatness and exactitude. These constraints mean that each sampler is individual to its maker. Nevertheless, over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Scottish-made samplers tended to follow certain design trends, which can be summarised under the following headings.

Alphabets

The alphabets are done in red and green threads alternating.

There is usually more than one alphabet; the majority are worked in upper case letters but there may be one in lower case, and possibly some numbers.

Each alphabet is in a different stitch: for example, cross, cross with curlicues worked in double running – two varieties, and eyelet hole.

Flat-topped capital A.

Buildings

Large building, triple-gabled roof with a man standing on the steps.

Square castle-like building with a higher central portion, often with a man's head in the doorway and often found with the triple-gabled-roof building.

Pedimented house, often with three shades of green chenille lawn, green and white picket fence or stone wall and fence, and a round window in the pediment. Sometimes there are single-storey pavilions at each side.

Initials

More initials are found on later samplers than on the earlier ones, and the mother's maiden initial is used.

Initials are found on samplers from other areas, for example North East England, but not usually with the mother's maiden initial.

Verse

Rarely a long verse, normally only a brief biblical quote, but some have the Lord's Prayer and/or the Ten Commandments in full.

Often the sampler is worked in bands with the rows of letters and initials taking up a third or two-thirds of the sampler, and either small motifs at the bottom or a small house.

Specialist samplers

Specialist samplers that appear to be mainly Scottish are multiplication tables and Dresden work.

Alphabets

It was important for girls to learn how to embroider alphabets because letters were used to mark all personal and household linen with the owners' initials (illus 6.4). In Scotland, household goods might be marked with a woman's own

6.4 Isabel Swan worked this red, green and black alphabet sampler in 1748, and it shows six different ways of embroidering them using only cross, eyelet and double running in wool on a coarse canvas, all within a delicate floral border in a purple shade. The first three alphabets are upper case but the fourth is a mixture of upper and lower case with some oddly formed letters. An eyelet hole version, then one with curlicues and finally a very large one follow, where the centre is in one colour and the curlicues in the other colour. There is no J or U. Isabel was the daughter of Robert Swan and Elizabeth Wilson of Collessie, Fife, born in 1738. 20¾ in (52.7 cm) x 11½ in (29.2 cm).
Leslie B Durst Collection.

initials because women did not lose their name on marriage, whereas in England the husband's surname initial was often worked above the man's and woman's first-name initials. Pieces could also be marked with a date and a number. The date would be that of making and the number would be how many there were in each set. The numbers might be sequential or, alternatively, the same number would be used for each piece in the set, for example 12, meaning that when the linen was checked it was easy to count that all twelve items were present. Isobel Lumisden made shirts for her brother Andrew, who was in exile in Italy after his part in the 1745–6 Jacobite rebellion. She sent them from Edinburgh and enclosed a letter dated 29 September 1748: 'All your shirts are plain as I did not know what sort of ruffles was us'd in France; they are of very good cloth, and are fit for any sort. They are marked with A.L. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, with red silk, on the gushet [gusset].'[157] Households often bought complete bolts of cloth so that a number of similar items were made at the same time. Marking personal and household goods with embroidered initials, names and dates was the general practice until the mid-nineteenth century, when marking ink and, later, woven name-tapes became popular, but some households continued to use embroidered initials. Elaborate initials on large handkerchiefs became popular in the early nineteenth century, together with white-work embroidery and lace borders. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, trousseau items were often worked with decorative initials or names on delicate lawn, usually by professional embroiderers, with some convents specialising in this work. Today hotels often have their names machine-embroidered on towels and bed linen.

The earliest surviving samplers that can be considered Scottish are two alphabet samplers dating to the early years of the eighteenth century and worked in red and green. One is dated 1713 and is in a private collection, while the other is undated, but on the basis of the clothing of the figure on the piece can probably be dated to 1700–20.[158] Other early samplers are those by Isobel Lumisden, of 1729, and Isabel Hutton, about 1730–1735 (illus 6.5).[159] Alphabets continued to be worked in red and green right up to the late nineteenth century and this appears to be a particularly Scottish feature, as does working more than one alphabet on a sampler (illus 6.6). There is no precedent in other surviving samplers in Britain dated before 1700 to show where the idea for this type of letter work in red and green originated. But it is necessary to be aware that not all samplers with red and green alphabets are Scottish, particularly those from the early years of the eighteenth century. The use of family initials and surnames that are more likely to be Scottish, should also be looked for when considering a sampler's likely origin.[160]

A sampler that has been described as Scottish is a sophisticated one worked in red and green colours, dated 1724 and initialled MM, but there are some problems with this identification (illus 6.7). The way the initials are conjoined is not a feature that is noted in other Scottish samplers, or indeed in those from elsewhere in Britain. However, it does show two animals that are found on seventeenth-century British embroideries, the lion and the leopard. These animals do not appear again on a sampler in this style until 1797, when they are joined by another favourite seventeenth-century animal, the deer, in a sampler by Marron [Marion] Scott Graham.[161] MM's sampler is a band one with some popular motifs including the 'boxer and trophy' and an alphabet of large, solid, cross and curlicue letters. But there is also an unusual band of figures representing what is either an Annunciation or Abraham and Isaac. This is definitely not a subject a Presbyterian girl would work, and therefore if the sampler is Scottish it may have been made by an Episcopalian.

Alphabets on Scottish samplers are copying printed letters. Most of the samplers that include

OPPOSITE. 6.5 Isabel Hutton's sampler has been turned into a small bag and dates from about 1730 to 1735. Isabel was a daughter of William Hutton, merchant in Edinburgh, who died in 1729, and Sarah Balfour, and she was born 18 December 1723. Her sampler includes four sets of initials under crowns with MS and MR above denoting the sex. These initials refer to her mother, her sisters Jean and Sarah, and her brother, the geologist James Hutton. 5¾ in (14.6 cm) x 4¼ in (10.8 cm). NMS H.RI 62.

ABOVE. 6.6 This neat sampler dated 1831 worked by Elizabeth Agnes Renny shows only three alphabets, one a lower case worked only in cross and eyelet stitches. It includes J and U and the flat topped A is missing, but the colours are still red and green. Elizabeth was born in 1821 in Edinburgh to William Renny, a lawyer, and his wife Margaret Napier, and married John Mckerrell Brown in 1847. It is not clear if Royal Circus refers to her home or a school. 10½ in (26.7 cm) x 10½ in (26.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection

OPPOSITE. 6.7 Sampler in red and green linen by MM dated 1724, showing elaborate letters, bands of patterns and an interesting figural band of an Annunciation or Abraham and Isaac. Note the squirrel and the unusual way the initials are worked; possibly Scottish. 31½ in (80 cm) x 16½ in (41.9 cm). Bryan Collection, USA

more than one alphabet have all but one of them as capital or upper case letters, with only one set in lower case. This is because the sampler letters were to show how to work initials that would, of course, be in upper case. Although they were not so prominent as alphabets, lower case letters were used in any verse or phrase worked on the sampler. A more decorative alphabet based on a cursive script became popular for working initials on handkerchiefs in the early nineteenth century. Patterns for these were often given in the women's magazines of the period. In Scotland these new letters did not replace the more traditional alphabets on samplers to any great extent until the second half of the nineteenth century.


A B C D E F G H
I K L M N O P Q
R S T V W X
1724
I M

Originally printed texts did not use J and U in alphabets because those letters were not found in the Latin alphabet. Until the extra letters came into regular use in English printers' work, the letter I for J and V for U, as well as the long S, were used. This long S is sometimes mistaken for an f in transcriptions. Some sampler makers continued to use these obsolete forms into the nineteenth century.

Alphabets were a more dominant element in Scottish samplers than in those from elsewhere in Britain. Some samplers were entirely worked with letters and some numbers, usually in alternating colours of red and green. Stitches would be different for each alphabet: cross; eyelet; cross with a surround of curlicues in back stitch, sometimes in the other colour, sometimes the same; larger letters with a solid cross-stitch centre with curlicues in back stitch; back stitch forming a square block. The reason for the different stitches would appear to be for use with different kinds of fabric. Cross stitch was the most usual, as it could be worked with very small stitches and produced a neat effect. It was used to mark linen, and later, cotton undergarments, bed and table linen. Eyelet appears to have been used on heavier fabrics such as blankets, but no items with the other stitches have so far been found. On the Continent elaborate letters were worked on textiles, such as towels, that were used decoratively around the house. In some countries the tradition was to embroider elaborate shirts for the bridegroom and elaborate bridal bed linen. In parts of Germany, Bibles and prayer books would be covered with embroidered cloths when carried to church, but none of these uses was traditional anywhere in Britain.

There is speculation that the elaborate letters on Scottish samplers are derived from those from the Frisian Islands in the Netherlands.[162] Scotland had a port at Campvere in the Scheldt estuary for many years, and later in Rotterdam. The Frisian Islands are at the opposite end of the Netherlands from the Scheldt, so the contact that might influence the design of samplers and other aspects of female education is difficult to ascertain. There was regular contact with the Netherlands in the seventeenth century because of religious persecution at home and the fact that the Presbyterianism of the Scots and the Calvinism of the Dutch shared many similarities. Many Scots took refuge from religious persecution in the Netherlands during the latter part of the seventeenth century but their wives and daughters tended to stay in Scotland and look after their estates. However, some like Lady Grisell Baillie and her mother, followed their fathers, so they could well have brought back a sampler to copy. There were Netherlandish traders living in Scotland, particularly on the east coast, but they rarely brought their wives with them. One teacher who is known to have spent time in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century is Jean Duncan, who opened a school in Wester Portsburgh, Edinburgh. She is reputed to have spent several years in Campvere and Utrecht and when she returned to Scotland she opened a school that taught 'white-seam' and spinning. Jean's sister, Mrs Keir, and some of the girls spun linen into sewing thread, while Jean's own thread was apparently sent to the Low Countries and made into Flanders lace.[163] No date is given for Jean Duncan's stay in the Netherlands and at present there is no firm evidence to say that the elaborate letters on Scottish samplers are a direct copy of those on Frisian samplers. One possibility is that the Church of Scotland, which had a good deal of control over its parishioners' lives, disapproved of frivolous motifs but saw the alphabet, however elaborately it was worked, as acceptable.

In England the alphabet was learned from a horn book, a small paddle-shaped piece of wood on which was stuck a small sheet of printed paper with alphabets and the Lord's Prayer.[164] This was protected by a sheet of horn, a material that could be made transparent and was also used instead of glass in windows. Although most often called a horn book, the term 'criss cross row' was also used because a small cross was put at the beginning of the first line.[165] This can also be seen on many English samplers but not on Scottish ones, presumably because it would have been seen as 'Popish'. After the cross, the alphabet followed, usually starting with a capital A, then followed by the lower case version with the rest of the letters in capitals after it. There then

followed a series of pairs of letters combining vowels and consonants, with the vowels themselves sometimes listed separately. The Lord's Prayer occupied the lower half of the sheet. The original horn books used the black letter alphabet but later ones used the roman style and there was no flat-topped A.

Andrew Tuer published an exhaustive study of the horn book in 1897. He examined all the surviving ones he could find, searched literary works and memoirs for quotations, combed paintings, prints and drawings for visual evidence, and corresponded with book dealers and museums throughout Europe. He came to the conclusion that the horn book was very much an English product from at least the sixteenth century to about 1800. The evidence Tuer found for the horn book in Scotland is somewhat contradictory. An earlier writer looking at the history of horn books, William Hone, received a letter in 1838 from an Edinburgh correspondent, W B D D Turnbull, who claimed to have found that the horn book did exist in Scotland. His informant was David Haig, who remembered being taught in Kelso by an old woman called Janet Turnbull, who used to thump her pupils on the head with it. It was known as an 'AB Broad'. Later he passed on a letter he had received from John Jamieson, who had originally denied all knowledge of horn books. Jamieson had now had information from a Mrs J, who had attended a writing-school in Dundee in about the 1770s, where all the copies of the alphabet were framed with a cover of horn over them. In addition, Mr Jamieson's wife recollected a phrase applied to those who had not yet begun their education, 'Ye have na got the length of your horn-book yet.'[166]

A search of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* does not reveal any evidence for horn books in use in Scotland under either that term or 'criss cross row', but under ABC is a reference dating to 1585, 'Tua dossane of ABC broddis', that is, two dozen of ABC boards.[167] This suggests that the alphabet was certainly put on a board but not necessarily protected by a horn cover. Another interesting fact about the printed sheets used for horn books is that they were produced in the Netherlands, so it is possible that the Scottish market was supplied in this way, at least until the mid-seventeenth century.[168] There is one example of a printed sheet by the Aberdeen printer Edward Raban, which must date from after 1622, the earliest date known for his residence in that city, which has four different black letter alphabets.[169] Raban also printed a calligraphic text by David Brown in 1633, but this shows letters as they would have been written, not as they were used in a printed text, which is what the sampler makers copied.[170] One other interesting example from Scotland is a printed sheet headed 'The Child's Guide to His Letters', dated 1784. This has the usual capital roman A followed by a lower case alphabet, then a capital one, then an italic one, which must have been rather confusing for young minds. After this come the vowels and the Lord's Prayer. The printer's name appears in a handle-like extension at the bottom: 'Glasgow: Printed and sold by J&M Robertson, MDCCLXXXIV'.[171]

Unlike the alphabets found on an English sampler, those in Scotland did not start with a cross, but often with a second capital A worked with a flat top, sometimes with a middle stroke and sometimes without. This letter goes right back to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, with versions of it found in the Lindisfarne Gospels of the eighth century, for example, but its use in the intervening years is unclear. Girls would have seen the alphabet in the Shorter Catechism, which all children had to learn; there were special versions done for children. Teachers would have copies of this text, which was produced as a 24-page booklet, with alphabets printed on the inside front cover, but these do not correspond to all the types of letters found on samplers.

MOTIFS

The motifs discussed below are found on many Scottish samplers but are not exclusive to them. The motifs, such as bowls of fruit or flowers, little black dogs, deer, rabbits and flowering trees, can be quite small. Larger motifs include Adam and Eve with the serpent coiled round the apple tree, or bands of a reversed flower on a twisted stem.

Other motifs, such as buildings, were larger still and filled the centre of the sampler. Some small motifs were seen as fillers, used to fill in spaces at the ends of lines of initials or letters. Others were grouped in what obviously became a convention, such as a black dog chasing deer or rabbits across the sampler, sometimes over hilly ground or through a row of trees. The band patterns in particular can be traced back to the sixteenth century.

Adam and Eve

In the Adam and Eve motif the standard convention is of Adam on the left of the tree and Eve on the right with the serpent facing Eve, which is not always followed, and sometimes with the apple in the serpent's mouth. Elenor Henderson in 1816 has Eve on the left and beside Adam are two spades, while the serpent appears to have no interest in either human.[172] Very occasionally it is not clear which figure is male and which female, and in one sampler the serpent is handing the apple to Adam: was this a subversive act on the maker's part? The early pieces with this design have a tree with a flat base and three or four humps at the top with small red apples. The earliest so far seen is dated 1734 by Margaret Inglis.[173] The tree is virtually the same as those found on the 1740 sampler by Allison Ruddiman and that of 1745 by Betty Pleanderleath (see illus 7.9 and 7.14), both in the National Museums Scotland's collection, but it is found as late as 1805, used by Catherine Dewar of Perth on her sampler.[174] Other girls used more realistic trees, for example Lilias Simpson in 1831, but Frances Anderson in 1819 embroidered a more fantastical tree with separate branches.[175] Adam and Eve are sometimes naked, as in Betty Pleanderleath's and Jesie Balfour's, and sometimes partly clothed, such as on Frances Anderson's sampler. Janet Mailer includes a rabbit beside Eve, and a black dog which appears to be licking Adam's hand (illus 6.8; see also illus 6.9 and 6.10). For the most part this motif follows a standard design but one odd example is on the sampler by Margaret Renfrew, 1767, where she has depicted the scene from the verse she has sewn about the Angel Michael

OPPOSITE AND DETAIL RIGHT. 6.8
Janet Mailer's sampler has a representation of Adam on the right with a dog licking his hand while Eve on the left only has eyes for the serpent. The solid house above has a curious pattern round the edge, presumably representing stonework. Janet Mailer was baptised on 16 November 1806 in Auchterarder, Fife, the daughter of John Mailer and Janet Cowper. 22½ in (57.2 cm) x 18¾ in (47.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


Let saints below, with sweet accord,
Unite with those above,
In solemn lays, to praise their king,
And sing his dying love.
Janet Mailer Auchterarder 1819
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

OPPOSITE. 6.9 This lively sampler by Isabel Ramage, worked when she was eleven in 1770, shows Adam and Eve beneath a tree laden with fruit and wearing natty little green leaf frills on the hips. In front are a flock of sheep with shepherd and shepherdess to the sides, while above two angels blow trumpets. In each corner is worked a corner motif with large flower heads. Isabel has worked her name in metal thread but the rest is in silk on very fine linen. Isabel was the daughter of William Ramage, a porter, and Janet Ewart, and was baptised in the Canongate Kirk, Edinburgh, on 10 April 1759. She has embroidered 'Isabel Ewart' next to the figure of Eve and it almost looks as if she has identified her with the biblical character but she was possibly an aunt or cousin. 22½ in (57.2 cm) x 17½ in (44.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

TOP LEFT. Detail from 4.2. Leslie B Durst Collection.

LEFT. Detail from 7.8. NMS A 1993.103.


A T
I T
et christians faith and hope espel
he fear of guilt and woe
CW
he lord almighty is our friend
nd who can prove a foe
RWMB

expelling the couple from the Garden of Eden, and they are wearing leaves round their waists.[176]

Bowls of fruit and/or flowers

This motif depicts large bowls with various coloured circles and green leaves, which could be either fruit or flowers; it is difficult to tell which is intended.

Boxers

This name was given to these curious figures in the late nineteenth century, but their derivation has been traced by Donald King to a design, found in early pattern books, of a pair of lovers exchanging gifts.[177] The figures are rendered in many different ways. Usually they are found in a band across the sampler, each separated by an elaborate floral display. Agnes Blyth in 1747 dresses them in what appear to be frock coats, breeches and shoes, fashionable dress at the time.[178] MM's sampler of 1724 has them naked but with curls of hair (?), possibly making them into wild men (see illus 6.7). It is not unusual to have a black boxer, which possibly means that they were seen as servants, because they are usually holding out an object as if presenting it to someone. They can be found on samplers throughout the eighteenth century, with the latest date so far found on Scottish samplers being 1826.

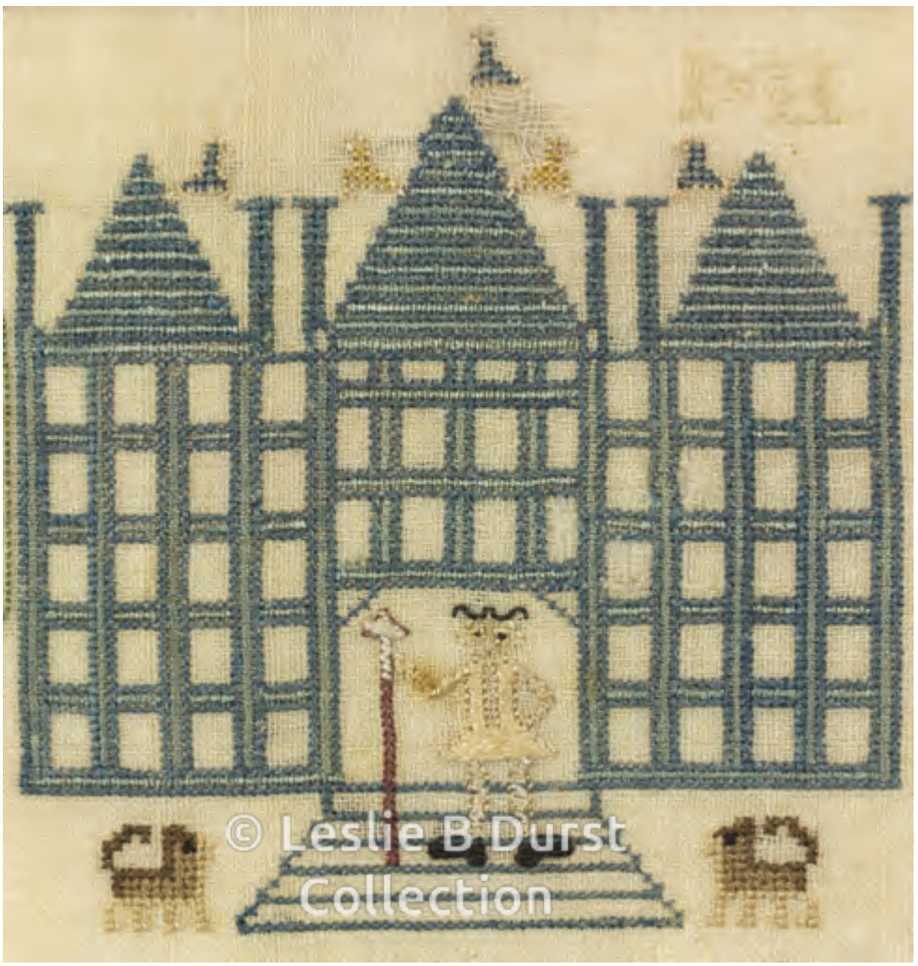
Buildings

Buildings mainly divide into three groups, the earliest being a tall building with three pointed roofs and a man holding a staff standing on the steps. No particular source has been found for this, but it probably represents a wealthy man standing proudly on the steps to his grand house (illus 6.11). A second house is often found in association with the first, but again its derivation is unclear. This is a square building with a central tower and a man's head in the doorway. Quite what it represented is a puzzle, but an undated sampler in a private collection has 'Tower of London' worked above. What relevance this had is uncertain as, besides being undated, the sampler carries no maker's name. Perhaps the last time the Tower of London could have been in the thoughts of Scottish girls was in 1746–7 after the Jacobite Rebellion when Lords Balmerino, Kilmarnock and Lovat and Charles Radcliffe were beheaded in the Tower, the last men to be executed in this way in Britain. One sampler with this motif, however, is dated 1740, so this explanation cannot be correct for all such samplers. The last dated sampler found with this motif is about 1825 by Janet Laidlaw of Thirlestanehope.[179] So far neither of these building types has been found on samplers made beyond Scotland.

The most common house motif used is a small Palladian-style villa, two storeys high with central pediment, usually with a lawn in front, worked in three shades of green chenille thread, enclosed by a green and white fence on top of a low stone wall. This did not make its appearance until the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Though many of these samplers are not dated, a general idea of date can often be suggested from other information. So far the earliest piece with this house style is Jannet Bruce's of 1775 (illus 6.12). There are variations on this pattern, some having single-storey extensions at each side.

The first house in the Palladian style in Scotland is considered to be the one built in Glasgow for Daniel Shaw of Shawfield by the Scottish architect Colen Campbell in 1711 and it appears in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, published between 1715 and 1725. It was a two-storey house with basement, the centre protruding slightly, with a central doorway and a flight of steps. A low wall hides the basement and there is a heavy balustrade across the rooftop. Its position must have made a huge impact and the interior was equally impressive, with a central staircase leading to four grand apartments on the first floor.

OPPOSITE. 6.10 Jennet Black was ten in 1819 when she embroidered this sampler with Adam and Eve and a very sinuous and menacing serpent. She has also included a little house but the pediment has become a gentle curve. 12 in (30.5 cm) x 17 in (43.2 cm). Micheál and Elizabeth Feller Collection.



OPPOSITE AND DETAILS THIS PAGE. 6.11
Janet Learmonth, 1765, worked one of the earliest samplers depicting the arms of Linlithgow, a black bitch chained to a tree in an octagon, balanced by a thistle and the motto 'I have power to defend myself and others' on either side of a three-gabled building. It is worked on wool in silk. Janet also includes a twisted stem reversed flower band and another of boxers, with a fountain, tulips and small animals and 'Mrs Nimmo', possibly her teacher. Janet was the daughter of Alexander Learmonth, skinner, and Mary Gibbieson of Linlithgow and she was baptised on 27 October 1754. Her great grandson, James Muirhead, married Elizabeth Gardner's grand-daughter, Robina Spencer, see 5.3-5.6, and the samplers were inherited by descendants of this marriage. 15 in (38.1 cm) x 13¾ in (34.9 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

ABOVE. 6.12 Jannet Bruce's sampler of 1775 is one of the earliest with a representation of the pedimented house, three coloured green chenille lawn and a fence and stone wall. She has also included a swag of flowers above and her parents' initials under crowns, WB and AP. Jannet was born in 1761 the daughter of William Bruce, ship owner and merchant in Edinburgh, and his second wife Alison Proctor. She married Robert Rankin, writer, in 1786 and died in 1850. 14½ in (36.8 cm) x 13 in (33 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE AND DETAIL OVERLEAF. 6.13 Hectorina Mckenzie has worked a very stylish pedimented house with a rose spray above and floral bouquets in octagons. It resembles the Taylor sisters of Linlithgow's samplers except for lacking the coat of arms. She has included 'Edinburgh' before her name but she was born in 1784 in Dingwall, Ross and Cromarty, the daughter of Hector and Ann MacKenzie, so she was probably at school in the capital. 14 in (35.6 cm) x 16¾ in (42.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

While the early use of the Palladian style can only be seen in the houses of wealthy men, by the later eighteenth century this style became very widespread in Scotland and elsewhere in Britain, though quite why it captured the imagination of girls is unclear (illus 6.13). Some owners who have samplers with this design style that have been handed down in their family believe it to have been the girl's own home, but so far this has not been proved. In fact most buildings on samplers appear to be fictitious unless they are named. Surviving examples of the Palladian-style small villa include farmhouses such as Kittochside, near East Kilbride, owned by the National Trust for Scotland and run as a farm museum by National Museums Scotland, and small family villas in towns and cities, such as Gayfield House, Edinburgh. The idea of a pedimented centre can be seen in many public buildings and in rows of houses where a unified appearance was important, such as Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. A book by George Jameson, published in 1765 for working masons, had an elevation and floor plans for such a villa.[180] It was obviously a compact, modest style that suited both town and country houses for the growing


© Leslie B Durst
Collection

middle ranks of merchants and small country landowners.

Depictions of real buildings were also worked on samplers. These were often churches or other public buildings such as town halls. Marion Raith's sampler of 1799 included Oxenfoord Castle, built in 1786 (see illus 7.2). Her maternal grandparents lived in the same village so she probably saw the castle at first hand. Not so the pupils of Janet Anderson, who worked at Inveraray Castle on their pieces in the 1820s, as they probably lived in Glasgow. These include one by three children dated 1822 (illus 6.14), one by Catherine Burn, 1820 (illus 6.15), one by Catherine Murray, 1825 (illus 6.16) and one without the Castle by Elisabeth Easdon, 1827 (illus 6.17). The Castle did however, figure as an engraving in various publications, from which it is probably taken. It is not clear if the Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh sampler was the work of children who lived there. Other buildings seen on a sampler include the Old Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh (illus 6.18), while civic buildings included Montrose town hall embroidered by Margaret Low and Jean Watson in 1783 (illus 6.19). Examples of a real churches are Alloa parish church and St Peter's Free Church, Dundee.[181] Many small houses on a more domestic scale were worked, often single-storey ones like the houses that were built in many Scottish villages in the first half of the nineteenth century and can still be seen lining the roads today (illus 6.20). Others are the typical house that a child draws, a little box with door and windows, possibly the maker's idea of her home.

Clock tower

Jesie Balfour works what appears to be a clock tower, looking rather like the gateway to a nineteenth-century seaside pier (see illus 7.3). This motif comes in various guises and on some German samplers it is a guard tower with guards, although on most Scottish samplers it lacks any military overtones. Clocks on churches or other public buildings as well as on freestanding towers would have been well known to early nineteenth-century girls so they probably adapted a motif to suit their own experience.

Coats of arms

So far, no sampler with a family's coat of arms has been seen, but several with the arms of a town are known. The most frequently found are those of Linlithgow, a black bitch chained to a tree within an octagon shape. The earliest is Janet Learmouth's of 1765 and the latest dated one is by Christian McKenzie, 1830. Four of these Linlithgow samplers were probably worked at the same school or with the same teacher. The two Taylor sisters, Margaret and Robina, worked theirs in about 1792 (see illus 7.4), while Jeannie Mitchell's dates to about 1784 and Christina Pringle's to a similar date. There is no date on any of them so they are dated from other evidence. Marion Scott Graham in 1797 included the arms of Grangemouth while Maern Kedglie, about 1800 (illus 6.21), and Gilchris Moody, about 1797, had the arms of Musselburgh on their samplers. A fanciful coat of arms is found on Jean Arthur's sampler of 1832, showing two red horses holding a shield that does not appear to relate to any family or town. Mary Hay in 1813 has the Fleshers' Arms, presumably because her father was a flesher or butcher (illus 6.22).[182]

Crowns

Crowns are worked to show the ranks of nobility and range from king through prince, duke, marquis, earl and viscount to baron; they do not indicate the rank of the maker or her family. There is no consistency in the patterns used and letters are often worked underneath to indicate which rank is depicted. Often the crowns on the samplers are merely there to show that the maker knew how to do them and they are used above parents' and family initials (illus 6.23). Margaret Anderson, for example, in 1821, worked two rather good king's crowns and neatly embroidered her family's initials under them (illus 6.24). Sometimes the crowns are filled in with satin stitch, which makes them look more like turbans; Jean Murray, for example, in 1740, has used them over her parents' initials (see illus 6.2), while Margaret Young, of Becks, in about 1875, has given all her relations a large 'turban'.[183]

6.14 A large sampler worked by the McDonald siblings with teacher Janet Anderson, showing Inveraray Castle, seat of the dukes of Argyll, 1822. This family has so far not been traced despite the names of parents and grandfather being given. 21¾ in (55.2 cm) x 20½ in (52.1 cm). NMS A1923.565.

LEFT. 6.15 Catherine Burn's sampler of 1820 is the earliest so far found by a pupil of Janet Anderson's that is worked with Inveraray Castle. Catherine was the daughter of William Burn and Catherine Petrie, and she was born in 1808 in Falkirk, Stirlingshire. 26½ in (67.3 cm) x 24 in (61 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

BELOW. 6.16 Catherine Murray's sampler of 1826 is virtually the same as that by the McDonald siblings, with Inveraray Castle and family names and initials. It has been possible to identify Catherine, born in 1812, the daughter of John Murray and his first wife Catherine Sharp. John had been born in New Brunswick, Canada, but came to Scotland at some point and became a weaver in Glasgow, later a spirit dealer. Catherine married John Neish in 1841, a sewed muslin garment manufacturer; he made clothes from Ayrshire needlework. 21½ in (54.6 cm) x 24½ in (62.2 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

6.17 Elisabeth Easdon in 1827 worked a slightly different sampler naming Janet Anderson. Various elements are so similar on this sampler and that of 1822 worked with Inveraray Castle and also naming Janet Anderson that it is thought she was the same person who taught them. Elisabeth was born in 1815 in Glasgow, the daughter of George Easdon, a wright, and Janet Leckie. Her mother was dead by the time she worked the sampler and she includes her stepmother, Agnes Young, in the family at the top. 22 in (55.9 cm) x 22 in (55.9 cm).
Leslie B Durst Collection.

6.18 Christian Lindsay has worked the old Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, on her very imposing sampler dated 1805. Up at the top is a tiny row of alphabets with numbers along the bottom and small motifs scattered overall. As well as a verse, she includes the names of Barbara Wardlaw and Mrs Campbell. The latter is probably a teacher but the former is an aunt of her father's. The blue selvedges of the wool ground can be seen running down the sides and it is worked in silk. Christian was baptised on 22 February 1790, the daughter of William Lindsay, a wright in Edinburgh, and Christian Cochrane.
22¼ in (56.5 cm) x 16¾ in (42.5 cm).
Leslie B Durst Collection.

6.19 The rather peculiar building at the bottom of Margaret Low's sampler of 1783 has been identified as Montrose Town Hall, Angus. Worked in silk on wool she also includes a clock tower and one motif of a twisted stem reversed flower border as well as several initials. She has been identified as the daughter of David Low and Ann Lamb, being baptised at Craig by Montrose on 29 May 1768. 15¼ in (38.7 cm) x 14 in (35.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

6.20 Ann Wildgooss, aged nine, has worked an ordinary single cottage of the kind found in many Scottish towns, possibly similar to one she lived in. Above are several alphabets in red and green, all very neatly done and showing she was a competent embroiderer. She was born in North Leith in 1798, the daughter of Charles Wildgooss, a shipmaster, and Isobel Paterson. 13 in (33 cm) x 12¼ in (31.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

ABOVE AND DETAIL RIGHT. 6.21 Maern Kedglie, aged nine, worked her sampler in about 1800 and included the coat of arms and motto of Musselburgh, East Lothian, a seaport near Edinburgh. The coat of arms has been split as it should be three mussel shells and three anchors with the motto 'Honesty'. Maern has worked the house in satin stitch alternating the direction of stitch for each block, but she had trouble with the fence. The rear portion of a ship at the lower right is the same as one on Euphemia Doig sampler with a rather brightly clad angel above. Maern was born on 23 August 1787, the daughter of George Kedglie and Ann Cowan. 16½ in (41.9 cm) x 21 in (53.3 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 6.22 Mary Hay's small sampler of 1813 is dominated by the coat of arms of the Incorporation of Fleshers of Edinburgh, of which her father William Hay was a member. Mary was baptised on 16 March 1798 in Canongate Kirk, Edinburgh, and her mother was Mary Porteous. She has included several sets of initials, a house, peacocks, carnations, dogs and rabbits. 11 in (27.9 cm) x 8½ in (21.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

a

b

c

d

a. Elisabeth Low, 1818, has large letters with cross stitch centre and curlicues round them; see 2.4.

b. Elizabeth Duncan, 1786, has an eyelet hole and a fancy alphabet; see 6.43.

c. A peculiar lower case alphabet found on some samplers, including Bethia Campbell's, 1737; see 7.6.

d. Square box-like stitch is the reverse of one way of working cross stitch, and below a curlicue alphabet, Helen Duncan, 1747; see 6.1.

a

a. Face in a castle doorway, detail from NMS A.1962.129.

b. Large decorative letters used by Elisabeth Snowie in 1830 emphasise the parents' initials; see 6.37.

c. Crowned initials from Margaret Anderson, 1821; see 6.24.

d. Crowned initials from Jane Kennedy, 1819; see 6.23.

b

c

d

6.23 Jane Kennedy's paternal grandparents, Daniel Walker and Jean Arrol of Old Kilpatrick, Dunbartonshire, had four children: Isabel (1772), Jean (1779), Margaret (1781) and Robert (1787). Widowed Jean Arrol married George Christie in 1797. George died in 1815 and Jean died as a 'relict of George' in 1829. Robert married Janet Frazer in 1802. All this family history is important because Jane has put *all* their initials on her sampler. 18 in (45.7 cm) x 13 in (33 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

6.24 Margaret Anderson, 1821, has worked her family initials very neatly under two large crowns. The rest of her sampler is worked with a pedimented house and other small motifs in silk and wool on linen. Margaret was the daughter of George Anderson and Janet Blaikie, born in 1815 in Galashiels, Selkirkshire. 21¼ in (54 cm) x 16 in (40.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


PL
IL
IL
EL
ALEL
IL♡
AM
EM
AD
THIS EIGHT WHEREIL Y DOWE TO SLIP
I GIVE MY SOUL TO CHRIS TO KEEP
WAK I SOW OR WAK I EVER
I GIVE MY SOUL TO GHRIS T FOEVER
1813
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

OPPOSITE AND DETAIL ABOVE. 6.25 Margaret Lindsay includes the rather awkward square-headed flower motif that may be meant to represent a rose. She dated her sampler 1813 and included a large number of initials, many in black indicating people who were dead. She has been identified as the daughter of Henry Lindsay and Jean Wilson of Wester Logie, Kirriemuir, Angus, baptised in 1795. 25½ in (64.8 cm) x 21½ in (54.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Flower with square head

A curious motif that may derive from a flowering plant that appears to be a rose stem appears on Lady Anne Duff's piece that is tentatively dated to the seventeenth century (see illus.1.1 and illus.1.2). Those worked on later samplers show three rectangular heads, as if they are a square cut in half, and most date from the early nineteenth century (illus 6.25).[184]

Fountain with doves

A popular motif found on many samplers is a standing fountain with two bowls on a central pillar with water coming out of the top. Two birds, possibly doves, with wings outstretched are alighting on the lower bowl. There is usually a wreath of leaves enclosing the fountain, curving round the bottom and up the sides. This may have been intended to represent something such as the Fountain of Life, and is another very old motif found (illus 6.26).[185]

OPPOSITE AND DETAIL ABOVE. 6.26 A neat little sampler by Lucy Adinston, aged seven, showing the fountain with birds motif as well as alphabets, lily in a vase and a dog chasing a rabbit. Worked in silk on wool the blue selvedge lines are visible at top and bottom. Lucy was the daughter of George Adinston and Hellen Hay, and she was baptised in Heriot, Midlothian, on September 1772. 13¼ in (33.7 cm) x 10½ in (26.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Gate of Heaven?

A curious motif is found on the samplers of Elizabeth Eiston, 1806, and her sisters (see illus 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12), as well as that of Jane Gray, 1839.[186] This motif probably represents the opening of the gates to Heaven revealing the City of God, as there are angels hovering over the sides.

Lily in a vase

Another old motif is a stylised lily in a vase. The flower often looks more like a tulip and there are usually some other flowers and leaves in the vase, with the central lily standing upright and the others wilting downwards (illus 6.27 and 6.28). This motif is reminiscent of the lilies in a vase often found on late fifteenth-century Netherlandish paintings of the Annunciation.

Lions

Small lions with tails curved over their backs in an S shape, and often worked in gold or yellow thread, are sometimes found on their own, for example on Margaret Anderson's sampler of 1741 (illus 6.29), or with the boxers as in Allison Ruddiman's of 1740 (see illus 7.8).

Octagons with motto

This motif consists of an octagon with a thistle in the centre surrounded by the motto 'I have power to defend myself and others'. The motto has not been traced but is possibly a translation of the secondary Scottish Royal motto, 'Nemo me impune lacessit', usually rendered in English as 'No one attacks me with impunity'. It is also the motto of the Order of the Thistle and some regiments of the British Army. The story of the possible origin of the motto is that a night attack by Vikings was foiled when one of them stepped on a thistle and cried out, thus alerting the Scots. The earliest example seen is on Jean Murray's sampler of 1740 (see illus 6.2 above), and the latest on Ann Whitson's in 1836.[187] Catherine Henderson, 1821, has a variation, 'Touch me if you dare'.[188]

This device of an octagon with a thistle is usually matched by another one, sometimes with a rose in the centre, or a vase of flowers and sometimes with a coat of arms; the Linlithgow girls were very fond of this latter arrangement.

Peacocks

On Scottish samplers these tend to have very distinctive tails with five to nine feathers each ending in a prominent 'eye'.

Religious themes

Apart from Adam and Eve, which possibly has more significance as a moral tale, religious motifs are not common. Marion Raith in 1799 appears to have Absalom caught by his hair in a tree (see illus 7.2), while Rebekah Mcdonald in 1823 has the Ark of the Covenant and two seven-branched candlesticks (illus 6.30; see also illus 6.31). Elener Henderson has the Tower of Babel and Solomon's Temple, while Jean Craigie has the Ark as well as Solomon's Temple, a wholly imaginary design because there are no illustrations of it in existence (illus 6.32). This latter is not found as frequently on Scottish girls' samplers as it is elsewhere in Britain. Jean also has the typical masonic emblem of set square and compass, a rather rare motif on samplers.[189]

Ships

Named ships are found on some samplers, probably because the maker's father was a ship master or captain. Ann Howie and Mary Higge, both of Ceres, Fife, worked *The Royal George* on their samplers in 1806, while Margaret Scotland names

OPPOSITE AND DETAILS OVERLEAF. 6.27 Janet Kinross has worked a half and half sampler in wool on linen, with the top part having alphabets and numbers in red and green including some joined letters on the second line, and the lower half with various motifs including peacocks and lily in a vase. Between the two parts are initials and the information 'Teached by Mrs Mitchell and Sowed by Janet Kinross in Dunblane Aged 12 18 Agust 1825'. Her parents were John Kinross, innkeeper in Dunblane, Perthshire, and Janet Reid, and she was their youngest child. 17¾ in (44.1 cm) x 14 in (35.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.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THIS PAGE. 6.28 Helen McLucky has marked her sampler 'Edinburgh 1813'. It is worked with large letters and figures in the top half with a central band of the lozenge and carnation motif. Below this are more alphabets and numbers and at the bottom a lily in a vase, more flowers and family initials, all within a honeysuckle border. Helen was the daughter of Robert McLucky and Martha Mackie and was baptised in Port Glasgow on 24 April 1803. 16¾ in (42.5 cm) x 14¼ in (36.2 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 6.29 Margaret Anderson's charming small sampler of 1741 has a curious motif in the centre of two birds, possibly eagles or phoenix. Between the birds she has worked a pyramid of strawberries and below them a golden lion on each side and the remains of a boxer's 'bouquet'. She has also worked the first four of the Ten Commandments surrounded by a wreath of flowers and birds in the style of embroidery found on aprons and other garments of the period. It is possible that Mrs Anderson and Mrs Smith are her teachers. 14 in (35.6 cm) x 11¼ in (28.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

6.30 Rebekah Mcdonald has made the Ark of the Covenant the central motif of her sampler worked in 1823. On either side is a seven-branch candlestick. Rebekah is most likely the oldest child of Duncan McDonald, a wright, and Rankine Davidson of Dundee and was born on 16 April 1809. 15¼ in (38.7 cm) x 11⅞ in (30 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

6.31 There are three samplers by Margaret Dalziel Inglis. In this one, dated 1831, she has helpfully explained that the motif at the top left of her sampler is the 'Finding of Moses'. At the bottom right are Adam and Eve, and in the centre a three-gabled building with a man on the steps. One of Margaret's other samples is also worked with a religious scene, Abraham sacrificing Isaac, with Adam and Eve on either side of a vase of flowers with no serpent, while Eve appears to have been sunbathing and is wearing a colourful garment. Margaret was baptised in Cramond, near Edinburgh, on 28 May 1815, the daughter of Thomas Inglis and Mary Marshall, and was named after her maternal grandmother, Margaret Dalziel. 17 in (43.2 cm) x 20½ in (52.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE AND DETAIL ABOVE. 6.32 Jean Craigie in 1800 has the masonic set square and compass to the right of a ship, and to the left of it Adam and Eve. She also includes Montrose Town Hall, a clock tower, Solomon's Temple at the bottom, a seven-branched candlestick and 'The New Church'. At the very top she has a deer motif found on seventeenth-century samplers. Jean was born 16 September 1788 in Montrose, Angus, the daughter of John Craigie and Jean Law. Her father was presumably a mason, which would explain why she has included this symbol in her sampler. 21¾ in (55.2 cm) x 12⅝ in (32.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Ebenezer Donald as 'Capt of the *Neptain*' beside the ship on her sampler (illus 6.33). He was probably her maternal grandfather, as her parents are given as William Scotland and Jane Donald. Elener Henderson has 'Admiral Nelson Vanguard' beside a ship on her sampler.

A ship scene more difficult to identify is found on Euphemia Doig's sampler of 1814. It shows three ships in what looks like a harbour with people on the rigging and in a building, with 'Botany Bay' above (illus 6.34).[190] A descendant of one of Euphemia's brothers can think of no reason for her to use this wording. A virtually identical sampler, of the same size, with the same scene, border band and alphabets, but with a different verse and no date, was worked by Jean Donaldson, aged fourteen. Jean, however, does not name the scene as Botany Bay, but she was almost certainly taught by the same person as Euphemia.[191] Maern Kedglie includes the half ship found on Euphemia's sampler (see illus 6.21), and as Maern is known to have lived in Musselburgh and Euphemia in Leith it is possible that they obtained this motif from a similar source. See also illus 6.35.

Strawberry pyramids

Strawberries are the most common border pattern but several samplers also have a pyramid of strawberries.

Thistle

Thistles are found represented in various ways as well as in the octagons with motto. There are more stylised ones, such as that found on Jean Stevenson's sampler (see illus 7.13), and more decorative examples, as on Ann Duncan's sampler of 1826 (illus 6.36).[192]

OPPOSITE. 6.33 Margaret Scotland has a thirteen-octagon lattice with initials and crowns in each space. Below is a ship and 'Ebenzer Donald, Capt of the Neptain'; presumably this should be Neptune, and he was Margaret's maternal grandfather. Margaret was born on 28 October 1825 in Tulliallan, Perth, the daughter of William Scotland and Jean Donald. 17½ in (44.5 cm) x 12¾ in (32.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Trees

A conventional tree design of diamond shapes with the bottom corner cut off is used, making the trees almost triangular. They resemble fir trees rather than the more usual trees that would have been seen in Scotland, but they are very easy to work in cross stitch. Other trees are taken from various contemporary embroidery designs.

Triangular motif

This curious motif may have developed from a name plaque on a grave with drapes on either side, as it often has initials or a name in the centre, and at the top is a stylised bow. It is doubtful if the girls had any idea of what they were embroidering, which probably accounts for the very different interpretations of this design (illus 6.37).

Patterns

Many of the band patterns used in the seventeenth century band samplers remained in use until the late nineteenth century. The most popular of these were variations on a twisted stem with reversed floral motifs (illus 6.38). In this design the framing stem has three twists separating flower stems worked with the flowers alternating right way up and upside down. Sometimes the flower has six petals and sometimes four, and it is probably meant to represent a pansy. Other varieties used are a tulip-like or debased honeysuckle, and occasionally carnations are found. Another band design of reversing floral motifs has the framing stem with cut-off corners, with a central flower and two others all growing out of a lover's knot, sometimes erroneously described as a Celtic knot. The flowers usually resemble carnations. A third reversed flower design, which is found less often, has an undulating stem made up of joined circles with a single lily-like flower on a tall stem.

Other band designs are found less frequently, but a set of samplers worked by Isabel and Jean Swan in 1748 and 1752 each show fourteen different patterns, nine of them common to both (illus 6.39 and 6.40). These start with simple lines,

ABOVE. 6.34 For some reason that is not clear, Euphemia Doig has embroidered 'Botany Bay' above a scene of ships crowded with people in front of a harbour. She has also worked, very neatly, three alphabets and a band of reversed flowers and lovers' knots. Euphemia was born on 7 November 1802 in Edinburgh, the daughter of Alexander Doig, a watch and clockmaker, and Margaret Livingston. 13 in (33 cm) x 12¾ in (32.4 cm). NMS A.1938.528.

OPPOSITE. 6.35 Margaret Doig was from Dundee, a major port on the Scottish east coast where the whaling industry was important, so it is appropriate that she included a ship on her sampler, together with the Lord's Prayer and thistles. She was the daughter of Alexander Doig, packer, and Margaret Christie. Born in 1820 she made her sampler in 1834. 25 in (63.5 cm) x 21¼ in (54 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

RIGHT. 6.36 Ann Duncan, Elgin, in 1826 included a stylised thistle on her sampler. Her father William was a tailor, her mother was Elspet Skene, and she was born on 1 October 1814, baptised on 11 June 1815 in Elgin, Moray. Research indicates that May Dunbar was most likely born in Inverness. 19⅜ in (48.3 cm) x 12⅜ in (30.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 6.37 Elisabeth Snowie, 1830, has worked her parents' initials very prominently and below them a motif resembling a plaque. 'Abdn' above her name is a standard abbreviation for Aberdeen. Elisabeth Snowie was the daughter of William Snowie, farmer, and Janet Birnie, and was christened on 11 March 1811 in Old Machar, Aberdeen. 17½ in (44.5 cm) x 12¼ in (31.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


JB
1830
ELISABETH SNOW
© Leslie B Durst Collection

6.38 Betty Ballingal worked at least three samplers and in this one, worked in 1769, she combines alphabets and pattern bands including three reversing floral motifs and border. Betty was the daughter of Reverend John Ballingal, minister of Cupar, Fife, and Jean McIntosh, and was born in 1757. 15 in (38.1 cm) x 15 in (38.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

LEFT AND DETAILS OVERLEAF.
6.39 Isabel Swan, 1748, band patterns in wool on linen. She has worked increasing sizes of pattern bands starting with lines and ending with an elaborate reversed flower motif of roses and carnations. See 6.4 for family information. 20¾ in (52.7 cm) x 11¼ in (28.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


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RIGHT AND DETAILS OPPOSITE. 6.40 Jean Swan, 1752, band patterns in wool on linen. A similar sampler to that of her older sister Isabel, Jean has some different patterns ending with 'boxers'. 21 in (53.3 cm) x 11½ in (29.2 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

then zig-zags, followed by small vegetal bands increasing in size and complexity until quite deep bands are worked. Many of these smaller bands were used as border patterns.

An interesting motif that is seen occasionally is that of clasped hands, worked as a band or as a single motif (illus 6.41).

Two corner designs are sometimes found as a band. One has two stems set at right angles to each other with another in the centre, each topped with a large round flower head (illus 6.42a). The other is a spiky floral motif with a square central panel.

Less common is a small Greek key pattern design worked in the centre of a diamond shape, usually three rows deep and in two colours (illus 6.43).[193] Another unusual design is a lattice of thirteen octagons that have initials and crowns worked in the centre. Susanna Robertson and Margaret Sharp both worked this in 1749, but it is found as late as 1847 on a sampler by Anne Kennedy of Ballechin. The 1749 samplers each have the lattice held by lions rampant, while Elisabeth Chapman in 1816 has a lion and a unicorn (illus 6.44); but Anne Kennedy's animals look more like pet dogs.[194]

Another lattice-like pattern is made up of lines of circles intersecting to make the lattice, with carnation flower heads in the spaces. The earliest this has been found is on Martha Dunlop's sampler in 1755.[195] Jean Stevenson of Kirkintilloch used it in 1814 (see illus 7.13) and the latest date found is 1826, on that of Isabella Brown, Edinburgh.[196]

OPPOSITE. 6.41 May Wedderspoon's very neat sampler of 1826 is crowded with motifs around a pedimented house. To either side of the fountain is a clasped hands motif (detail above) sometimes found as a band pattern. May was the daughter of John Wedderspoon, a farmer, and Isabel Morrison of Dunning, Perthshire, born 27 September 1808. 19⅝ in (49.8 cm) x 15⅜ in (39.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Upholstery

Some of the earlier samplers have small repeating patterns that are suitable for working on upholstery, such as chair seats and cushions. One, dated 1749, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, which may be Scottish, has several 'flame' patterns as well as smaller diamond and square motifs worked in stitches, such as rococo, which were hard-wearing.[197] Betty Pleanderleath in 1745 includes two small squares of popular square and rounded shapes used for upholstery (see illus 7.14).[198] By the early nineteenth century these motifs were very old-fashioned, but Jean Speir still included one in her sampler of 1801.[199] In the mid-nineteenth century Berlin woolwork patterns were worked on some samplers (illus 6.45) and there are also samplers that consist wholly of these.[200] The patterns are small and were suitable for such articles as slippers, cushions, chairs, braces and hand bags.

VERSES ON SAMPLERS

One aspect of samplers that has attracted comment is the verses and phrases used by the girls. The morbid tone of many of these has been seen as surprising given the youth of the makers, but they reflect the religious, moral and life expectations of their period. Although several authors writing about samplers have reprinted verses, very few have tried to trace the source of the quotations, but the Internet has made this task easier, and digitisation of long out-of-print books in particular has led to many more unfamiliar phrases and poems being identified.[201]

Much of a child's education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was by means of learning by rote, that is, memorising answers to a set of questions of all kinds, from the Catechism to geography. This method of teaching gradually declined but poetry was taught in this way into the mid-twentieth century. Children and their teachers would thus know many suitable phrases

TOP LEFT AND RIGHT. 6.42a Corner motifs from Christian Robertson's sampler (see 4.1 for full sampler).

BOTTOM LEFT. Dog chasing a rabbit from Lucy Adinston; see 6.26.

BOTTOM RIGHT. Triangular motif from Elisabeth Snowie, 1830; see 6.37.

OPPOSITE. 6.43 Elizabeth Duncan in 1786 worked a neat and rather formal sampler with four different alphabets and family initials in the top third. Across the centre are trees, lily in a vase and two geometric band patterns, one a Greek key motif. At the bottom is a rather charming scene of deer in a park, and the whole is surrounded by an unusual strawberry border. 15 in (38.1 cm) x 13½ in (34.3 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTVUWXYZ&12345678
ELIZABETH DUNCAN 1786 AD SD MD KD 910
ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTVWX
ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQR
ABCDEFGHIKL
© Leslie B Durst Collection


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Collection

OPPOSITE AND DETAIL ABOVE. 6.44 Elisabeth Chapman, has the thirteen-octagon lattice with initials and crowns in the spaces supported by two dog-like creatures, which presumably represent a lion on the right and a unicorn on the left. She also has little dogs in kennels. 15¼ in (38.7 cm) x 11⅝ in (29.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

and verses to put on their samplers. If these are compared to the published poems there are often slight variations in wording, such as might well be made when something is learned by heart rather than copied from a text, though there are sometimes variations in texts between editions of well-known authors, as they often revised their work. Copyright was not recognised for most of the period, so that pirated copies of popular poetry and prose might well be published both in Britain and abroad, a practice that annoyed many well-known authors. Works by those less well-known were often published without any acknowledgement of authorship and this can mean that it is difficult today to find who wrote a piece. They often turn up like this in the compilations of poetry that were popular in the period. Hymns have suffered in a different way, with many verses being withdrawn that no longer reflect contemporary ideas or that are seen as offensive.

Elegant Extracts or Useful and Entertaining Pieces of Poetry selected for the Improvement of Young Persons is only one of the compilations of poetry and prose published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century particularly for children of school age. It was compiled by Vicesimus Knox (1752–1821), an English essayist and minister who was headmaster of Tonbridge School, and it was first published in 1787, then enlarged and reprinted in 1801. Judging by the number of copies that survive, it was a popular work.[202] It contains paraphrases of several Psalms, Pope's 'The Universal Prayer', several of Isaac Watts' hymns, and long extracts of Young's *Night Thoughts*. There was also a companion volume of prose pieces. It is probable that compilations like this provided the source for many of the verses quoted on samplers. The year 1770 saw the publication of *The Lady's Magazine*, the first of what became a growing number of monthly journals for women that combined fashion with fiction, history and poetry.[203] Today these are usually considered only from the point of view of their fashion news and plates, but nearly every volume would contain one or more poems, often submitted anonymously and written by both men and women. For example, *The Lady's Magazine* in January 1792 had four pages of verse, some signed and some only with initials. Some poems are, quite frankly, lacking in any poetic merit, but this was the period when poetry was more highly regarded than fiction. Poets such as Byron, Wordsworth and Scott were hugely popular and amateur poets followed the fashion. It is quite possible that the young sampler makers or their teachers wrote some of the verses that

OPPOSITE AND DETAIL ABOVE. 6.45 Isabella Chalmers in 1850 has included a small vignette of a cottage, probably taken from a Berlin pattern. The rest of her sampler is more traditional. She was the daughter of John Chalmers, innkeeper, and his second wife Janet Fergusson, born on 27 September 1836 in Perth. 20 in (50.8 cm) x 19¾ in (50.2 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

cannot at present be traced. They would also have been very familiar with most of the biblical phrases used, which today most people would not recognise. Many of the verses are not the first verse of a hymn or poem, and may well have been dropped from more recent editions of hymn books.

Verses on Scottish samplers

Scottish girls did not use either biblical or secular verses to anything like the same extent as girls living elsewhere in Britain or in America. Biblical phrases appear in the first part of the eighteenth century, but hymns and secular poetry do not start to be used until the 1780s. The most popular verses are from the Bible, particularly the book of Proverbs, as well as the Ten Commandments and a metrical version of the Psalms first pub-lished for the Church of Scotland in 1650, and based on the work of Francis Rous, an English Puritan theologian and Provost of Eton. There was also a metrical version of the Ten Commandments in use in Scotland, much punchier than the one found in England (see 'Have thou no other gods but me', Appendix 2). Both the Church of England and the Church of Scotland used the 1611 translation of the Bible as ordered by King James VI and I, known today as the Authorised Version (or as the King James Version), but they were, and still are, separate churches and each had their own metrical versions of the Psalms for use in services. These were much easier for children to learn and so were encouraged by ministers and teachers. Before the eighteenth century hymns were not popular in either church for doctrinal reasons, but over the next hundred years Isaac Watts, Charles Wesley, John Newton and William Cowper all wrote hymns that are still found in the hymn books of most Protestant Christian denominations.

Secular poetry was less popular, but in the samplers seen, Alexander Pope is represented by quotations from his *Essay on Man* and 'The Universal Prayer'. There is only one quotation each from Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns.


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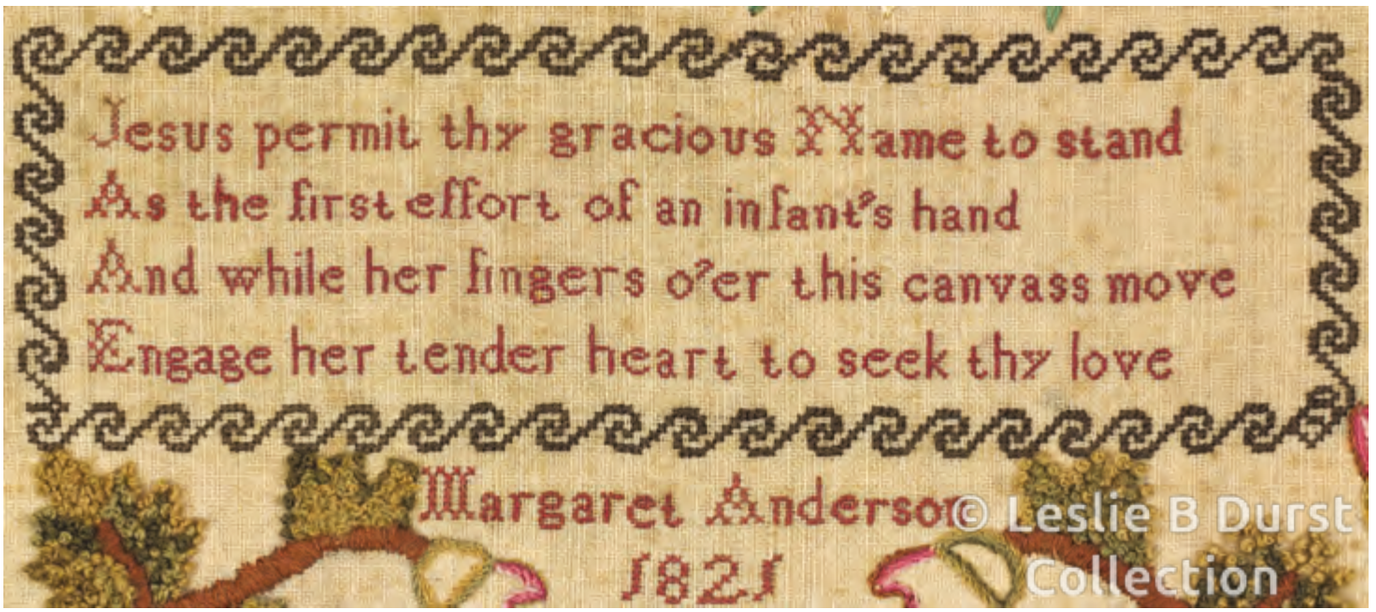
Collection


NOTRE PERE QUI ES AUX CIEUX TON NOM SOIT SANCTIFIE TON REGNE VIENNE TA VOLONTE SOIT FAITE EN LA TERRE COMME AU CIEL DONNE NOUS AUJOURDHUY NOTRE PAIN QUOTIDIEN PARDONNE NOUS NOS OFFENSES COMME NOUS PARDONNONS A CEUX QUI NOUS ONT OFFENSEZ ET NE NOUS INDUI POINT EN TENTATION MAIS NOUS DELIVRE DU MAL CAR A TOI EST LE REGNE ET LA PUISSANCE ET LA GLOIRE AUX SIECLES DES SIECLES AMEN
AM GLASSFORD HER SAMPLER



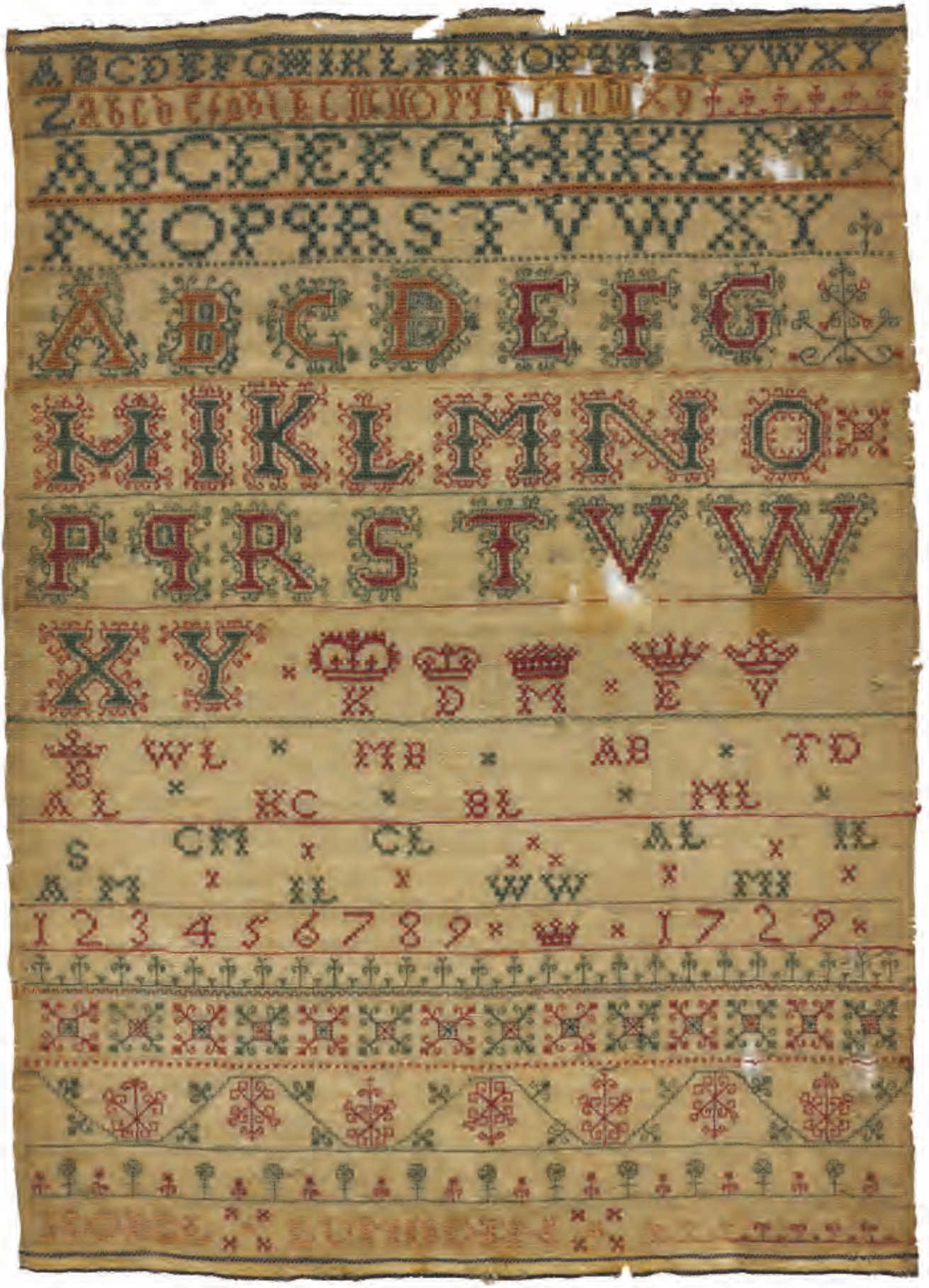
OPPOSITE. 6.46 Ann Glassford has worked a lovely letter sampler with the Lord's Prayer in French. It has not been possible to identify her despite the number of initials she gives, but there is a Glassford parish near Glasgow. 12 in (30.5 cm) x 10¼ in (26 cm). Micheál and Elizabeth Feller Collection.

ABOVE. 6.47 Margaret Anderson, 1821, 'Jesus permit thy gracious Name to stand . . .' See plate 6.24 for the full sampler. Leslie B Durst Collection.

This appears to be a much narrower range than is seen on samplers made elsewhere in Britain or in America, but within these limits the choice is wide and suggests that the sampler makers had a degree of freedom to choose the pieces for their work. It is interesting to note that very few of the verses or phrases are used by more than one girl, except for those from the Bible. There is also one sampler in a typical Scottish style that gives the French version of the Lord's Prayer, perhaps combining two aspects of the girl's education, knowledge of French and needlework skills (illus 6.46).

There are also several verses and phrases used on samplers in both Britain and America for which no author has been found. One is probably adapted from book ownership, along the lines of 'Janet Smith is my name and Edinburgh is my dwelling place' etc., and others have been found on gravestones. Probably the most popular one with no firm attribution is 'Jesus permit thy gracious name to stand / As the first effort of an infant hand', either of four or six lines, with the wording varying slightly (illus 6.47). It has been ascribed to the Reverend John Newton (1725–1807), a prolific hymn writer, but it does not appear in his published work. In *Notes and Queries*, 25 March 1871, vol 7, p. 273, someone signing himself (or herself) SMS, in reply to an enquiry in an earlier edition, asserts that the verse was written by the late Reverend John Newton for a sampler by his niece Elizabeth Catlett, but no firm evidence has been found to substantiate this. Newton wrote letters to Elizabeth while she was at boarding school in the late 1770s and early 1780s but the content is mainly on religious topics and there is no indication that she was working a sampler.[204] Elizabeth was informally adopted by Newton and his wife and was in fact a cousin. After the death of his wife in 1790, Elizabeth looked after the increasingly frail Newton. She spent a year in Bethlem Hospital in 1800 but recovered and later married. The earliest use of this verse so far found by any girl is by Isabella Taylor, 1783.[205]

See Appendix 2 for the verses.



CHAPTER 7

Tracing the girls

INITIALS AND FAMILY TRACING

One of the distinguishing features of many Scottish samplers is the use of family initials. Usually the parents of the maker are given, with the mother's maiden initial used, as women did not lose their maiden name on marriage in Scotland and were known by it all their lives. Initials are of little use if the sampler maker has not included her own name on their piece, as for example on HB's early eighteenth-century work. Sometimes it is known that teachers and other pupils' initials have been used, for example in the two samplers worked by the Holdway sisters at the Merchant Maiden Hospital and dated 1844 (see note 88). On others, there are so many that members of the maker's wider family must be included, but so far no sampler with a large number of initials has had all of them identified with certainty. The number of people commemorated on samplers appears to increase as the nineteenth century progresses but early eighteenth-century samplers can also include a fair number too, for example that of Isobel Lumisden, 1729 (see illus 7.1). Initials sometimes have 'Mr' or 'Ms' above them and this indicates the sex of the person, Mr standing for Mister and Ms for Mistress, for example on Isabel Hutton's, of about 1730–5 (see illus 6.5).

OPPOSITE. 7.1 Isobel Lumisden, 1729. 12½ in (31.8 cm) x 8 in (20.3 cm). NMS.H.NT.242.28.

Initials on samplers have been used to identify girls and to try to discover something of their background. Given that some names are very common, it helps if the maker has included a detail that allows her to be placed in a specific area. It is not always clear, however, whether a place named on a sampler is the place where the girl lived or where she went to school. Some samplers can be ascribed to the same school or teacher but have place names on them, for example Peterhead and Hawick, that are far apart. Tracing the girls has been made easier by the digitisation and indexing of the surviving pre-1855 old parish registers of the Church of Scotland on the website www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk. This site is maintained by the National Records of Scotland and includes the census from 1841 to 1911 and the post-1855 registers of births, marriages and deaths, and it is the only site to have this material. But there remain problems. The burial registers in particular are not as complete as those for baptisms and marriages, and only the Church of Scotland's registers are online; there were many divisions in the church over time. The registers of the Episcopalian church are not included, although the Roman Catholic registers have been added. Other records are gradually being introduced, which should help researchers, but it is advisable for anyone not familiar with Scottish records to read one of the recent books on tracing Scottish ancestors so that they can understand what is possible and appreciate the difficulties.

7.2 Marion Raith, 1799. 20¾ in (52.7 cm) x 18¼ in (46.4 cm). NMS H.RI 54.

Family record samplers, where the maker has worked a more detailed record, are rare for Scotland, but an interesting one is by Jane Sutherland, 1831, who includes some information on her father's life.[206] Usually the sampler includes the marriage of the parents and the exact birth dates of children as well as deaths where relevant. Rachel Bruce was twenty when she embroidered a piece that appears more like a picture than a sampler and which was perhaps intended to be framed.[207] Marion Raith worked her sampler in 1799 but revisited it to include details of the death of her parents and her eldest daughter, but this is a rare instance (see illus 7.2).

The reason for working so many initials on samplers is not clear, as they cannot be regarded as a good record of a family. It may be relevant to see it in the context of working letters for marking linen and practising putting pairs of letters together. The pairs worked are usually in different colours so that it is clear where each name ends. Sometimes Mc names are indicated by an M as a middle initial, and sometimes a small c is worked as well. Any letters in black indicate that the person is deceased, which can be useful in fixing a date for a death.

A few samplers have come with a family history attached. Isobel Lumisden's, for example, was given to National Museums Scotland with other family items (illus 7.1). Isobel was born in 1719, the daughter of William Lumisden, a merchant burgess in Edinburgh, and Mary Bruce.[208] She was a Jacobite sympathiser and managed to get her brother Andrew and her fiancé Robert Strange involved in the 1745 rebellion. Her brother went into exile with Prince Charles Edward Stewart after the Battle of Culloden but Robert, an engraver, eventually became engraver to King George III and was knighted – a rather ironic situation for Isobel, who thus became Lady Strange. She died in 1806 aged eighty-six. A cousin of her father's, Thomas Lumisden, was a printer and left his fortune to the Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh, so through her family connections Isobel was related to various well-known families in and around Edinburgh. There are many initials on her sampler and it is difficult to determine whom they might represent. On the first row her parents are presumably WL and MB; AB might be her aunt, Ann Butler; and TD her uncle, Captain Dalzell, who was married to her aunt Margaret Lumisden. AL is possibly her grandfather, Andrew Lumisden, while KC might be her grandmother, Catherine Craig, and ML her aunt Margaret, but BL is unknown. On the third row CM is unknown; CL is possibly her uncle, Charles Lumisden, married to Ann Butler; AL her brother Andrew; and JL her cousin John, son of Charles. On the fourth row AM, WW and MI are unknown but IL might be her uncle, John Lumisden. Isobel includes labelled crowns and the one for baron stands over the AL in the first line of initials. Isobel's grandfather Andrew was an Episcopalian and bishop of Edinburgh from 1727 to his death in 1733, so the B possibly stands for bishop as well in this instance. It is not clear, though, what the S over AM in the last line stands for.

Marion Raith's sampler, dated 1799, has no initials but recorded in black, in a space at the bottom right, are the deaths of her parents and her eldest daughter (see illus 7.2).[209] As Marion gives her age as thirteen, she was easy to trace as there was only one suitable girl, in Stow parish register: Marrion, daughter of James Raith, shepherd in Crumside, and Mary Stewart, born 10 March 1786 and baptised 14 April. On the sampler the date of her mother's death is noted as 2 April 1808 and that of her father as 25 July 1833. So far these have not been confirmed elsewhere. Marion herself married John Baillie on 10 June 1814 in Penicuik and they had four children: Mary, born in 1815, whose death on 14 October 1845 is recorded on the sampler; and Elizabeth, born 1815, Agnes, born 1822, and John, born 1825. John Baillie is described as a quarryman on his children's baptism entries. Marion's sampler has a representation of Oxenfoord Castle, which was in the parish of Cranston where her mother was born in 1760, her parents being David Stewart and Jane Durky. Oxenfoord Castle had a distinctive roofline with animal heads and this may have appealed to Marion, who may well have adopted the design from an engraving in a magazine. Where she went to school is less clear, as there does not appear to have been a private school in either Stow or Cranston at the time; the sampler is unlikely to have been worked at a parish school. Marion's father is described as a shepherd but it is unlikely that a shepherd, as we would understand the term today, could afford to have his daughter educated privately where she could work a large sampler in fairly expensive materials at an age, thirteen, when most children would already be working. Presumably James Raith had other means or the term shepherd had a wider meaning.[210]

Jesie Balfour's sampler was worked when she was eleven years old in 1828, and she helpfully

7.3 Jesie Balfour, 1828. 13½ in (34.3 cm) x 12¼ in (31.1 cm). NMS A.1944.642.

includes her home town, Arbroath, and her teacher's name, Mrs Sturrock (illus 7.3). Jesie's youngest daughter, Miss Jessie Munro, gave the sampler in 1944 to the Royal Scottish Museum, now part of National Museums Scotland, but she did not inform the Museum that her mother had worked it. With the information on the sampler

it was not difficult to find Jesie, baptised 4 June 1816 in Arbroath, the eldest daughter of Alexander Balfour, carrier, in Arbroath and Jess or Joice [the name varies] Hood. On the sampler are several large, elaborate initials at the top and a row of smaller ones along the bottom, together with 'Mrs Sturrock Techer'. Across the top are AB and IH, Jesie's parents, followed by AB in black, and IF, for her paternal grandparents, Alexander Balfour and Isabel Fraser. Next to these are MB, NB and BC, who are possibly the sisters of her parents. The initials of her maternal grandparents, John Hood and Jean Creighton, are worked below the top line either side of the panel that contains Jesie's name, age, place and date. The verse has not been traced. The initials along the bottom are Jesie's siblings, seven in all, of whom only Jane, apart from Jesie, appears to have survived to marry and have children. Jesie married twice: her first husband, whom she married in 1835, was James Reid, a master butcher in Arbroath, and they had ten children, including a set of twins. After the death of James, Jesie married John Munro, a commission agent some years her junior, in the Free Church, Arbroath, in 1859. They had two daughters, Ann Wallace Munro, who became an artist, and Jessie Hood Munro, a teacher of painting and music. John Munro died in 1890 and Jesie died on 20 May 1909 at 12.30am at her home, 275 High Street, Arbroath, of myocardial degeneration.[211] She is buried in the graveyard of Arbroath Abbey with John Munro and their two daughters, neither of whom married. But there are possibly descendants of Jesie's first marriage.

Margaret and Robina Taylor worked two of the Linlithgow samplers, which have the same design (illus 7.4). They give their mother's initials as ID in black, meaning that she was dead by this date, and also the initials IT, MD, ID, and their ages, ten and eight. Robina's sampler had the information written on the back that she was born on 24 April 1784, married on 15 October 1807 and died on 5 July 1848. This allowed an identification of the girls as the daughters of James Taylor, town clerk of Linlithgow, and Jean Dick, who were 'irregularly married' in January 1771.[212] Margaret was born on 24 February 1782 and Robina two years later. Both girls worked their samplers in 1792. Robina married David Mathie, a writer (lawyer), in Glasgow on 15 October 1807, and they had one surviving child, a daughter, Jane, whose sampler was also given to National Museums Scotland.[213] Jane's sampler is a plain text piece, beautifully worked in light brown silk with the verse 'True Dignity' and dated 1817. She married the Reverend John Laurie in 1835 and had eleven children. By a complicated inheritance Jane and her husband changed their name to Fogo in 1845, and she died in 1889.[214] There are three other samplers known with the same placing of motifs and though none have dates they can probably be dated on the basis of the Taylor sisters to the 1790s or early 1800s.[215]

Margaret Gray, Citadel, Leith worked one of the few multiplication samplers with a name and any indication of place (illus 7.5). This address refers to the citadel Oliver Cromwell had built in Leith, the port for Edinburgh, in the 1650s. From this it has been possible to work out that Margaret was the daughter of Alexander Gray, wright (carpenter) and later also an undertaker. Alexander was from the Aberdeen area but married as his second wife Mally Boon, of South Leith. They had nine children and Margaret was the sixth, born in October 1825. From the census Margaret can be traced working as a milliner in 1851 and living at home. Her sister Helen was a straw bonnet maker and another, Elizabeth, was a dressmaker. In 1861 the three sisters, still at home, were all dressmakers. Possibly they also made the burial clothes for their father's undertaking business. The date of Margaret's death is unknown but it was before 1908, and she did not marry, but appears to have worked as a dressmaker, living with various family members.[216] Her sampler is possibly the prettiest of the rather utilitarian multiplication tables, and was received by the museum in a rosewood frame of the kind popular around 1840, which is when she must have worked her piece. She obviously used her needlework skills during the rest of her life.

Mothers and daughters usually make very different samplers but sometimes the one appears to copy the other. An unusual pair of samplers

7.4 Robina Taylor, 1792, 12¾ in (32.4 cm) x 14⅝ in (32.4 cm). NMS A.1987.55, Margaret Taylor, NMS A.1987.56.

are those of Bethia Campbell, 1737, and her daughter Elizabeth Russell, 1764 (illus 7.6 and 7.7). Bethia includes her maternal grandparents by name, 'Thomas Tulloch' and 'Margaret Anderson', but her parents, Elizabeth Tulloch and Daniel Campbell, are only represented by initials and they are not highlighted in any way. Thomas Tulloch was a writer (lawyer) and his wife was the daughter of a merchant burgess in Edinburgh.[217] Bethia's father was also a writer but by the time of her brother's birth in 1729 he was the Secretary to the Royal Bank of Scotland.[218] Bethia was born 14 September 1728 and married John Russell, a Writer to the Signet, on 13 October 1751 in Edinburgh, as Betty Campbell. So far no baptism record for Elizabeth Russell has been found. However, Elizabeth aged nine, puts on her sampler the names 'John Russell' and 'Bethia Campbell' as well as the initials DC and ET, who would appear to be her maternal grandparents. Dr J S Richardson, who lent samplers to the 1911 Glasgow Exhibition, gave both these samplers to

7.5 Margaret Gray, *c.* 1840. 12½ in (31.8 cm) x 15 in (38.1 cm). NMS A.1955.105.

the Museum, so they are likely to have been acquired together by him. This pair are the closest to each other of any of the mother and daughter samplers so far seen. They are square with half the space taken up by alphabets, but they include different band patterns, the crowns are placed differently and there are more initials on the later sampler by Elizabeth.

Allison Ruddiman and her daughters made very different pieces, but all three daughters worked the same design, so were taught by the same person or attended the same school. Allison's is similar to Betty Pleanderleath's, showing bands with an Adam and Eve at the bottom, but she has no verse and only one alphabet, her name, the date 1740, and her parents' initials (illus 7.8). Her daughters, Anne Steuart in 1758, Alison in 1760 and Isobell (Bell) in 1762, all worked the same design with a twisted stem band, and a fountain below the verse: 'If you delight to worship God aright' (illus 7.9). Below this there are three green humps with a dog on the centre

7.6 Bethia Campbell, 1737. 10¾ in (27.3 cm) x 11¾ in (29.9 cm). NMS A.1987.91.

one, a peacock and a lily in a vase on the others. Each one also has several smaller motifs that are different, but they include family initials and describe their sampler as a 'bootcloth'. None of these girls married and their samplers, together with their mother's, were left to the Museum by a descendant of another sibling. Allison Ruddiman was the daughter of Thomas Ruddiman and his third wife, Anne Smith. He was a classical scholar and Keeper of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. Allison married James Steuart of Edinburgh, a lawyer, in 1747, and the family founded a long-lived Edinburgh law firm.[219]

Three other sisters who worked very similar designs are the Eistons, Allison, Elizabeth and Margaret (illus 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12). They were the daughters of Walter Eiston, mason, and Margaret Houseton of Ayr, and worked their

7.7 Elizabeth Russell, 1764. 15⅜ in (39.1cm) x 14⅜ in (36.5 cm). NMS A.1987.47.

samplers in 1797, 1806 and 1810. They all have the Gates of Heaven motif and a house, but each of them differs. Allison has a pedimented house, while Elizabeth has the same house style but with single-storey wings. Margaret, however, has a grand building, identified as Dalquarran Castle, Ayrshire, designed by the Scottish architect Robert Adam.[220] Each girl has individualised her sampler but those of Allison and Elizabeth are more alike. Margaret has added realistic flowers to her twisted stem motif and also has sprays at the side, as well as a lion and a griffin at the bottom where her sisters have more conventional rabbits and trees. Elizabeth also has GR above a crown, lion and unicorn.

The search for Jean Stevenson of Kirkintilloch's baptism revealed an unexpected story (illus 7.13). She was born in 1797 at Boghead in

ABOVE. 7.8 Allison Ruddiman, 1740. 12½ in (31.8 cm) x 8¼ in (21 cm). NMS A.1993.103.

OPPOSITE. 7.9 Anne Steuart, 1758. The eldest daughter of Allison Ruddiman and James Steuart, she was born in 1748. Like her sisters she has marked her sampler 'Ann Steaurt Her Bootcloth, ended in the year of our Lord 1758'. 12½ in (31.8 cm) x 10¾ in (27.3 cm). NMS A.1993.104. Her sisters' samplers are NMS A.1993.105 and A.1993.106.

IF YOU DESIRE TO WORSHIP GOD ARIGHT
FURST IN THE MORNING PRAY AND LAST AT NIGHT
CRAVE FOR HIS BLESSING ON YOUR LABOURS AS
AND IN DISTRESS FOR HIS ASSISTANCE CALL

7.10

7.11

7.10, 7.11, 7.12 The Eiston sisters. The Gates of Heaven motif is in the centre of the second band from the top on all three. The sisters are probably the daughters of Walter Eiston and Margaret Houseton of Ayr, but the parish registers record their name as Easton. Allison was born on 27 September 1790, so was seven when she worked her sampler, while Elizabeth, born is 1794, was twelve. Margaret's dates are unknown but based on those of her sisters it was probably about 1800.
Allison = 17 in (43.2 cm) x 12¾ in (32.4 cm).
Elizabeth = 20¾ in (52.7 cm) x 14¾ in (37.5 cm).
Margaret = 20¼ in (51.4 cm) x 15 in (38.1 cm).
Leslie B Durst Collection.

7.12


A B C D E F G H I J K L
M N O P Q R S T U V W X
ROBERT STEVENSON ELISABETH MARSHALL MARGARET STEVENSON MARION STEVENSON ELISABETH STEVENSON ROBERT STEVENSON MARY STEVENSON JEAN STEVENSON MARK STEVENSON ANN STEVENSON JOHN STEVENSON ROBERT STEVENSON MARION MOFFAT MARK MARSHALL MARGARET BUCHANAN
OUR FATHER WHICH ART IN HEAVEN HALLOWED BE THY NAME THY KINGDOM COME THY WILL BE DONE IN EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD AND FORGIVE US OUR DEBTS AS WE FORGIVE OUR DEBTORS AND LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION BUT DELIVER US FROM EVIL FOR THINE IS THE KINGDOM AND THE POWER AND THE GLORY FOR EVER AMEN
FAVOUR IS DECEITFUL AND BEAUTY IS VAIN BUT A WOMAN THAT FEAREETH THE LORD SHE SHALL BE PRAISED
TY Jean Stevenson sewed this Sampler Kirkintilloch 1914

Cadder Parish, her parents being Robert Stevenson, a farmer, and Elizabeth Marshall, who were married in 1785 and had nine children, their names all embroidered by Jean on her sampler, as are both sets of grandparents. The sampler is dated 1814 so she was about sixteen when she made it. Jean's baptism record in the parish register on 24 August 1797 is squeezed in after an entry on 13 August and before a long note describing how, on 22 August, two men with blackened faces and disguised in women's clothes had demanded the register book. It was found two months later in a barn, unharmed. This incident was sparked by the Militia Act (Scotland) of that year, which required a certain number of men from Scotland to be enrolled in militia companies in case of invasion by the French. It was bitterly resented, particularly by the middle classes, tradesmen and craftsmen, and there were some very ugly scenes with registers burnt and schoolmasters harassed. Fortunately someone remembered to enter Jean's name when the register was returned.[221]

A virtually identical sampler to Jean Stevenson's was worked by Jean Rankin in Glasgow in 1809.[222] She names her parents as John Rankin, who was a farmer in Inchbreak, and Janet Stirling, and like Jean Stevenson lists her brothers and sisters. All her siblings' baptisms can be traced in the parish register of Campsie between 1790 and 1803. Janet's is missing, so perhaps her baptism was also affected by the Militia Act, and went unrecorded. Janet's sampler is smaller than Jean's but the design shares the top half, with elaborate letters, the Lord's Prayer, the family names, but no grandparents, and a band of trellis work across the width and a fountain enclosed by a wreath. Jean's has many small motifs in the lower half, which Janet's lacks. Quite where the girls made their samplers is unclear. Jean has 'Kirkintilloch' on her sampler but Janet has 'Glasgow', so did Jean record her home parish and Janet where she made her sampler?[223]

OPPOSITE. 7.13 Jean Stevenson, 1814. 17¼ in (43.8 cm) x 12 in (30.5 cm). NMS A.1986.1 18.

TEACHERS

Although several samplers also have the names of teachers, they are not so easy to trace because there are usually no other initials to help. 'Mrs' before a name does not mean the woman was married, because in Scotland any older woman or one who was in a position of trust or authority would be called 'Mistress'.[224] Mrs Seton, who taught Betty Pleanderleath, is possibly the 'Mrs Euphan Seton, Schoolmistress in Edinburgh', whose will is dated 24 April 1752, in which case she does not appear to have been married. She possibly taught Allison Ruddiman, whose sampler, dated 1740, shares some similarities with Betty's (illus 7.14; and illus 7.8).

Sometimes, by good fortune, the teacher may be found in an early census. A trawl through the 1841 census for Arbroath uncovered a possible Mrs Sturrock who taught Jesie Balfour (see illus 7.3). Sarah Sturrock was living with Helen Anderson, both described as teachers, and a girl of seven, also named Helen Anderson. In 1851 there is more information: Sarah is a widow, aged eighty-three, a pauper, formerly school mistress (teacher of sewing), born in Careston, Forfarshire. With her is her widowed sister, Helen Anderson, aged seventy, and her great-niece, also Helen Anderson, aged nineteen, born in Demerara. Both Helens are seamstresses, and they are all living at 13 Croals Wynd, Arbroath. Sarah's death is recorded on 15 March 1854 at the age of eighty-six and her maiden name is given as Ritchie, so it was possible to find her baptism in Careston on 23 February 1768, the daughter of John Ritchie, mason, and Helen Petrie. Sarah was buried in Arbroath churchyard next to the stone of William Sturrock, who turned out to be her husband, a manufacturer, who died in 1836. They were married in 1790 and appear to have had no children. Three other known samplers name Mrs Sturrock, Arbroath, as the teacher: an undated one by Margaret Hay aged eleven, one by eleven-year-old Elisabeth Williamson in 1816, and the third by Elizabeth Ritchie, who was fourteen in 1837 when she did her piece; they all share similarities with Jesie's. Elizabeth is probably a relative of Sarah Sturrock,

7.14 Betty Pleanderleath Janr 28 1745 Mrs Seton's. Betty was probably Elisabeth, the daughter of David Plenderleath, advocate and Jean Gordon, his second wife, but no baptism has been found for her. She married John Gourlay, merchant, in Haddington on 5 November 1758 at Edinburgh. Worked on bootcloth, the blue selvedges can be seen at the top and bottom of her sampler. 12¼ in (31.1 cm) x 9 in (22.9 cm). NMS A.1939.122.

OPPOSITE. 7.15 Elisabeth Jenkins, 1836, was born in 1825, the daughter of John Jenkins, cooper, and Christian Jaffray, in St Ninians, Stirlingshire. 17 in (43.2 cm) x 17¼ in (43.8 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

although her baptism record has not yet been found.[225]

Another teacher who has possibly been identified is Isabella McKenzie, who had a school in St Ninians, near Stirling.[226] There is a group of samplers, six so far known, with a very similar design, that name the school or resemble the others so closely they were almost certainly worked there. The first to name the school is Elisabeth Jenkins, who inscribed her sampler 'Elisabeth Jenkins sewed this in Is. McKenzie's school St Ninians, 1836' (illus 7.15). The main feature is a large three-bay grey stone pedimented house with a small circular path to the door, a shepherdess under a tree to the left and a low building, probably a barn or stable, to the right. Above are large decorative initials of family members and there are many initials below these. A verse, 'Favour is deceitful', is also included. In 1841 Jessie Mercer, aged eight, worked her sampler with the

7.16 Hellen McCubbin, 1843. 19¼ in (48.9 cm) x 22¼ in (56.5 cm). NMS K.2001.982.

same scene, except that the building was now a five-bay and white, but it also had the shepherdess and circular path, though on the right was a church with a tall spire. Across the top were family initials in the same style as Elisabeth's but the border was embroidered as if jewelled.[227] Hellen McCubbin's sampler of 1843 is virtually the same pattern as Jessie's, but the large initials at the top are worked in a cursive script, and she also has the jewelled border (illus 7.16). No trace can be found of Hellen or her family in the census of 1841 and 1851, nor can any baptism record be found for her, but she apparently married David Galaghan on 30 July 1848 in St Ninians and had two children.

The other three samplers that fit this pattern start with one worked by Agnes Oliver, who describes working her sampler at Miss Reoch's school, St Ninians, in 1826 (illus 7.17). This has the shepherdess under a tree on the left with a

7.17 Agnes Oliver made her sampler at Miss Reoch's school, St Ninian's, in 1826. She was the daughter of William Oliver, a miller, and Margaret Baird, and was baptised on 4 November 1813 in St Ninian's. 18½ in (47 cm) x 13⅝ in (34.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

church and a small house, very like the barn in Elisabeth's sampler. There is a red and green alphabet at the top and below large letter initials and a verse, 'As cold winters to a thirsty soul'. It is most likely that Isabella McKenzie bought the school, or at least the goodwill, from Miss Reoch, as the census entry does not suggest she had a separate building and the house seen on the samplers is unlikely to be hers. The next oldest sampler is more like the others, with the same pedimented house, shepherdess to the left, and circular path, but on the right is a man in Turkish dress, probably taken from a Berlin woolwork design; it was worked by Euphemia Liddell in 1830 and has the jewelled border and cursive script letters.[228] A later one is by Catherine Low in 1847, and while it shares some characteristics of the others there are many differences. It is a simpler design with red and green alphabets followed by large letter initials taking up half the

space. Below this is a three-bay grey pedimented house, a boy with dog under a tree to the left, and trees and a small figure to the right, with the figures taken from Berlin woolwork designs. Above the house is 'Catherine Low sew'd this in 1847' with RL to the left and MC in black to the right.[229] Catherine Low, aged seven, and her family can be found in the 1841 census at Murryshall, St Ninians. Her father, Robert, is a lime trader and together with her mother Margret are her brothers and sisters, Margret, Robert, John, William and Jean. In the next census, of 1851, Catherine is still at home, aged seventeen, and her father, a widower, is described as a lime burner, employing four labourers and nine lime stone miners, as well as farming and employing one farm labourer, so a man of some substance.

Other schools can be inferred from the similarity of design. One of the pedimented house patterns has an inverted V motif worked in blocks of colour like a rainbow that stretches above the house. In the spaces to either side of this is an octagon with a flower in a vase and above the house 'The eyes of the Lord'. On each side of the house are trees with thick trunks and slender branches and leaves, and a reversing bunch of grapes border along the top. Along the bottom

ABOVE. 7.18 Barbra Duff's sampler of 1811 shows some similarities with A McGilliy's and Janet Anderson's samplers with neatly worked names of her parents at the bottom. She was the daughter of Alexander Duff, letter carrier, and Frances Reid, born in 1805 in Edinburgh. 20½ in (52 cm) x 18 in (45.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

ABOVE. 7.19 A McGilliy's sampler with the rainbow-coloured, inverted V-shape above the house. 19¼ in (48.9 cm) x 16 in (40.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 7.20 Janet Anderson in 1815 has a rainbow-coloured, inverted V-shape, very odd dogs to either side of the gate and names Mrs Muir, who was probably her teacher. 20½ in (52.1 cm) x 16½ in (41.9 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

ABOVE. 7.21 Mary Carse's sampler of about 1820 belongs to a group with a similar design of a large five-bay house with floral swags above and large trees to the sides worked in silks on wool. They also have a rather large parrotlike bird sitting in a tree. Mary was the daughter of Thomas Carse, a coachmaker, living in Edinburgh, and was twelve when she worked her piece. Others range in date from 1819 to 1837. 13½ in (34.3 cm) x 21½ in (54.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

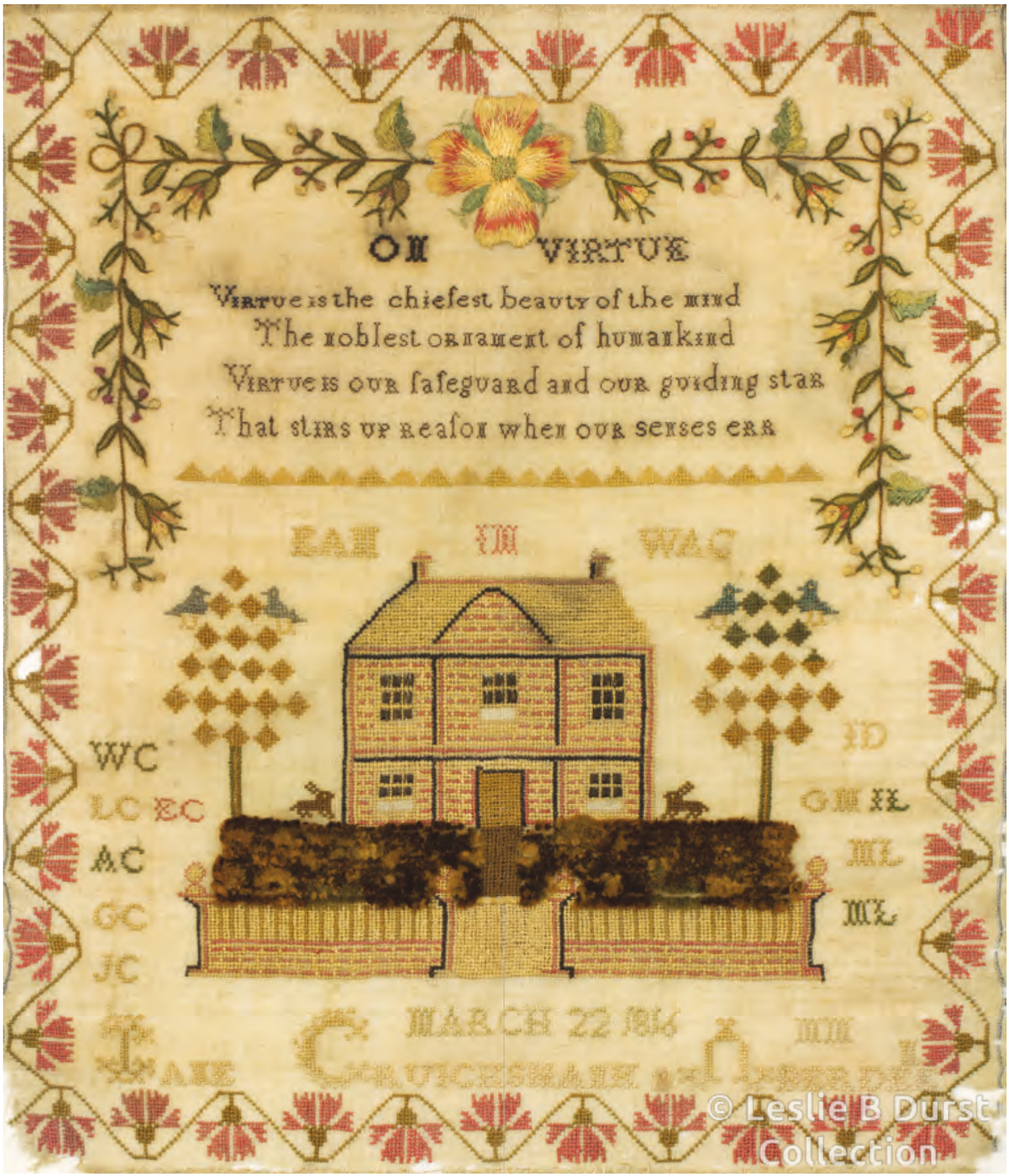
OPPOSITE. 7.22 Margt Adam, *c.* 1808. Margaret has included a scene below with a ship. She was born on 1 October 1796 and baptised on 20 November in Ratho, near Edinburgh, the daughter of John Adam and Helen Hastie. 16½ in (41.9 cm) x 13 in (33 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

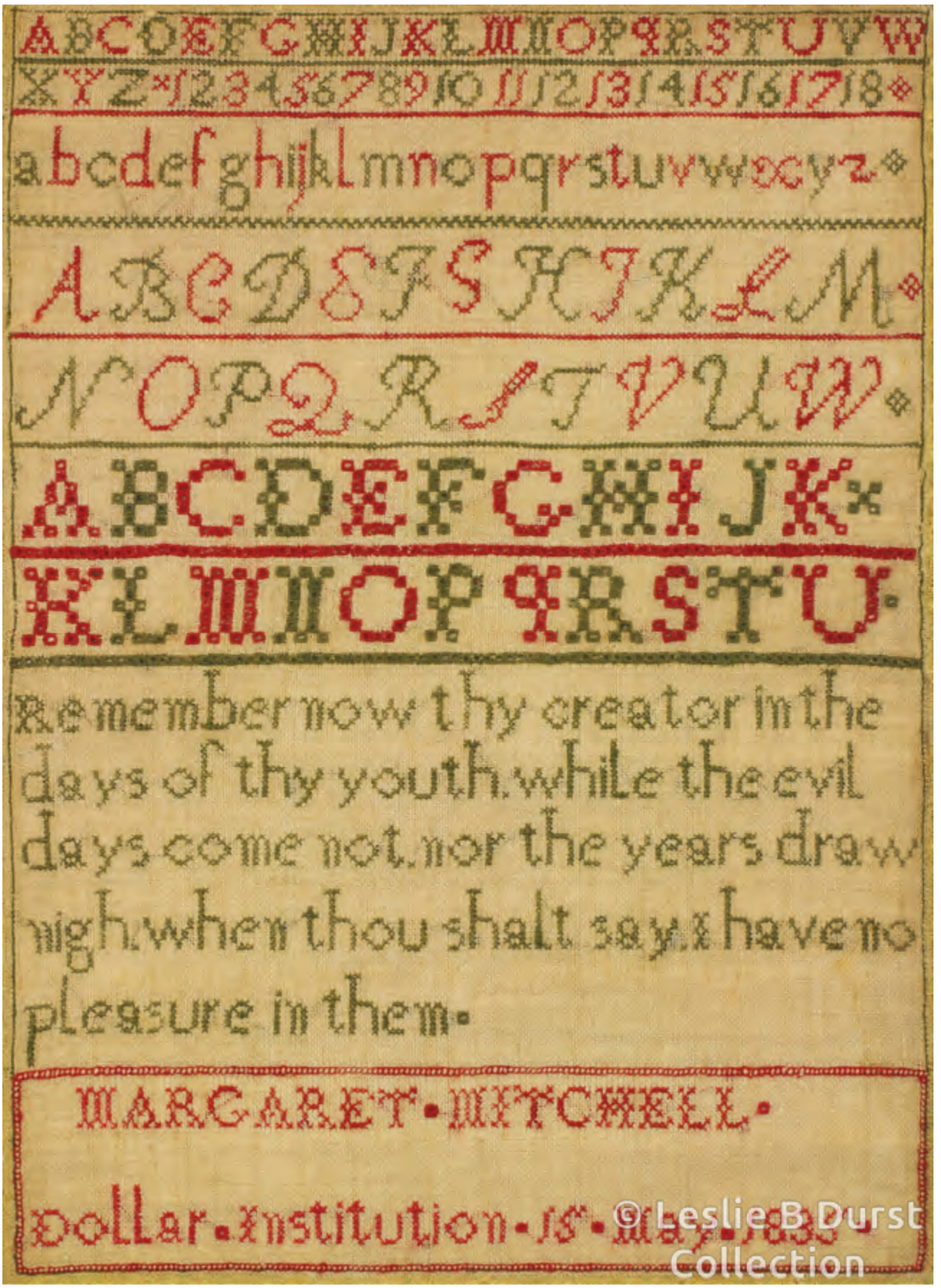
is the girl's name and those of her parents, all very neatly worked. There are three samplers with this pattern, by Cathren Angus, about 1804, and Isobella Booklass and Isebel Ross, both so far undated.[230] Barbra Duff's of 1811 is very similar but lacks the inverted V. The trees and neat lettering are the same but the verse is different and it lacks the octagons, though it does have the very odd deer that are found on the other samplers (illus 7.18). An almost identical sampler to these was worked by A McGilliy, but although she has the house, inverted V, octagons and grape border, her trees are very cramped and her lettering is not nearly as neat, nor does it include the full names of herself and her parents, only initials (illus 7.19). Very similar to these samplers and also with an inverted V in rainbow colours is Janet Anderson's, worked in 1815, and naming Mrs Muir, who was perhaps her teacher (illus 7.20). Janet's sampler has a slightly different house but includes similar trees, the octagons and the same verse, but lacks the neat lettering. Possibly Mrs Muir took over an existing school where the other girls had worked their samplers.

Another group of samplers, all with the same

7.23 Euphan Easton dates her sampler to 28 March 1817 and includes Hawick, a town in the Scottish Borders. She worked the same design as Jane Cruikshank a year earlier and many miles distant. See also Elisabeth Stewart's. It has not been possible to identify Euphan. 17⅞ in (45.3 cm) x 12⅜ in (31.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 7.24 This sampler is one of a group that appear to be from the same school or teacher but are from two different areas of the country. Jane Cruikshank worked her sampler in Abderdeen and dates it 22 March 1816. George Cruickshank and Lillias Mearns of Aberdeenshire were married in 1790, and Jean was born in 1798. 15⅜ in (39.1 cm) x 13¼ in (34.9 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.





basic design, have a large five-bay, three-storey house with chenille lawn and green and white fence, and they are mostly worked as rectangles rather than as squares. Above are three swags of flowers and drapery, and trees to each side. Mary Carse, in about 1820, and Margaret Buchanan, in 1818, both have the verse 'Disease and pain invade our health' and their names and ages are worked in neat little boxes on either side of the house (illus 7.21). Margaret Adam, in her piece worked in about 1808, has an unusual scene at the bottom, of a ship with small rowing boats surrounding it (illus 7.22). Her verse is 'Behold the mountain of the Lord'. After Margaret Adam's, the earliest of this design is by Janet Nimmo, in 1812, and the latest is by Elisabeth Ross in 1837, with others by Jannet Darling, 1819, Catherine Bett, 1825, and Janet Mcrorie 1830.[231]

A puzzling group is formed by several samplers with 'Hawick' after the girl's name, but another with the same design and verse has 'Fraserburgh' and a very similar one has 'Ab[er]d[ee]n'. Hawick is in the southern Borders and a good many miles from both Fraserburgh and Aberdeen, which are both in north-east Scotland. These samplers have a rather tall, narrow pedimented house of red brick and a blue slate roof, with a tree on either side, and a graceful swag of roses at the top over a verse 'On Virtue'.[232] The earliest of these samplers is by Jean Still of Aberdeen, dated 1775, with lines from Alexander Pope, 'The learned is happy nature to explore'; her swag is not as naturalistic as the later samplers, but the way her name is worked, the style of house and the fact that the central upstairs window is shown open, suggest it was made with someone who may well have taught the Hawick girls. These samplers are by Esther Smith, 1803, Agnes Turnbull, 1805, Jannet Douglas, 1806, Eliza Henderson 1806, Agnes Wilson, 1811 and Euphan Easton, 1817, who has the verse 'Prayer' (illus 7.23). From the north-east are Jane Cruickshank, 1816, Aberdeen (illus 7.24) and Elisabeth Stewart, 1812, Fraserburgh, but they both have 'On Virtue'.[233]

SCHOOLS

Samplers with school names are more common in the nineteenth century, especially after about 1820, and most of these samplers are from parish schools or schools supported by the parish in some way. They are usually fairly basic, consisting of alphabets and numerals, but proudly worked with the maker's name and school. Several are known from Dollar Institution, now Dollar Academy, founded in 1818 and co-educational from the start, Mrs Brydie being the teacher in charge of the girls there from 1818 to 1848.[234] Margaret Mitchell's sampler of 1835 has four alphabets worked in different styles but all in red and green, as well as 'Remember now thy creator', her name, school and date (illus 7.25). Margaret was born on 7 July 1824 and although nothing further is known of her, a brother, Henry Walker Mitchell, became a land surveyor who later emigrated to New Zealand.[235]

The ability to find connections between girls who produced samplers with similar patterns has brought up many intriguing possibilities about schools and teachers but very few answers. As more information becomes available perhaps some of the questions will be answered. Each sampler is individual to the child who created it and they have therefore left something of themselves behind. But the past always holds secrets that are impossible to unravel, so perhaps we should just enjoy these 'efforts of an infant hand'.

OPPOSITE. 7.25 Margaret Mitchell, Dollar Institution, 1835. 17 in (43.2 cm) x 12 in (30.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

Samplers made by girls in Scotland do have some distinctive features not found on samplers from other parts of the British Isles. Until more detailed studies are done on other areas it is not possible to say that Scottish girls made samplers that were distinctive in all aspects. Joanne Martin Lukacher's book on Norfolk samplers is a start, but Norfolk is perhaps a special case because, although it was a wealthy part of the country, it was and still is isolated from much of the rest of Britain. How many other parts of the country would show a similar cohesion of pattern in their samplers is debatable at present. Irish samplers show an alphabet that has not been found in other parts of the British Isles, but it was featured on the pieces found in the Kildare Place books, so may be traced outside Ireland. English samplers in the border areas with Scotland also show family initials but usually they do not give the mother's maiden name initial. There were large numbers of Scots in Newcastle upon Tyne, for example, so this may have influenced the sampler designs of that area.[236] So far it does not appear that Scots emigrants transferred the Scottish elements on samplers when they moved abroad, even when actual pieces were taken with them. Sampler making therefore seems to have been location-specific rather than culture-specific.

OPPOSITE. 8.1 Isabella Cook, 1836. There is no obvious evidence that this is Scottish but another, more traditional, sampler by Isabella exists, dated 1835, and from that she has been identified as the daughter of William Cook and Mary Thomson born in 1828 in the parish of Saddell and Skipness, Argyll. This piece in silk on linen appears to be almost done for fun, perhaps to use some of the motifs she couldn't fit onto her other sampler. Both samplers were worked when she was only seven and eight and are of equal quality. 9¼ in (23.5 cm) x 7¾ in (19.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Scottish samplers share many motifs with samplers made in the rest of Britain and in other parts of Europe. The area of the Continent with the richest tradition of sampler making is probably the Netherlands. As with samplers made in Britain, many of the motifs can be traced back to sixteenth-century pattern books, but others are unique, based on local traditions. It is therefore strange to see the very Dutch motif of the *Nederlandse Maagd*, or Dutch maiden, on a Scottish sampler. Isabella Cook's sampler is at first sight notable for its zebra, but above it is a crowned woman standing on what appears to be a ladder with a green framework around her (illus 8.1). This represents the Dutch equivalent of the French Marianne as Liberty, standing in the Garden of Holland, a symbol of the ruling house of Orange.[237]

Scottish girls used the structure of the traditional sampler in other ways. Rachel Sandil[ands] made an extraordinary piece in 1855 (illus 8.2). It is unclear why she worked the sampler, and indeed if it was made by a girl rather than an adult. She includes the very Scottish-style letters,

ABOVE. 8.2 Rachel Sandi[lands], 1855. 26¼ in (66.7 cm) x 29 in (73.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 8.3 May Robert, 1767. George Robert and Isobel Alexander of Bathgate were married in 1747, and promptly baptised their first daughter, Margaret, on 20 June 1748. They also baptised Marrion on 1 April 1750, Isobel on 29 February 1756 (a leap year baby), George on 10 May 1761 and Mary on 22 April 1764. 12½ in (31.8 cm) x 10½ in (26.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 8.4 Jean White, *c.* 1785, has included her parents' initials under a large crown. She was the daughter of Walter White and Mary Cochrane of Barony, Glasgow, baptised on 27 September 1772. 21¼ in (53 cm) x 17½ in (44.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

LEFT. 8.5 Agnes Hamilton of Glasgow in 1846 has embroidered several Napoleonic war battles on her sampler, in which members of her family probably served, as well as the more local Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire Fox Hunting Club, apparently founded in 1771. Agnes was the daughter of James Hamilton and his wife Agnes Hatton, baptised on 23 December 1832 in Glasgow. 17¼ in (43.8 cm) x 7¼ in (18.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

ABOVE. 8.6 More a picture than a sampler is this one by Elizabeth Anderson from about 1790–5. Worked in silk on linen, the design of the border reflects the delicate embroidery found on women's garments of the period, such as kerchiefs, and she uses a greater variety of stitches. She was the daughter of James and Penelope Anderson and was baptised on 20 August 1779 in Elgin, Moray, where her father was an excise officer. Her parents' initials are neatly tucked up at the top under crowns and the other initials include those of her siblings. Mrs Hog was probably her teacher. 14 in (35.6 cm) x 16 in (40.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

OPPOSITE. 8. 7 Ann Ross, 1766. 23¼ in (59.1 cm) x 19½ in (49.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


© Leslie B Durst
Collection

but then works some unusual rectangular patterns that look rather like garden beds and bands of the same trailing motifs repeated in four bands, as well as a small representation of the Hippodrome in Kensington, London. She also makes reference to a seventeenth-century Puritan divine, Henry Burton, Rector of St Matthews, Friday Street, London. It is a beautifully worked piece and, except for the fact that she ran out of space for her name, well planned.

Other girls worked samplers that are partly pictures. May Robert in 1767 includes figures representing the story of Elijah fed by ravens, after the Old Testament story in I Kings 17:4 (illus 8.3). May has also included, along with the ravens, various birds and butterflies and a peacock, as well as a twisted stem band and the verse that starts 'Immortal made what should we mind', the author of which has not so far been identified. As well as her name and the date, May records her parents' initials as GR (in black) and IA.

Jean White, born in 1772, probably worked her picture sampler in about 1785 (illus 8.4). She has a beautiful floral border enclosing the scene of a girl sitting on a bank under a tree apparently playing a musical instrument. She may represent one of the senses, hearing, which is usually portrayed as a musician. Also in the picture are a deer, some insects and a flowering bush. Above in two cartouches are the Ten Commandments in the Scottish style. Between them is a large crown with initials and her name. Jean was the daughter of Walter White and Mary Cochrane of Barony, a parish that is now part of Glasgow.

Agnes Hamilton used her sampler to record events that obviously meant something to her (illus 8.5). After the obligatory alphabets and numbers she has embroidered the names of various sea and land battles of the Napoleonic wars, including Copenhagen, Camperdown and Badajoz. She names John Hamilton, Lanark and James Hamilton, Malta, as well as the 42 Highlanders and the Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire Fox Hunting Club, ending with Tally Ho, Hark Forward. Agnes worked her sampler in 1846 in Glasgow.

But who knows what inspired Ann Ross in 1766 and IT is p.iv in 1815 to embroider their samplers, which are both packed full of small motifs that hint at a narrative that only the girls themselves knew (illus on p.vi and illus 8.7). Ann's has an obvious Adam and Eve, carefully labelled, but around it are various other figures and animals, including some rather tame lions. Above is a man in contemporary dress appearing to herd sheep, and a man and woman under a tree, probably based on shepherd and shepherdess motifs that can be found on printed linen and cotton furnishing fabrics of the period or on ceramics. At the bottom is a stone house and more animals, birds and trees. There are no family initials and the identification of this as Scottish is not confirmed. IT, though, had definite Scottish connections and although she did not work her name there are plenty of initials. At the top either side of a rose bush is a man in a tartan kilt facing a man with black face and hands and wearing a natty straw(?) hat. Below is a man in tartan trews with sword and cocked hat facing a woman in a striped dress. In the centre is a version of a familiar saying, 'Be kind to all, familiar with few and only intimate with one'. Below are bands with peacocks, other figures, lots of little black dogs and huntsmen. At the bottom is a five-bay house on the left with a clock tower motif on the right and what appears to be a shrine with a figure in the centre. IT was eleven when she made the piece in 1815. The verse has not been traced.

Discussed and shown here is only a small selection of the samplers that have been seen over many years. Only by being able to view a large number of pieces is it possible to make connections, to start to identify motifs that Scottish sampler makers favoured, and to suggest possible schools or teachers. But the samplers still retain many secrets and it is doubtful if these will ever be fully interpreted. It is to be regretted that so many samplers have been detached from their background. Anyone who owns a sampler that they know was made by a member of their family, even if it was someone who never married and has no direct descendants, should be proud to have such a tangible reminder of the life of their ancestors. If you can recognise all the initials or names on the piece, record them for future

generations to know. Private collectors in the past and today have rescued samplers from the rubbish heap or bonfire, and museums preserve and display them, but they were made by the hard work of little girls, perhaps some with love, and viewed with pride by parents; they should be remembered by us, their descendants and inheritors.

APPENDIX 1

Hollie point samplers

Hollie point is a type of white-on-white embroidery using needle lace stitches. No samplers of this type have been found that are definitely Scottish. However, one hollie point sampler in the NMS collection has proved a puzzle. Jenny Grant's sampler is a small, square, white-work sampler, 9¼ by 8½ inches (23.5 x 22.2 cm), worked with five rows of squares and circles in hollie point and openwork needle lace, with satin stitch borders and dividing bands (illus A1.1). It is reputed to have been worked by a daughter of Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, a Scottish lawyer. However, to have worked her sampler in 1724/5, as she records on it, she must have been born by 1710 because, as we shall see, other known examples are not by very young girls. Patrick Grant does not appear to have married until 1713, and there is no daughter recorded with the name Janet or Jean; Jenny would have been a pet name. So can this piece really be classed as a Scottish sampler?

Hollie point was a popular white needle lace technique: this small square sampler is a the descendant of the long samplers of the seventeenth century worked in various white-work techniques, which fell out of fashion by the end of the century. Hollie point was used in the crowns of babies' caps and as insertions on shoulder seams in their shirts in the eighteenth century. It can also be found worked as a relieving gusset at the base of neck openings in men's shirts and women's shifts of the same period. Baby cap crowns and seam insertions usually had a decorative pattern worked into them and often initials, names or phrases such as 'Sweet Babe'. The small samplers like Jenny Grant's were demonstrations of the skill the girls had achieved in working this relatively difficult and time-consuming technique.

Jenny Grant's sampler belongs to a small group of hollie point and reticella samplers worked between 1724 and 1739 that share several characteristics and may well have been worked at the same school. Reticella was a popular form of needle lace in the early seventeenth century for collars and cuffs, but was very old-fashioned by the early eighteenth century, so quite what this type of lace was doing on samplers at this period is unclear. Most of the recorded samplers of this group have names and dates but no places, and fall into two date groups, 1724–9 and 1732–9. Many of the names are quite rare but so far only two, worked by sisters, have yielded any evidence that can be considered good enough to identify the makers. The two girls in question are Anna and Sarah Gerrey, who worked their samplers in 1727 and 1729. Because they also included initials, done in the English fashion with the surname above the parents' initials with father on the left and mother on the right, we can identify them as the daughters of Richard and Mary Gerrey of St

OPPOSITE. A1.1 Hollie point sampler by Jenny Grant, 1724–5. 9½ in (24.1 cm) x 8¾ in (22.2 cm). NMS A.1987.306.

George's parish, Southwark, who were members of the Society of Friends, better known as Quakers. Anna was born on 25 July 1710 and Sarah on 4 June 1713, so they were seventeen and sixteen when they made their samplers.[238]

Anna was married on 12 January 1730 to Benjamin Sterry, a salter, but Sarah appears to have remained single.[239] They also include a panel worked with AC, also found on the samplers of Mary Stroud, 1727, and Ursula Slade, 1728; AC may well be their teacher.

A trawl of the Quaker records so far has not revealed any other girls from this group, so it would be rash to conclude that this was a Quaker style of sampler or worked at a Quaker school. Tracing the concentration of surnames in particular parts of the country using census returns does reveal that most of those on the hollie point samplers can be found in London in 1841, not a particular surprise, but most are also southern English, none are Welsh, while the single Scottish name, Grant, does not belong to a rare or unusual surname group. It is possible that Jenny Grant's father was working in the south and she was sent to school there.[240] There is good evidence that girls from a relatively high social standing in Scotland would train to become milliners, as the girls might well have to earn their own living.[241] Based on the Gerrey sisters' ages, it is clear that these samplers were made not by girls but by young women. They probably attended a school or had a tutor who specialised in this type of work. All the pieces are of a high quality and show that the girls were skilled needlewomen by the time they worked these pieces. It may also show that they were being trained to use their needle professionally rather than just to make their own baby clothes.

LIST OF RELATED HOLLIE POINT SAMPLERS

1724–9 group

Jenny Grant, 1724 and 1725; these may be the start and finish dates; NMS A.1987.306.

PW, 1726; W over I & M; Fitzwilliam Museum, T.38.1928.

Anna Gerrey, 1727; G over R & M, and AC in a separate circle; Embroiderers' Guild, EG 24-1987.

Ursula Slade, 1728; S over T & M, and AC in a separate circle. Fitzwilliam Museum, T.136-1928, illustrated in Humphrey 1997, p. 75.

Sarah Gerrey, 1729; G over R & M, and AC in a separate circle, and IB & EH; Goodhart Collection, The National Trust, Montacute, MON/G/072, illustrated in Bromiley Phelan, Hansson & Holdsworth 2008, pp. 200–1.

Mary Stroud, 1729; S over, possibly, B & A, and AC in a separate circle. Formerly in the collection of Sir William Lawrence, present whereabouts unknown. Illustrated in Ashton 1926, Fig 40.

1732–9 group

Mary Brown, 1732; has a large square with I & H at the top, B over I & K, below and 'Mary Brown 1732' below this; Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, illustrated in Betty Ring, *Girlhood Embroidery. American Samplers and Pictorial Needlework, 1650–1850* (New York, 1993), vol 2, p. 345.

Martha Arron, 1734; MA; Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, 967.293, illustrated in Katharine B Brett, *English Embroidery* (Toronto, 1972).

SB, 1737; Fitzwilliam Museum, T.137-128, illustrated in Colby 1964, plate 105.

Sarah Leesley, 1739; IL & EL; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 38.11.37, illustrated in Parmal 2000, pp. 26–7.

Mary Tredwel, 1739; V&A, T.608-1974, illustrated in Browne & Weardon 1999, plate 47.

Mary Tredwel's and Sarah Leesley's samplers use the same designs, while that of SB is almost identical to them. All these have three larger squares across the centre rather than the four or five of the others, but are otherwise the same style. Two samplers in a private collection by Elizabeth and Mary Walford, probably sisters, are dated 1737, and would appear to be related to this group of hollie point samplers, but no illustrations were available to confirm this.

APPENDIX 2

Verses on samplers and their sources

Below are those verses and phrases that have so far been identified on Scottish samplers; unidentified verses are not noted as it would have made the list too long. The first line only of a verse is given. Where the quotation is from the Bible, the name of the book is given followed by the chapter and verse numbers; all references are to the English translation of 1611. Inevitably, there are some spelling mistakes in the samplers, punctuation was not always given, and some girls did not set out poetry in its original lines. Where a quotation has been found on more than one sampler the earliest and latest dates are given in brackets; those without dates are from samplers without a date; and *c.* (*circa*) before a date indicates that an inference of date can be made from other information. The identity of the author of a quotation is given, with some details, after the first instance of a work by that author.

A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches and a loving favour than silver or gold (1789)
Proverbs 22:1.

A virtuous woman is a crown to her husband (1763)
Proverbs 12:4.

A word fitly spoken (1847)
Proverbs 25:11.

Abram forbear the Angel cryed (1811)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), Hymn 129, 3rd verse, based on Genesis 22:6. Watts was a Nonconformist and is regarded as the Father of English Hymnody, having written over 700 hymns.

Adam where art thou?
Genesis 3:9.

All flesh is as grass and all the glory of man as the flower of grass (1822)
I Peter 1:24.

All flesh is grass and all the goodliness thereof as the flower of the field (1826)
Isaiah 40:6.

All levelled by the hand of death (1811)
This is apparently a paraphrase of Job 3:17–20.

All things from nothing to their sovereign Lord (1775)
Ralph Erskine (1685–1752), Scottish divine, minister of Dunfermline, who became a member of the Burgher church. This is a poem entitled 'The Sum of Creation' from *Gospel Sonnets or Spiritual Songs* (1742), Part VI, chapter 1. It was reprinted many times during the eighteenth century. There were many splits and divisions in the Church of Scotland throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, of which the Burgher church was one result.

A2.1 Jean McDonald was aged fourteen when she made this rather asymmetrical sampler. A man and his dog are central but the house is moved to the far right, while a splendid formal tree with colourful bird above dominates the left. Across the top are many initials all under crowns, with either Mr or Mrs above for Mister or Mistress. So far Jean has not been traced in the records but she probably worked her sampler about 1820. 22 in (55.9 cm) x 17¾ in (45.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

And as ye would that men should do to you do ye also to them likewise (1807)
Luke 6:31. This is known as The Golden Rule.

And the dove came to him (1823)
Genesis 8:11.

As cold water to a thirsty soul so is good news from a far country (1826)
Proverbs 25:25.

At the nativity of Christ our Lord the angels did rejoice (178?)
Joseph Stephenson (*c.* 1723–1810), composer. It is not clear if he wrote the words.

Awake my soul and with the sun (1812 and 1816)
Thomas Ken (1637–1711), *Manual of Prayers for the Use of the Scholars of Winchester College* (1674), first verse.

Awake or sleeping, still eternal love (*c.* 1820)
This verse can be found in *The London Magazine*, vol 28 (1759), with the name J Ingeldew, Sleighford, Staffs, at the end of a poem entitled 'The End of Time: A Vision', suggesting it is an amateur's work rather than by a recognised poet. (Illus A2.1.)

Be not wise in thine own eyes: fear the Lord and depart from evil (1832)
Proverbs 3:7.

Beauty and wit will vanish (1823)
Richard Price (1723–91), a moral philosopher and non-conformist minister working in London, *The Importance of Virtue*. Price supported the American Revolution and his work was influential on the founders of that country. This prose piece is probably taken from one of his many pamphlets and was included in compilations such as *Lessons in Elocution or A selection of pieces, in prose and verse for the Improvement of Youth in Reading and Speaking*, collected by William Scott (1820), Section IV, p. 164.

Behold the mountain of the Lord in latter days shall rise (*c.* 1808)
Isaiah 2:2–6, Scottish Psalter. This is also claimed to be by Michael Bruce (1746–67), Scottish poet and hymn writer and a member of the Burgher sect, or John Logan, minister of South Leith, but it would appear to be a reworking of the passage from Isaiah in the Scottish Psalter.

Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved and thy house (1854)
Acts 16:31.

Better a wee bush than nae bield (1843)
The motto of the poet Robert Burns (1759–96), used on his coat of arms.

Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly (1848)
Psalm 1:1–2.

Blest are the souls the word proclaims (1830)
From *A collection of hymns for the use of tabernacles in Scotland*, (Edinburgh 1800), based on Revelation 14:13.

Blest is the man who undefiled and straight (1770)
Scottish Psalter, paraphrase of Psalm 119:1.

But unto ye that fear my name (1819)
Malachi 4:2.

But with my God I leave my cause
Scottish Psalter, paraphrase of Job 5:6–12. (Illus A2.2.)

Catch, O catch the fleeting hour (1826)
Samuel Johnson (1709–84), 'Winter: An Ode', the last four lines. The original has 'transient hour'.

Come unto Christ all ye that labour and are heavy laden
Matthew 11:28.

Deep on thy soul, before its powers (1830 and 1846)
This is apparently a paraphrase of one of the psalms but it is not clear which one.

Disease and pain invade our health (*c.* 1810–20)
John Newton (1725–1807), verses 3 and 5 of 'The Vanity of Life'.

Do you my fair endeavour to possess (1784)
George Lyttelton (1709–73), from *Advice to a Lady* (1731), lines 26–30.

Enter ye in at the strait gate
Matthew 7:13.

A2.2 The verse in the centre of Margaret Wallace's sampler 'But with my God I leave my cause . . .' is surrounded by many small motifs and crowned initials, as well as two little houses at the top and a more substantial one at the bottom. She was born in 1799, the daughter of John Wallace and Agnes Gilles. 16½ in (41.9 cm) x 12¾ in (32.4 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Father of all! We bow to thee (1814 and 1820)
Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, verses 1 and 2.

Father of light and life, thou God supreme (1817)
James Thomson (1700–49), from *The Seasons*, 'Winter'.

Father what ere of earthly bliss (1841)
Anne Steele (1717–78), a Baptist and hymn writer, published in *Poems on Subjects Chiefly Devotional* (1760).

Favour is deceitful and beauty is vain (1781 –1843)
Proverbs 31:30. (Illus A2.3.)

Fear God and keep his commandments (1832 and 1849)
Ecclesiastes 12:13.

Few are thy days and full of woe (early 19th century)
Scottish Psalter, paraphrase of Job 10:1–15.

Follow peace with all men (*c.* 1785)
Hebrews 12:14.

For God and he alone is good his mercy is for ever sure (1829 and 1864)
Scottish Psalter, Psalm 100, metrical version.

ABOVE. A2.3 Agnes Lang has embroidered one of the favourite verses of Scottish girls, 'Favour is deceitful', above a pedimented house. She has included her name, age, eight, and date, 1811, in an elaborate cartouche, with her parents' initials to the side and other family members below. Agnes was born on 3 June 1803 in Glasgow to Thomas Lang, a flesher, and Agnes Scott. 19 in (48.3 cm) x 17 in (43.2 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

For where your treasure is there will your heart be also (1839)
Matthew 6:21.

For who in his early years sews [sic] vice shall reap in tears (1826)
From *Visions for the Entertainment and Instruction of younger minds*, Vision III, Health (1751), by Dr Nathaniel Cotton (1707–88), physician and poet, specialising in mental health.

Frail those my young devotions be (1835)
Unknown but found in *Hymns for Children Selected and Altered*, published in Boston, USA in 1825, but there are several similar compilations published in Britain.

Fresh in the morn is the summer rose (1804)
James Hervey (1714–58), English divine, from 'Reflections on a Flower garden', in *Meditations and Contemplations.*

Gentle shepherd on thy shoulders (1843)
Reverend Robert Murray McCheyne (1813–43), Church of Scotland minister at St Peter's, Dundee, who died of typhus. This hymn is the last verse of 'Suffer me to come to Jesus', from his *Songs of Zion*, written in 1841. (Illus A2.4.)

Give me a calm, a thankful heart (1806)
Anne Steele (1717–78), second verse of 'Father what ere of earthly bliss'.

Give your heart to your Creator, reverence to your parents (1839)
Unknown, but found in *Madam Johnson's Present or Every Young Woman's Companion in Useful and Universal Knowledge*, under 'Select Counsels or Rules of Life', first published about 1751.

OPPOSITE. A2.4 Margaret Sime, aged 13 in 1843 has worked St Peter's Free Church, Dundee, as well as the hymn verse beginning 'Gentle shepherd on thy shoulder' by the minister of the church. Baptised Margaret Miller Sime on 29 September 1829, the daughter of Thomas Syme, mason and Isabell Nicoll, in Dundee. Margaret never married but became a dressmaker and died in 1916, being buried in St Peter's graveyard. 24½ in (62.2 cm) x 22¼ in (56.5 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

God gives to every man virtue, temper and understanding (1839)
William Cowper, (1731–1800), poet, from *The Task*, Book 4, 1785.

Great God! And why is Britain spared? (1810)
Anne Steele (1717–78), third verse of 'See, gracious God before thy throne'.

Great God where'er we pitch our tent (1805)
Benjamin Beddowe (1717–95), a Baptist and the author of several hundred hymns.

Happy are they whose tender care (1797)
Nahum Tate (1652–1715), poet, based on Psalm 41 and taken from *New Version of the Psalms of David* (1696).

Have thou no other gods but me (1740–1812)
Scottish metrical version of the Ten Commandments.

He bore our sins, despised the shame (1832)
This would appear to be based on Isaiah 53.

He that hath an ear (*c.* 1824)
Revelation 3:22.

Hell is a place of endless woe where all that live in sin must go (1838)
Psalm 9:17, metrical version.

Ho, everyone that thirsteth come ye to the waters (1826)
Isaiah 55:1–3.

Honour thy father and thy mother
Fifth Commandment, Exodus 20:12. (Illus A2.5.)

How doth the little busy bee (before 1830)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), from his *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children* (1715), and parodied by Lewis Carroll in *Alice in Wonderland*. (Illus A2.6.)

How frail is beauty's bloom
Mary Robinson (1757–1800), novelist and poet. This is the first verse of 'Reflexions'. She was formerly an actress and the first acknowledged mistress of King George IV.

How lost was my condition (1844)
First verse of the hymn by Reverend John Newton (1725–1807).

How sweet the name of Jesus sounds (1842)
Reverend John Newton (1725–1807).

I am not ashamed to own my Lord (1821)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748).

I am the resurrection and the life
John 11:25.

I love them that love me (1796–1896)
Proverbs 8:17.

I sigh not for beauty nor languish for wealth (1838)
Hannah More (1745–1833). The fourth verse of 'Florella's Song' from *The Search of Happiness: A Pastoral Drama for Young Ladies* (1762). This play was very popular and this particular verse can be found on its own in compilations such as *Introduction to the English Reader or a selection of pieces of Prose and Poetry: Select sentences and paragraphs etc.*, by Lindsay Murray (1826).

I wait for the Lord, my soul waits (1796)
Psalm 130:5

I waited for the Lord my God (1810)
Psalm 40:1, Scottish Psalter.

If all mankind would live in mutual love (1797)
Unknown, but found in the notebook of William Trenbath (1726–1800), land agent to Joseph Damer and later Officer of Salt Works in Dunham Woodhouses, Cheshire, a crown appointment. The notebook consists of verses and moral sayings similar to those found on samplers, and was a kind of Commonplace book. This suggests that the verse was reasonably well known. See www.one-name.org/profiles/trenbath.html.

The first two lines are also found on a gravestone in Castleton churchyard, Derbyshire, and on an English sampler by Elizabeth Lay, 1797.

A2.5 Ann Bell's piece of 1806 is quite quirky with its large trees, castle with a bird on the wall and a sad-looking cow in a field, but she has worked several alphabets and a long line of numbers as well as some very small neat initials under crowns, and the Fifth Commandment. It is not clear who Alexr Denovan is. 16¾ in (42.5 cm) x 13¾ in (34.9 cm). Micheál and Elizabeth Feller Collection.

A2.6 Christian Aitken has worked a series of red and green alphabets and family initials across the top half of her sampler and a well-known verse from Alexander Pope's 'Essay on Man', helpfully including his name at the end. Christian was born in 1799 in Covington, Lanarkshire, the daughter of Robert Aitken, merchant, and Christian Smith. 16½ in (41.9 cm) x 14 in (35.6 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

If you forget God when you are young

A popular saying, the original inspiration unknown but possibly Psalm 50:22. Found in Alexander Barrie, *The Tyro's Guide to Wisdom etc.* (4th edn, 1807). Barrie was a teacher of English in Edinburgh.

Immortal made what should we mind as much as immortality (1747–1823)

The only printed evidence for this verse is in a piece by 'The Bystander', dated 5 May 1820, in *The Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany*, 85, 439.

In Adam's fall we sinned all

This appears to have been published originally in *The Protestant Tutor* by Benjamin Harris (*c.* 1690), where each letter of the alphabet is introduced by a religious phrase, and other authors then copied it.

In books or work or healthful play (1833)

Fourth verse of *How doth the little busy bee*, by Isaac Watts.

In God have I put my trust

Psalm 56:4.

In the Lord put I my trust (1887)
Psalm 11:1.

In thy fair book of life divine (1816)
James Hervey (1714–58), English divine, last verse of hymn 'Throughout the downward tracts of time'.

Is not the raven fed great God by thee (1786)
Alexander Pennecuik (1652–1722), physician and poet, from 'Inscription for My Closet'.

Jesus I my cross have taken (1851)
Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847), first four lines of first verse. Lyte, an Anglican divine born near Melrose, also wrote the well-known hymns 'Abide with me' and 'Praise, my soul'.

Jesus said, Suffer the little children and forbid them not (1841)
Matthew 10:14.

Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God (1847)
Ecclesiastes 5:1.

Keep thy heart with all diligence
Proverbs 4:23.

Know the good that individuals find (*c.* 1810)
An Essay on Man: Epistle IV, lines 77–80, by Alexander Pope (1688–1744), English poet known for his translation of Homer and satirical poems.

Know then this truth enough to know Virtue alone is happiness below (*c.* 1759)
Alexander Pope (1688–1744), *An Essay on Man: Epistle IV*. Lines 309–310.

Lamb of God I looked to thee (1844)
Charles Wesley (1707–88), hymn writer, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1742), first verse.

Let Christian faith and hope dispel (1819)
Anonymous; recast in *Translations and Paraphrases in verse, of several passages of Sacred Scripture collected and prepared by a committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1782), and ascribed to Reverend John Logan, one of the members of the committee.

Let not the errors of my youth (*c.* 1811)
Paraphrase of Psalm 25:7, Scottish Psalter.

Let saints below, with sweet accord, unite with those above (1819)
Probably from William Lennie, *Principles of English Grammar briefly defined and neatly arranged with copious exercises in parsing and syntax* (Edinburgh, 1810).

Let the word of Christ dwell in you (1829)
Colossians 3:16.

Let us not weary of well doing (1878)
Galatians 6:9.

Life is uncertain, Death is sure, Sin the sting, But Christ is the cure (1843 and 1847)
No source but found on gravestones, with variations, and probably a well-known rhyme.

Lord all my days direct my ways (*c.* 1793)
Paraphrase of Proverbs 3:6.

Lord, give me wisdom all my days (1742)
The complete English scholar, in spelling, reading, and writing, by E Young, (24th edn 1722).

Many daughters have done virtuously (1797 & 1830)
Proverbs 31:29.

Mean though I am not wholly so (1804)
Alexander Pope, 'The Universal Prayer', verse 11 (1738).

Mere human power shall fast decay (1815)
This appears to be the last verse of 'Hast thou not known', by Isaac Watts, but altered in modern hymn books.

My mouth the praises of the Lord (1841)
Metrical version of Psalm 145:21, Scottish Psalter.

My soul, come meditate the day
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), first verse of hymn.

Naked came I out of my mother's womb and naked shall I return thither (1841)
First part of Job 1:21.

Naked came I to this world (1836)
John Mason (*c.* 1645–94), 'Come let us praise our Master's hand', first four lines of second verse.

No radiant pearl which crested from the wave
From 'The Tear of Sympathy', by Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802), grandfather of Charles Darwin and a physician and poet. Two of his illegitimate daughters, Susanna and Mary Parker, set up a boarding school in Ashbourne, Derbyshire and he wrote *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education in Boarding Schools*, published in 1797. However, the most likely source for the sampler maker to take this piece from is a compilation such as *The English Reader or Pieces in Prose and Poetry selected from the best writers*, by Lindsay Murray (1810), p. 175.

Nought that is right think little
Edward Young (1681–1765), *The Complaint or Night-Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality: Night VIII; Virtue's Apology or The Man of the World Answered* (1745). Probably taken from *Elegant Extracts*, vol 1, p. 143. Young was an English poet and clergyman, and this poem had enormous success and was translated into many languages, becoming a classic of the Romantic school. It is apparently a poetic treatment of sublimity and has masonic symbolism in the text, neither of which would necessarily have been of interest to the child or her teacher.

Now is [in] the heat of youthful blood (*c.* 1740–5)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), 'Advice to Youth', first verse, from *Hymns and Spiritual Songs*, I, Hymn 91.

Now therefore hearken unto me O ye children (1784)
Proverbs 8:32–3.

O children, hither do ye come
First verse of Psalm 34, from the Scottish Psalter.

O give ye praise unto the Lord (1799)
Paraphrase of Psalm 117, Scottish Psalter.

O, let my footsteps in thy word (*c.* 1810)
Psalm 119:134, Scottish Psalter.

O Lord as I lie down this night to sleep (1839)
A classic children's prayer from the eighteenth century.

O set ye open the gates of righteousness (1813)
Psalm 118:19, Scottish Psalter.

O 'tis a lovely thing for youth (1813 and 1828)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), first two lines of 'Against Lying', 1715 (illus A2.10).

Oh for a closer walk with God (*c.* 1800)
William Cowper (1731–1800). From *Olney Hymns*, Book 1 (1779), based on Genesis 5:24.

On Christ my shepherd I'll depend (1826)
Verse 13 of 'Hymn or Spiritual Song for Young Ones', in *The Mother's Catechism for the Young Child, or a Preparatory Help for the Young and Ignorant*, by John Williamson (Dundee, 1759).

On thee we day by day depend (1844)
A paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer. So far the only published reference found is in *The Plough Boy*, vol 1 (1820), p. 154, an American journal.

One thing I of the Lord desired (1810–39)
Paraphrase of Psalm 27:4, Scottish Psalter.

One thing is needful and Mary hath chosen
St Luke 10:42.

Our father, which art in heaven (1734–1823)
Matthew 6:9–13, known as 'the Lord's Prayer'.

Our Saviour's Golden Rule
This refers to the commandment of Jesus to love one another as you would yourself, see Luke 6:31.

Overcome evil with good (1878)
Romans 12:21.

Peace be to this habitation (1843)
Charles Wesley (1707–88), Hymn 35, 'Hymns for Believers' in *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, vol 2 (1749).

Praise ye the Lord, praise ye the name of the Lord (1844)
Psalm 135:1.

Range where you please in water, earth and air
Unknown, but found in the notebook of William Trenbath (1726–1800), see above. It is also found on a sampler dated 1786 by Elizabeth Harrison worked at Campbell's School, Poulton.

Reason's whole pleasure (1757, 1782 and 1810)
Alexander Pope (1688–1744), *Essay on Man: Epistle IV*, lines 79–87.

Redeem thy misspent youth that's past (1819 and 1822)
Thomas Ken (1637–1711), second verse of 'Awake my soul'.

Religion should our thoughts engage (1845)
John Fawcett (1740–1817), Baptist minister, from his hymn 'Religion is the chief concern', verse 3, in *Hymns adapted to the circumstances of public worship and private devotion* (1782).

Remember death for you must die (1824)
Part of a traditional phrase often found on gravestones.

Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy Youth (1763–1876)
Ecclesiastes 12:1.

OPPOSITE. A2.7 Elisabeth Cowper has included a verse by her namesake, the popular poet William Cowper. In the centre is a swan with an elaborate house above and Adam and Eve below, with two banks of trees, deer, peacocks, initials and a floral border. Elisabeth was born 28 January 1809 and baptised on 5 February in Auchterarder, Perthshire, the daughter of James and Jean Couper. 21¾ in (55.3 cm) x 17¾ in (45.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

Remove far from me vanity and lies (*c.* 1830)
Proverbs 30:8.

Salvation from my Jesus flows
Probably a paraphrase of John 10:26, but no firm evidence as to who wrote it.

See how the lilies flourish fresh [white] and fair (1810 and 1811)
Probably based on Matthew 6:28, 'Consider the lilies' and I Kings 17:4, 'I have commanded the ravens to feed you [Elijah]'. Found in *A Guide to the English Tongue* by Reverend Thomas Dyche (died 1733), first published 1709 (102 edn, Paisley, 1800). This is the first line of a four-line piece illustrating the letter S, in a series of pieces for writers to copy. Dyche was a schoolmaster and lexicographer and his book starts with the alphabet and goes on to offer a guide to English pronunciation. There are no authors given but his work was endorsed by Nahum Tate, the Poet Laureate, and John Williams, another poet, so Dyche probably used pieces from several people.

See Israel's gentle shepherd stand (1821)
Dr Philip Doddridge (1702–51), a Nonconformist minister who wrote over 200 hymns.

See then that ye walk circumspectly
Ephesians 5:15.

Seek ye the Lord while he may be found (*c.* 1840)
Isaiah 55:6.

Self-partiality hides from us (1794)
This appears to be a maxim and is found in Henry Home's *Introduction to the Art of Thinking* (1761). Home (1696–1782) was a philosopher, a leader of the Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish law lord, with the title Lord Kames.

Self to self and God to man revealed (1824)
William Cowper, from the poem 'Charity'. (Illus A2.7.)

She layeth her hands to the spindle (1835)
Proverbs 31:19.

She shall be brought into the king in robes [raiment] of needlework (*c.* 1815)
Psalm 45:14.

She who from heaven expects to gain her end (1775)
Edmund Arwaker (died 1730), *Truth in Fiction or Morality in Masquerades. A collection of 250 select fables from Aesop and other authors done into English* (1708), Book 1, Fable 1, 'The Peasant and Hercules', lines 3–8 of The Moral. This is a slight alteration of the line, which reads: *He who from thence hopes to obtain his end*, but the other lines are as written except for changing the sex.

Should old acquaintance be forgot
Robert Burns (1759–96), 'Auld Lang Syne', published 1796.

Sing a new song to the Lord for wonders he hath done (1813 or 1818)
Variation on Psalm 98:1–2.

Six thousand years have passed away since life began at first (1838)
First part of third verse of poem 'What is Life?' No author is given but it is found in a *Collection of Interesting & Instructive Lessons with various original exercises* (1832), by James Campbell, a teacher of English and geography at Dundee Public Seminaries.

Soon shall this earthly frame, dissolved in death (1831)
The only published reference to this poem is in a biography of Robert McLean Calder (1841–95), where his mother recited it to her children. It is also found on a gravestone of 1815.

Such pity as a father hath (1787 and 1814)
Metrical version of Psalm 103:13, Scottish Psalter.

Sweet solitude when life's gay hours are past (1779)
Thomas Tickell (1685–1740), from 'A Poem on the Prospect of Peace' (1713).

Talk not riches nor yet length of days (1797)
Probably a paraphrase of several biblical quotes.

Teach me the measure of my days (1828)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), 1719.

Teach me the way O Lord (1800)
Psalm 86:11.

Teach me to feel another's woe (1797–1821)
Alexander Pope (1688–1744), 'The Universal Prayer', verse 10 (1738). (Illus A2.8.)

Teach me to live that I may dread (1811)
Thomas Ken (1637–1711), third verse of the hymn 'All praise to thee, my God, this night'.

Teach us by thy patient spirit (*c.* 1815)
Joseph Hart (1712–68), Calvinist minister, third verse of 'Jesus is our God'.

The cross, the cross, oh that's my gain (1841)
Attributed to Clare Taylor.

The eyes of the Lord are in every place (*c.* 1804, 1805 and 1839)
Proverbs 15:3 (illus A2.9).

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom (1763 and 1847)
Proverbs 9:10.

The grass withereth, the flower fadeth (1836)
Isaiah 40:8.

The learn'd is happy nature to explore (1775)
Alexander Pope (1688–1744), *An Essay on Man: Epistle II*, lines 263–6.

The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away (1823)
Second half of Job 1:21, and used in the Burial Service.

The Lord's Prayer (1734–1823)
Matthew 6:9–13.

OPPOSITE. A2.8 Ann Thomson, aged thirteen, 1806, has worked a very unusual design with a large red heart and two birds beak to beak, and a rose and thistle either side. Her verse is 'Teach me to feel another's woe' and there are her parents' names, Archibald Thomson and Ann Hamilton, in a box with another box filled with initials. 23 in (58.4 cm) x 19¼ in (48.9 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.


Archibald
Thomson ATHA
Ann Hamilton
IT IT RT DT IT
MT IT IT DT AL
AT IR IH AS MW
IT AB IB IT MS
Teach me to feel another's woe
To hide the fault I see
That mercy I to others show
That mercy show to me
Ann Thomson Aged 13 1804
© Leslie B Durst
Collection

A2.9 Isabella Bain has worked a church on her sampler and Proverbs 13, verse 5, but also includes both parents' names at the bottom. She was the daughter of shoemaker David Bain and Susanna Henderson who were married in Kirkcaldy, Fife. Isabella was nine years old when she worked her sampler in 1805. 19⅝ in (49.8 cm) x 15¾ in (40 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

The loss of time is much
Source unknown but it is also found on gravestones, so is possibly a well-known rhyme.

The mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting (1844)
Psalm 103:17.

The path of the just is as the shining light (1853 and 1862)
Proverbs 4:18.

The rose is fairest when it's budding new (1839)
Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), *The Lady of the Lake: Canto IV, The Prophecy, I*, lines 1–4.

The seasons came and went and went and came (*c.* 1847)
Robert Pollok (1798–1827), Scottish poet and member of the United Secession Church, from *The Course of Time*, Book 3 (1827). This was a very popular poem in ten books.

[For] The son of man shall come in the glory of his father (1844)
Matthew 16:27.

Then I'll not be proud of my youth or my beauty (1773)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), 'The Rose', last verse.

Therefore be ye also ready for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of man cometh (1789 and 1790)
Matthew 24:44.

They have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lord (*c.* 1844)
Revelation 7:14.

They're only great whom no base motive rules (1782)
No author found but given in *Miscellanies, Morals and Instructive Prose and Verse collected from various authors for the use of Schools*, published in America in 1787, where it is titled 'The Truly Great'. The compiler says she had collected these extracts for many years.

This God is the god we adore
Joseph Hart (1712–1768), *Hymns etc, composed on various subjects*, (London 1759). Hart was a Calvinist minister in London and his hymns were very popular.

This world is like the sea and our life is the ship in which we pass through (1780)
This simile could be based on several biblical verses.

Though I am now in younger days (1818 and 1848)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), *Divine and Moral Songs* (1715).

Thus slide away the days of youth
Possibly a paraphrase of Ecclesiastes 11:10.

'Tis a lovely thing for Youth (1828)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), 'Against Lying' (1715).

'Tis education forms the common mind (183?)
Alexander Pope (1688–1744), *Moral Essays* (1735).

To err is human, to forgive divine (1794)
Alexander Pope (1688–1744), *Essay on Criticism*, line 525.

To everything there is a season (1823)
Ecclesiastes 3:1.

To fear a lie (1828)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), first verse, third and fourth lines, from 'Against Lying' (1715).

To me O Lord be thou the way (1839)
Reverend Legh Richmond (1772–1827), Anglican vicar, who wrote the very popular *Annals of the Parish*. It is not clear that he wrote the hymn but it appears in a letter to his son, Wilberforce, and is ascribed to him in *A Cyclopedia of Sacred Poetical Quotations*, ed H G Adams.

To praise the Father and the Son and Spirit
A variation on the first part of the Doxology, 'Glory be to the Father' etc.

Trials make the promise sweet (1844)
William Cowper (1731–1800), 'Welcome Cross', from *Olney Hymns*, book 3, Hymn 16.

True dignity is his, whose tranquil mind (1817)
James Beattie (1735–1803), Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen University, and prominent in the fight against the slave trade. From *The Minstrel, or the Progress of Genius*, Book 2, verse 12, the first four lines, published 1774.

Trust in the Lord with all thine heart (1880)
Proverbs 3:5–6.

A2.10 Janet Jones in 1813 has worked her startling blue house in satin stitch. It is a variation on the pedimented house design, surrounded by older motifs such as a twisted stem band across the top. Below it is a verse from Isaac Watts' poem 'Against Lying'. At the bottom is a small Adam and Eve below a crown-like tree top with birds, similar to those on fountains, hovering above. Janet was born in 1801 in Falkirk, the daughter of James Jones, a flesher, and Margaret Wyse. She did not marry until she was fifty and died in 1885. 20½ in (52.1 cm) x 17¾ in (45.1 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

What blessings thy free bounty gives (*c.* 1802)
Alexander Pope (1688–1744), fifth verse of 'The Universal Prayer' (1738).

What is true beauty but fair virtue's eyes (1796)
Edward Young (1681–1765), *The Universal Passion*. Satire VI: 'On Women' (1725–8).

What sorrows may my steps attend (1852)
Ann (1782–1866) and Jane (1783–1824) Taylor, *Hymns for Infant Minds* (2nd edn, 1810).

Who ran to help me when I fell (1833)
This would appear to be a verse from 'Mother', a poem by Ann Taylor (1782–1866), a British poet, but this particular verse is not in the published version. It is a much parodied poem, so it could be that the sampler maker added her own verse.

Why should we start and fear to die (1830)
Isaac Watts (1674–1748), *Hymns Composed on Divine Subjects*, Book 2, Hymn 31.

Wisdom is the principle (1845)
Proverbs 4:7.

With wisdom's richest harvest folly grows (1843)
From *On the Immortality of the Soul*, translated by Soame Jenyns (1704–87) from the Latin of Isaac Hawkins Browne (1705–60), poet and MP.

APPENDIX 3

Reproduction samplers

For those who cannot afford to buy antique samplers, there is a thriving market in producing copies of old samplers for enthusiastic needlewomen to work themselves. Some are very faithful reproductions with an attempt to match exactly the weight and thread count of the background fabric and the colours of the threads. These usually come as kits with the correct amount of fabric and threads to work the sampler. Many museums commission firms to reproduce samplers in their collections with a small part of the revenue from the kit going towards the museum. Others are produced by private owners and sold through their own websites or shops. Some people, though, produce kits from samplers in the collections of other people without any permission from the owner. Strictly speaking, there is no copyright in a sampler's design or pattern, and from a good photograph it is possible to produce a kit to be worked. Such a kit cannot be seen as necessarily getting the right fabric and thread colours if the producer has not seen the original, so these products are less interesting for the embroiderer who prefers to work as exact a copy as possible. It is also very ungracious to copy an item in someone else's private collection or in a publicly funded collection without consent or acknowledgment, and to make money from it.

Reproducing old samplers in exact detail could lead to accusations of fraud. Deliberate fraud in this area is very unlikely to occur, as the value of samplers is not on a par with most art objects, although some pieces are now sold for quite large sums. There are, however, other hazards to be aware of in copying an old sampler. In 1990 Susan Mayor and Diana Fowle produced a book of large images of samplers that had passed through the salerooms. Shortly afterwards, framed and glazed examples of some of these samplers appeared on the market with no indication that they were prints and not originals. Some buyers were taken unawares, thinking they had an original old sampler for a very cheap price. One of the samplers in this book, that of Elisabeth Stewart of Fraserburgh dated 1812, has an even more interesting tale. It was copied in the past, possibly in the 1920s or 1930s (see Mayor & Fowle plate 25). The copy was in the catalogue of one of the auction houses in Britain and at first it looked to be the original one by Elisabeth Stewart, but it was the wrong proportions and had a fringed end. (See *Sampler Guild Newsletter* for the full story.) Why this particular sampler was copied is unknown but it may well have been done by or for a descendent of Elisabeth's while the original went to another branch of the family. The copy is now in a private collection and the current whereabouts of the original sampler is unknown (Leslie B Durst collection).

Another sampler, by Jane MacNaughton at Miss Logan's school, Edinburgh, 1839, is probably also a reproduction piece. It is beautifully worked on evenly woven linen that gives regularity to

A3.1 Reproduction of Elisabeth Stewart's sampler of 1812. The original sampler measured 16 in (40.6 cm) by 12 in (30.5 cm) so this reproduction is much larger at 24½ in (62.2 cm) x 13¼ in (33.7 cm). Leslie B Durst Collection.

the stitches that old pieces never have. Where the original of this sampler is now is unknown, but the copy is in a private collection (Leslie B Durst collection). Neither of these examples can be classified as a fraud because the intention of the worker of the copy cannot be determined as being to defraud, but the moral of this is that all reproductions of samplers should be worked with the name, or at least the initials, and date by the embroiderer so that in the future no such confusion can occur. This detail should also be put somewhere on the sampler where it cannot easily be removed.

APPENDIX 4

Public collections with Scottish samplers

National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh has the largest public collection. For contact details see www.nms.ac.uk. Glasgow Museums, www.glasgowlife.org.uk. Glasgow also has Sir William Burrell's seventeenth-century embroidery collection, which includes some fine samplers. Three major local museums that also have samplers are: Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museum, www.aagm.co.uk. Perth Museums, www.museumsgalleriesscotland.org.uk/member/perth-museum-and-art-gallery. Fife Museums, under www.fife.gov.uk. See also www. simplysamplers.org, an exhibition prepared by Fife Museums but including samplers from museums in the Borders, East Lothian and West Lothian.

Most local museums will probably have some samplers connected to local people or schools.

There are also Scottish samplers in other museums in Britain, for example the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and some are reproduced in the printed books and catalogues of these museums. Both museums also have all or part of their collections on their websites. Other museums should be checked for any collections they have put online.

An online site with samplers is Scran, at www.scran.ac.uk. Scran is a charity and online learning resource base with over 360,000 images and media from museums, galleries, archives and the media. It includes black and white images from the Royal Scottish Museum catalogue, 1978. It is a subscription site, with a home tariff, used by schools and others to acquire images to use in their work, the copyright remaining with the institutions owning the image. Without a subscription the images on the screen are too small to be seen properly and there is no text. The text supplied, however, is not always accurate; as always, it depends on who wrote it and how good the information was in the museum register.

A large private collection can be seen online at www.antiquesamplers.org.

NOTES

1. See Bolton & Coe 1921.
2. See Browne & Weardon 1999, Hundt & Mootz 2010 and Tarrant 1978 for examples.
3. A Nazca sampler from Peru, second century BC, is illustrated in M G A Schipper-van Lottum, *Over merklappen gesproken . . .* (Amsterdam, 1980), p. 14, fig 4, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 1979.206.889.
4. See Ellis 2001 for those in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
5. The Middle English Dictionary, online http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med.
6. Joseph Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary* (London, 1898).
7. DOST online, www.dsl.ac.uk.
8. See King 1960 and Stevens 1991.
9. Samplers made by girls living or being educated in Perth are known from the late eighteenth century.
10. See Staniland 1991.
11. The standard work on this topic is Arthur Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher* (1933). A recent reprint in 1998 of an English pattern book is *A schole-house for the Needle*, by Richard Shorleyker (1632).
12. See Wardle 1994 and 1995 for a discussion of one London embroiderer, Edmund Harrison, who worked for James I, Charles I and Charles II.
13. See Tarrant 2001, p. 86.
14. Ibid, pp. 89–90 and Margaret Swain, 'The Lochleven and Linlithgow hangings', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 124 (1994), 455–66.
15. Jane's sampler is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, T.190-1960. See Browne & Weardon 1999, plate 3 and the V&A's collections online.
16. See Colby 1964.
17. Christopher Wickham, 'How inherited needlework led to a project of historical detective work', *Orenus*, Westminster Cathedral Magazine (July/August 2011), 8–10. A second sampler, associated with Mary's grandmother, Lady Anne Percy, is thought to be German.
18. I praye 3ow faill not to send me my samplar with the varkis [*gap in MS*] bath 3ow put in it, for I haif many warks begun bydand on it; NRS RH15/12/1, quoted in DOST.
19. See Browne & Weardon 1999, plate 3.
20. The story was pieced together by Martyn Freeth in *Journal of the Shropshire Family History Society* 30 (March 2009).
21. See Tarrant 1978, cat 1 and Bromiley Phelan, Hansson & Holdsworth 2008, p. 18.
22. See Tarrant 2001, pp. 32–3, Martha Prescott 1650 and ER 1659; and Bromiley Phelan, Hansson & Holdsworth 2008, p. 62, Elizabeth Bee 1651.
23. See Tarrant 1978, cat nos 2, 3, 6 and 7.
24. Good illustrations of samplers from all periods can be seen in Browne & Weardon 1999; Bromiley Phelan, Hansson & Holdsworth 2008; and Scott 2009.
25. See Fothergill 1909.
26. For example, NMS K.1997.813.
27. See the British Newspaper Archive at www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk, where many provincial newspapers are being digitised and indexed; the major dailies such as *The Times* have their own websites, but all the sites require a subscription.
28. See Browne & Weardon 1999, and Humphrey 1997.
29. See Bromiley Phelan, Hansson & Holdsworth 2008.
30. See Garrad & Hayhurst 1988, Stevens 1991, Tarrant 1978 and Walton 1983.
31. See Parker 1984.
32. See Fratto 1971.

33. See Ehrman 2007, and Lukacher 2013.
34. See Hansard Online, *HC Deb 13 May 1909 vol 4 cc 2030 & 2090*. The earlier debate on 1 March is not in the online version of Hansard but can be read in the printed volume, p. 1295. John Eliot Burns, 1858–1943, was President of the Local Government Board; Thomas Michael Kettle, 1880–1916, was MP for East Tyrone; and Thomas Power O'Connor, 1848–1929, was MP for Liverpool Scotland.
35. Fothergill 1909, 180, first mentions this use of a sampler to prove age for a pension.
36. *Accounts of Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, ed Thomas Dickson, vol 7, 1538–41, Edinburgh, HM General Register House (1877), entry for July 1540.
37. For an account of Lady Jean see Rosalind K Marshall, *Queen Mary's Women: Female Relatives, Servants, Friends and Enemies of Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 90–5.
38. *A Collection of Inventories and other Records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewelhouse and of the artillery and munitioun in some of the royal castles, 1488–1606*, ed Thomas Thomson (privately printed, Edinburgh, 1815), p. 129.
39. *Burgh Records of the City of Glasgow*, ed John Smith (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1832), p. 93.
40. NRS GD248/27/1. Lady Ann, born in 1725, was the daughter of William Duff, 1st Earl of Fife, and his second wife Jean Grant. She married her cousin, Alexander Duff, in 1745 and he died in 1764. Lady Ann died in Edinburgh in 1805, and Sir James Grant was her son-in-law.
41. In a letter to Col Duff dated 3 November 1800, Lady Ann asks him when he hears of her death 'to lock away and seal any Repositories pertaining to me', and mentions that her letter to Sir James Grant 'with the papers inclosed you will find in my Bedchamber at Halton Lodge in a bag made out of a Child's Sampler'.
42. My own view is that it is Scottish, certainly at latest mid-seventeenth century and possibly earlier, and it is a true sampler, recording motifs to be used in the future.
43. According to the entry in the catalogue, Helen married John Gib of Castletown, near Muckhart, Clackmannanshire, in 1697 but the registers for Muckhart are lacking for that year so no record of her marriage has been found. She was the mother of Adam Gib, 1714–88, one of the founders of the Anti-Burgher church.
44. See Ehrman, 2007.
45. NMS A.1993.55, 56 & 57.
46. Surprisingly, some girls were actually christened with a very obvious boy's name, so such a name found on a sampler cannot be a definite indication of sex. According to the entry for the name 'Nicholas' in Leslie Alan Dunkling, *Scottish Christian Names: An A to Z of First Names* (1979), it was regularly used as a girl's name in the Galloway region 'until fairly recently'. One explanation is offered by Helen Lanigan in her article 'Edgelaw to Edgelaw' in *Family Tree* (December 2007), pp. 48–9: 'I have since read that this practice of naming a child after the minister who baptised them was quite common, particularly if the child was the first one in the family to have been baptised by a new minister', commenting on the baptism of John Fleming Dodds, a girl and the first child in the family, in Carrington parish in December 1799, the minister being Reverend J Fleming. Unfortunately she gives no reference for this and it goes against the traditional Scottish naming pattern.
47. *James Beattie's Day-Book*, ed Ralph S Walker (3rd Spalding Club, 1948), p. 64.
48. H Marwick, 'House of Burray Inventory, 1710', *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* 12 (1933–4), 57.
49. Isobel's is in NMS; the unknown one is in the Leslie B Durst Collection.
50. See Tarrant 1978, cat no 11.
51. Ibid, cat no 10.
52. NMS A.1978.286. 'Baby' is apparently used as a pet name for Barbara. See Child ballad 222, 'Bonny Baby Livingston', in Francis James Child, *Popular English and Scottish Ballads* (10 vols, 1882–98), so the likelihood is that the sampler was worked by a girl.
53. Both NMS, Agnes, A.1987.51, Bethia, A.1987.91.
54. See Tarrant 1978, cat no 12.
55. Leslie B Durst Collection.
56. See Glover 2011.
57. See Moore 1997 for some of the sources and problems.
58. For a fuller discussion of this aspect of elite girls' education see Glover 2011, ch 2.
59. Law 1965, pp. 14–16. Presbyteries were responsible for setting up schools, and after 1690 schoolmasters had to subscribe to the Westminster Confession and take the oath of allegiance.
60. See Withrington 1997.
61. In Edinburgh, the Trades Maiden and Mary Erskine schools were foundations by a wealthy benefactor.
62. *Letters of John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, 1799–1812*, ed Barbara L H Horn (Scottish History Society; Edinburgh, 1966).
63. See Fothergill 1909, 187, where it is referred to as Long Green School.
64. Glasgow Museums Collection, E1945.25.
65. See Law 1965, p. 54.
66. The SSPCK provided Bibles, copies of the Book of Proverbs, New Testaments, Kerr's Spelling Book, music books, Plain Catechism, copy books, paper and thirty copies of the ABC to each school.

67. *The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald (1783–1812)*, ed Francis Paget Hett (New York, 1926), pp. 166–7.
68. See the *English Short Title Catalogue* online (http://estc.bl.uk) for books printed up to 1800. Also *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* (vols 2–4, Edinburgh, 2007–11; vol 1, forthcoming).
69. *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol 2 (Bannatyne Club; Edinburgh, 1836), pp. 258–9.
70. See Anderson 1995, p. 15.
71. NMS A1993.103.
72. See Law 1965, p. 43.
73. Ibid, p. 22. They also made the balloon for Lunardi's flight in Edinburgh in 1785.
74. Letter XII, on sewing, pp. 30–1 of 1769 edition.
75. For example, Lady Grisell Baillie, see Scott-Moncrieff 1911. Lady Grisell's daughters had a governess, Mary Menzies, and together they worked an embroidered panel, still at the family home, Mellerstain: see Swain 1986, p. 109.
76. Helen Dingwall, *Late 17th Century Edinburgh: A Demographic Study* (Aldershot, 1994), p. 141.
77. See Keddie 1911.
78. Gaunt in Glasgow Museums Collection, E1949.30h; Christie, private collection.
79. Two typical ones worked by Jeanie and Agnes Lawson at Kilconquhar School, Fife, in 1887 and 1888 can be seen on http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/exhibitions/thescots.
80. Law 1965, p. 11, notes that there was a permanent aristocracy in Edinburgh after 1603 in the Court of Session.
81. Goudie 1889, pp. 31–2.
82. See Law 1965, p. 181.
83. Ibid, p. 35.
84. Ibid, pp. 41–2.
85. *The Second Statistical Account of Scotland*. Easier to compare in the republication of 1998 by West Port Books, Edinburgh, *The First and Second Statistical Accounts of the City of Edinburgh, 1799 and 1845*.
86. The building is now Modern Two, part of the National Galleries of Scotland.
87. 'The Minutes of the Merchant Maiden Hospital', Towill 1956. This deals with the Merchant Company's school, which survives today as The Mary Erskine School. The Trades Maiden no longer exists as a school but is a fund administered by the Convenery of the Trades of Edinburgh to assist girls up to the age of twenty-one to finish their education.
88. Two samplers by the Holdway sisters, Jane and Helen, dating to 1844, are still at The Mary Erskine School: see Towill 1956. Instead of their parents' initials, the girls have added the names of the governess and teachers and the initials of their classmates.
89. In 1819 the proceeds of a musical evening held in Edinburgh raised £1,200, which was divided between twenty-nine charities, many of which were schools. These included parochial schools, the Female school at Canonmills, the Female school in Edinburgh Castle for soldiers' children, and Leith Female School of Industry, as well as the Society for Clothing the Industrious Poor. The list was published in *The Edinburgh Magazine & Literary Miscellany* 5 (1819), 568.
90. See Ritchie 1926, ch 7, 'Schoolmistresses'.
91. There were £8 Scots to £1 sterling at this period.
92. Somerville 2001, pp. 15, 16, 17, 18, 22, 23 and 28.
93. *British Lady's Magazine* 1 (1815), p. 4.
94. Grant [1898] 1988. This Canongate Classics publication is the first complete edition of the *Memoirs*; earlier ones are a selection.
95. Ibid, p. 10.
96. Ibid, p. 88.
97. Ibid, p. 41.
98. Ibid, pp. 55–6.
99. Ibid, p. 70.
100. Ibid, p. 185.
101. Ibid, p. 223.
102. There is a small square of cotton in the Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh that was hemmed by a child of four.
103. Grant [1898] 1988, p. 70.
104. Naomi Tarrant, *The Development of Costume* (London, 1994), pp. 25–32.
105. There was also, of course, a thriving second-hand market from the medieval period onwards.
106. See Christina Walkley, *The Ghost in the Looking Glass: The Victorian Seamstress* (London, 1981), for a detailed investigation of the numbers and condition of seamstresses in the mid to late nineteenth century.
107. Janet Arnold was able to identify the author as Ann Stretfield from correspondence in the John Murray archives.
108. *The Lady's Magazine* 7 (September 1835), 146–51.
109. Ibid, 150. Sir John was the instigator of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* published in the 1790s.
110. Sold at Lindsay Burns & Co, Perth, lot 207, 17 April 2012.
111. The sampler of 1848 by Isabella Williams is in a private collection in Australia, while Margaret Beattie's, worked when she was thirteen in 1860, is in the collection of Fife Council Museums. For Margaret's sampler see www.simplysamplers.org.
112. See Parkes 2011 for the information on Kildare Place in this chapter.
113. See article by Elizabeth Gibbons, 'Sample pleasures', in *World of Interiors* (June 2002), 100–3, with photographs and colour illustrations, and the catalogue of M Finkel and daughter, *Samplings*, vol 42 (Philadelphia, 2012), p. 17.

114. NMS A.1932.387, dated 1862.
115. The book is dedicated to The Lady Guernsey, wife of the heir to the earldom of Aylesford, whose surname was Finch. The author is probably Elizabeth, daughter of the 4th Earl, born in 1790 and as such entitled to be styled The Lady Elizabeth Finch. She is described as unmarried in the 1851 census.
116. Wendy Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly: A Celebration of The Girl's Own Paper 1880–1901* (London, 1980).
117. *The Girl's Own Paper* vol 3, pp. 59–60.
118. Ibid, p. 524.
119. Ibid, pp. 525–6 and vol 4, p. 124.
120. For example *The Monitor*'s samplers from Fife, dated 1848, 1860 and 1898.
121. R D Connor, A D C Simpson & A D Morrison-Low (eds), *Weights and Measures in Scotland: A European Perspective* (Edinburgh, NMS, 2004).
122. Most seventeenth-century samplers do not show signs of having been framed at the time of their making; framing appears to be a later development.
123. Other items included 'drawing one apron and i pair of pocets, 2 (shillings)' and 'Gauze and drawing a petie point wt silk furnished, 7s6d'. NRS GD113/4/122/104.
124. *Journals of the Episcopal visitations of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes . . . 1762 & 1770. With a history of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ross chiefly during the 18th century and a memoir of Bishop R. Forbes*, ed J B Craven (1886).
125. See Proctor 1972, pp. 21–2.
126. Elizabeth Hercher, schoolmistress, charged the Countess of Ancram for '7 hanks worsted to finish sampler' at 7d (pence) and 'To a fine Sampler 10d, 16 hanks Worsted 1d (each) and needles 1d', costing 2s 3d. These were presumably for Betty Blakie and Jessy Oliver, as she also charged 15s each for teaching them from 1 January to end September 1799. NRS GD40/8/424/48.
127. See Tarrant 2001, pp. 52–7.
128. The dye used is indigo carmine. Dr Anita Quye, personal communication.
129. For example, Maggie Archibald's, NMS A.1987.33.
130. See Proctor 1972, pp. 15–16.
131. There are many books on stitches; the most used in Britain is probably Mary Thomas's *Dictionary of Embroidery Stitches* (London, 1934), reprinted many times. More recently Anne Wanner-JeanRichard and the CIETA Embroidery Group have produced a series of booklets on various stitches by type: Wanner-JeanRichard 2009.
132. See Proctor 1972, pp. 151–3 for an amusing contemporary husband and wife verse dialogue on this topic.
133. There is more than one version of this painting: Tate Britain, London holds a copy.
134. NRS GD113/5/59c/96.
135. NMS Margaret Gray, NMS A.1955.105.
136. Robert Laurie and James Whittle took over the firm of Robert Sayer, publisher and map & print seller, in 1794.
137. Tarrant 1978, cat no.s 26 and 27, NMS A.1929.215 and A.1962.37. See also 'The Cook Map Sampler: a widow's embroidered response to her husband's voyages of discovery', by Vivien Caughley *in* A Garnder (ed), *Mapping South: Journeys in South–South Cultural Relations* (Victoria, Australia, 2013), pp. 126–34, about a similar map sampler believed to have been worked by the widow of Captain Cook.
138. Owned by the National Trust for Scotland and on display at the Culloden Battlefield Centre.
139. See Hiscock 2009.
140. See Humphrey 2006 and Hiscock 2009.
141. Tarrant 1978, cat no.s 32, 33 and 34; Hiscock 2009, p. 17.
142. See Toomer 2008.
143. See Jenny Grant's sampler, Appendix 1 (illus A1.1).
144. See Tarrant 1978, cat no.s 22, 23 and 24.
145. See Swain 1955.
146. See Tarrant 1978, cat no 28.
147. See Swain 1955, pp. 9–13.
148. Anon, *The Ladies' Hand-book of Embroidery on Muslin, and Lace Work* (London, 1843).
149. See Swain 1955, p. 39.
150. Leslie B Durst Collection.
151. See Brenda Collins, 'Sewing and social structure: the flowerers of Scotland and Ireland', *in* R Mitchison & P Roebuck, *Economy and Social Structure in Scotland and Ireland 1500–1939* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 242–54.
152. NRS GD113/5/101, papers of the Innes family of Stow, Peeblesshire; undated but probably late eighteenth century.
153. Naomi Tarrant, 'Britain's Mrs Jane Gaugain: beyond the knitting books', *Knitting Traditions* (Fall 2011; special issue published by *Piecework Magazine*), 13–15.
154. NMS A.1976.588.
155. See section on buildings in this chapter for more details on this and the other building.
156. This sampler has only been seen from a photograph.
157. James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange*, vol 1 (London, 1855), p. 117.
158. NMS A.1994.1328.
159. NMS NT.242.28 & HRI.62.
160. Elizabet Midford 1747, where the initials are given in the English style, in *Samplers International: A World of Needlework*, Lynne Anderson, 2011, p. 29.
161. Private collection.
162. See Arnolli & Sloof 2005.

163. See Alison Hay Dunlop, *Anent Old Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 133–7.
164. For this section see Tuer 1897, ch 10.
165. Ibid, p. 64.
166. Ibid, p. 125.
167. The reference given is to Ed(inburgh) Test(aments), XV, 266.
168. Tuer 1897, p. 141.
169. Ibid, Cut 50.
170. Ibid, pp. 15–16.
171. Ibid, p. 129.
172. Leslie B Durst Collection.
173. Private collection.
174. Private collection.
175. Both Leslie B Durst Collection.
176. Worcester Art Museum, Mass, USA, 1905.123.
177. Donald King, 'Boxers', *Embroidery* (Winter 1961–2), 114–15, Fig 129.
178. Vassar College, NY, USA.
179. Leslie B Durst Collection.
180. George Jameson, *Thirty-three Designs with the Orders of Architecture*, published in Edinburgh by the author. In 1772 *The Rudiments of Architecture or a Young Man's Instructor*, was published, again in Edinburgh, compiled by an unknown author and based on Jameson's book but with new illustrations, several of small villas. These two books were influential on domestic architecture, and *The Rudiments* was republished several times in the later eighteenth century.
181. Leslie B Durst Collection.
182. Arthur & Learmouth are Leslie B. Durst Collection, Mitchell is Linlithgow Heritage Trust, Taylor sisters are NMS, Pringle is NTS, Graham & McKenzie are private collections.
183. Both NMS, see Tarrant 1978, cat no.s 12 and 71.
184. Also Effie Elder 1811 and Catherine Dewar 1805, Leslie B Durst Collection.
185. Also NMS A.1986.118, Jean Stevenson, 1814.
186. Leslie B Durst Collection.
187. Sold Phillips, London, 29 September 1998, lot 176.
188. NMS HRI.36.
189. The set square and compass were traditional masons' tools and it is thought to be from masons' work practices that Freemasonry was derived. See Feller 2012, F115 for another Scottish sampler worked by an anonymous maker, about 1800, also with a set square and compass.
190. NMS A.1938.528, Tarrant 1978, cat no 36.
191. See also Feller 2012, F167. It has not been possible to identify Jean in the records.
192. Leslie B Durst Collection.
193. Barbara Reid, 1761, Glasgow Museums, E1976.32; Huish 1913, plates XVIII and XXIII, 1762; Elizabeth Duncan, 1786, Leslie B Durst Collection.
194. Sharp is Leslie B. Durst Collection, Robertson is private collection, Kennedy is in Fife Council Museums, 1972.58. See also www.simplysamplers.org for an illustration.
195. Private collection.
196. Jean's is in NMS A.1986.118; Isabella's in Leslie B Durst Collection.
197. Browne & Weardon 1999, plate 50.
198. Tarrant 1978, cat no 13.
199. Leslie B Durst Collection.
200. Tarrant 1978, cat nos 62–67.
201. For example in Bolton & Coe 1921, Colby 1964, Lukacher 2013, Van Valin 1999.
202. It was one of the books Jane Austen knew well and she mentions it in her novel *Emma*. Robert Martin, a farmer, reads aloud from it to the young woman he wants to marry, Harriet Smith. See Book 1, chapter 4.
203. For women's magazines, see Vyvyan Holland, *Hand-coloured Fashion Plates, 1770–1899* (London, 1955).
204. Reverend John Newton, *Twenty-One Letters written to a near Relative at School* (London, 1809).
205. Private Collection.
206. Dunfermline Museum, Inventory number 1968.58; Tarrant 2011.
207. NMS HRI.9. Rachel was the daughter of Thomas Bruce of Langlea and Margaret Steuart, a friend and neighbour of Sir Walter Scott and another member of the Steuart family, who were lawyers in Edinburgh.
208. See Nora K Strange, *Jacobean Tapestry* (London, 1947), for details of Isobel's family.
209. NMS HRI.54; the sampler was acquired for £5 from a dealer in 1961.
210. For example, many Scots owned some land as a result of the inheritance laws, which are complicated. This could mean the splitting up of estates into small parcels of land which were inadequate to supply all a family's needs, so men often had other occupations.
211. Information from her death registration.
212. In Scotland the term 'irregular marriage' covers several kinds. These could be declaration by consent before witnesses; by promise with subsequent intercourse; by cohabitation, with habit and repute; marriage by consent before witnesses, celebrated by someone other than the parish minister and without proclamation of banns. The church did not approve of such marriages and the couples were usually summoned before the session and fined. The fact that this marriage found its way into the parish register is fortunate, as many irregular marriages have left no trace in the records. See Rosemary Bigwood, *The Scottish Family Tree Detective: Tracing your Ancestors in Scotland* (Manchester, 2006), pp. 75–6.

213. NMS A.1987.57.
214. Leslie Hodgson, 'Do they know who they are?', *The Scottish Genealogist* 54 (2007), 4–17.
215. Pringle, National Trust for Scotland collection; Mitchell, Linlithgow Heritage Trust collection, see www.simplysamplers for an illustration; Watson, sold Bonhams, Edinburgh, 23 November 2011, lot 19. All the samplers, except Mitchell's, which is too damaged, also have MD embroidered on them, who is possibly their teacher.
216. Information from a descendant of the family.
217. They were married on 13 July 1704 in Edinburgh.
218. The Royal Bank of Scotland has no details on Daniel Campbell, but he was buried on 14 March 1732 in Edinburgh, aged thirty-eight.
219. NMS has several other items related to the Steuarts, and damask napkins woven with Thomas and Anne Ruddiman's names, while the Scottish National Portrait Gallery holds portraits of them both by William Denune.
220. The castle is, sadly, a ruin but information on it can be found at http://sites.scran.ac.uk/ada/documents/castle_style/dalquharran/dalquharran_home.htm.
221. See Naomi Tarrant, 'The Militia Act of 1797 and Jean Stevenson', *The Scottish Genealogist* 60 (March 2013), 9–11.
222. Glasgow Museums Collection, E.1938.105d.
223. Kirkintilloch, Cadder and Campsie are adjoining parishes.
224. This term was still used rather than the modern 'Missus' in Scotland in the mid-twentieth century, as Margaret Swain recalled.
225. Elizabeth Ritchie is in the Feller Collection, F366, the others in private collections.
226. 1841 census, Piece 488, Folio 18, p. 32, Barnsdale area, St Ninians, Stirlingshire. Isabella is entered as Teacher, aged 30, with Jean McKenzie, aged 70, Independent, Alexr Mc Kenzie, 25, worsted handloom weaver, and John McKenzie, 25, bookseller, all living in the house of Henry Ewing and family, Nail Maker. The 1841 census rounded the ages of those over fifteen up or down to the nearest five years.
227. In the Smith Art Gallery and Museum, Stirling.
228. Sold Bonhams, Edinburgh, 22 August 2007, lot 1115.
229. Private collection.
230. Angus is Leslie B. Durst Collection, Booklass is private collection and Ross is NMS A.1931.181.
231. See Witney catalogue *'An Exceptional Endeavour'*, no 38, for the list of these in various collections.
232. This verse has not been identified but it is not the well-known one by Phillis Wheatley (1753–84), the African-American poet. There are numerous hits for this sampler verse on the Internet because President James E Faust of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints used it as the basis of a letter he wrote to young girls in 2003. He saw it on a sampler of 1813 from Newfoundland.
233. Still is in NMS; Turnbull in the Scottish Borders Museum; Smith, Douglas, Henderson, Easton and Wilson are in the Leslie B Durst Collection; and Stewart is illustrated in Mayor & Fowle 1990.
234. Information from the archivist of Dollar Academy.
235. A sampler by Ann Lyon in Dollar Museum is similar to Margaret Mitchell's.
236. See Bates 2008.
237. See Albarta Meulenbelt-Nieuwburg, *Embroidery Motifs from Dutch Samplers* (London, 1974), p. 119, with charted design. The design, though, does not refer, like Marianne, to the Revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century but to a much earlier incident, the siege of Hagestein in 1405–6, where a hedge of interwoven branches protected the place, so this is a very Dutch motif. The sampler is in the Leslie B Durst Collection.
238. 'Anna, daughter of Rich: Gerrey & Mary his wife, born 25 July 1710', *Register of Births for the Monthly Meeting at Southwark, The Society of Friends*. TNA [The National Archives, Kew], RG6/Piece 1097/folio 92. Sarah was born 17 June 1713, TNA, *Register of Births*, RG6/Piece 1097/folio 100 and RG6/Piece 328/folio 87, Quarterly Meeting.
239. TNA, *Register of Marriages*, RG6/Piece 495/folio 51.
240. Glover 2011, p. 36 notes that by the mid-eighteenth century several wealthy Scottish parents were sending their daughters to London boarding schools.
241. Sanderson 1996 is an important study of the world of women and work at this period, showing that women from all walks of life participated in trades and crafts on their own account.
242. See Mayor & Fowle 1990, plate 25. For the full story see *The Sampler Guild Newsletter*, 32 (October–December 2009), and following issues.
243. Leslie B Durst Collection.

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Spelling of personal names in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was not standardised. The same person could have their name spelled in various ways in different records. Mc and Mac names are a case in point, as is the capitalisation of the following letter, eg McKenzie/Mackenzie.

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