

Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs (1849–1908): a voice from the 'Unrecorded Past'

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ABSTRACT

Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs, or Lady Burroughs, is known for her report on the discovery and excavation of Taversoe Tuick, Rousay, Orkney, in 1898. Apart from this report, however, Eliza is a largely elusive figure about whose personality and private life not much is known. This article draws on archival material, recorded local memories and public documents to reconstruct a portrait of the enigmatic author behind the Taversoe Tuick report.

INTRODUCTION

In 1985, Diana M Reynolds published an article in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Reynolds 1985) that contained a transcription of a compelling antiquarian report. The report had originally been hand-written and illustrated some time in or after May 1898 and documents the chance discovery of an ancient grave chamber during a thunderstorm. The report reads like a Gothic short story – complete with a remote island setting, apprehensive excavators, skulls revealed by lightning, fast-paced disagreements and crashing thunder.

The site was Taversoe Tuick (Canmore ID 2634; NGR HY 4257 2761) – a small chambered cairn in Rousay, Orkney, discovered during the construction of a summer seat – and the author of the report was Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs, née Geddes, 1849–1908. The archaeological views expressed in this report have been upheld by archaeologists since (see eg Grant 1939; Edmonds 2019: 81), but little is known about the report's author herself.

Until the later 20th century, publications on related topics only mention Eliza¹ in passing. Ironically, more has been published about the Rousay steamboat *Lizzie Burroughs* (see Cormack & Cormack 1971; Thomson 1981: 93–6; 2008: 413, 447) than about the person it was named after. Where sources discuss Eliza, this is usually in relation to her husband, Lt-Gen Sir Frederick William Traill Burroughs (1831–1905), the laird of Rousay and Wyre. For example, she is briefly introduced, but does not play a recurring role, in W P L Thomson's biography of Frederick, *The Little General and The Rousay Crofters: Crisis and Conflict on an Orkney Estate* (Thomson 1981). An exception to this absence in literature is Eliza's brief appearance as a facilitator of local craftsmanship in Annette Carruthers' work on the Arts and Crafts movement, which will be returned to later on (eg Carruthers 2009, 2013, 2017).

A key source on Eliza is Reynolds' transcription and publication of the Taversoe Tuick report (Reynolds 1985), through which Eliza has become known for her contribution to archaeological research in Scotland and commended

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ILLUS 1 Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs. (GB241/920 S 18/1 © Orkney Library & Archive)

for her standards of recording (most recently Edmonds 2019: 81). Importantly, the report provides a glimpse of Eliza's ways of thinking and style of writing, to which I will return later.

No private letters or diaries of Eliza's are known of to date, which encumbers any attempt at a more personal and detailed portrayal. Her involvement in community matters and philanthropy was widely documented in the local press of the time, but these, as well as other sources – while publicly available in archives and online – had previously existed in a scattered form and had not been synthesised into a narrative focused on Eliza herself.

Over the past few years, the author has undertaken independent research into Eliza's life, gathering archival material – such as recorded

local memories, newspaper articles and official documents – with the aim of piecing together a biographical narrative, of which this article is a first output. A valuable source of anecdotes is Howie Firth's taped Radio Orkney interview with Alexina Craigie from 1977, a recording of which is held by the Orkney Library and Archive, Kirkwall,² and which was transcribed by the author in 2018.³ Alexina Craigie was a cook at Trumland House around the turn of the century and the interview is a rich resource, containing Craigie's memories and anecdotes not only of Eliza – which will be woven into the discussion later – but also of island life and her own family.

The aim of this article is to cast light onto the largely unknown writer of the Taversoe Tuick

report. This is the first scholarly article written about Eliza Burroughs herself, presenting a synthesis of the author's ongoing research to this date.

The discussion is divided into two halves: the first half provides a biographical overview of Eliza's life before and after her arrival in Orkney. This includes her work with the local community of Rousay and Wyre, and recorded anecdotes about her personality, as well as her marriage to Lt-Gen Sir Frederick William Traill Burroughs. While Frederick's falling out with the Rousay crofting community during the 1880s will be briefly outlined, there is no known record of Eliza's own views on these events, and it can therefore not form a major part of the discussion. (For a more detailed overview and discussion of these events see Thomson 1981 and 2008.) The second half explores specific aspects of Eliza's life and interests, including a detailed examination of her Taversoe Tuick report and the enigmatic pseudonym, 'Veronica', with which she signed it.

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE

Eliza D'Oyly Geddes was born on 9 May 1849⁴ in Leamington Priors (Leamington Spa), Warwickshire, the youngest of four surviving children. Her parents were Colonel William Geddes (1794–1879) of the Bengal Horse Artillery and Emma D'Oyly (1805–74), 'a celebrated beauty'⁵ from a landed family (Burke 1845: 323; Thomson 1981: 89–90).

Eliza spent her childhood and youth at 52 George Square, a picturesque quarter situated alongside the Meadows in Edinburgh. The large front windows of Eliza's family home overlooked a central green space framed by wrought-iron gates and a wide cobbled street, and the square was renowned for its vibrant social life (Coghill 2008: 215). She is recorded at that address as a one-year-old in the 1851 census,⁶ and again in 1861 as an 11-year-old 'scholar'.⁷ At this time, she was living with both her parents, three significantly older siblings and a household staff

of three. Where she went to school, or whether she was schooled at home, is unknown at present. Much of her early life is unaccounted for, but the *Fifeshire Journal* of 3 September 1868 records a 'Miss D'Oyly Geddes' attending a ladies' golf event at St Andrews. It is possible that this was 19-year-old Eliza: her older sisters (Wilhelmina Geddes and Hannah Margaret Loraine Geddes) are never recorded with the middle name 'D'Oyly', and, in addition to this, Hannah Margaret was married by this point and went by the surname Dunbar.

Aged 21, Eliza married 39-year-old Colonel (later Lieutenant-General Sir) Frederick William Traill Burroughs (1831–1905) of the 93rd Highlanders. Frederick had joined the 93rd Highlanders in 1848 (Thomson 1981: 61) and fought in the Crimea and in India before returning to Scotland in March 1870.⁸ Frederick himself recorded in his 'Reminiscences' that he met Eliza on his return journey from India, on the deck of HMS *Himalaya* – the same ship that had carried him to the Crimea 16 years earlier.⁹

While Eliza's exact journey is uncertain, it is possible that she boarded the ship in Malta during the *Himalaya's* two-day stop there (between 8 and 10 March 1870¹⁰). Her sister, Hannah Margaret, had given birth to a son in Malta in 1869¹¹ and Eliza might have been visiting them there. Who accompanied Eliza on her journey is not known, but given that the ship was almost entirely occupied by regiments returning home to Britain, accompanied by women and children – including part of the 93rd Highlanders, the 19th Hussars, the 102nd Fusiliers and the Royal Artillery¹² – she is likely to have been in the company of her family's social circle, if not in the presence of one or more family members themselves.

Frederick remains quiet about the exact circumstances of their first meeting on deck of the *Himalaya*. Perhaps they met by coincidence, perhaps they were introduced – given that they both descended from military families it is probable that they had an overlapping social network. Eliza's brother-in-law, William Matthew Dunbar had also fought in the Crimea and in India (Knight 2010: 264; Thomson 1981: 90), although he and Frederick were not in the same regiment.

Regardless of the exact circumstances of their first meeting, just over two months passed between the arrival of the *Himalaya* in Leith on 25 March 1870¹³ and the wedding of Eliza D'Oyly Geddes and Frederick William Traill Burroughs on 4 June. After this short period of engagement, the wedding took place at St Peter's episcopal church, Lutton Place, Edinburgh. *The Orkney Herald* (21 June 1870) reports that 'The wedding-presents were numerous and magnificent, and among them articles of great beauty and value.' Eliza's signature on the marriage certificate¹⁴ starts with a shaky hand, but steadies into neat, wide-spaced letters with a slight forward slant – the same graceful handwriting that would fill the pages of her Taversoe Tuick report years later. Frederick's signature is hasty and angular, akin to a line of spikes recorded by a seismograph. The only known item from Eliza's wedding attire was 'a very beautiful gold bracelet, set with pearl, turquoise, and cornelian'¹⁵ – a gift from the people of Rousay she was soon to meet.

LIFE IN ROUSAY

In late July 1870, the couple arrived in Orkney, where Frederick took up his new role as the laird of Rousay and Wyre. He had inherited the estate from his guardian, George William Traill, in 1847 (Thomson 1981: 61), which was also when the element of 'Traill' was added to Frederick's surname (Thomson 1981: 8). Frederick had visited Rousay in 1848, but as he left for the army that same year, the estate had been managed in his absence by his factor, Robert Scarth (Thomson 1981: 15, 37). Frederick visited Rousay again in 1856, upon his return from the Crimea and shortly before being called to join Sir Colin Campbell in India.¹⁶ He made a further visit to Rousay in 1859.¹⁷ For Eliza, July 1870 was the first time she set foot on Orkney ground.¹⁸

The couple first moved into Westness House, but owing to Frederick's continued military service, they did not reside permanently in Rousay until 1873. Frederick's last three years in the army were based at Edinburgh Castle and

Aberdeen¹⁹ (see also Thomson 1981), and in the 1871 census they appear as boarders in an Aberdeen hotel in Union Street.²⁰ Following his retirement in October 1873²¹ the couple moved to Orkney on a more permanent basis.²² While they spent most of their time in Rousay, three months during the winter were usually spent 'south',²³ in Edinburgh or London, in addition to summer holidays abroad (Thomson 1981: 84).

Only a few years were spent at Westness House before the pair commissioned the renowned Edinburgh architect David Bryce (1803–76) to build Trumland House (Thomson 1981: 114). With work beginning in 1873, this was one of Bryce's last commissions. The construction was initially estimated to cost around £3,000, but the price almost quadrupled as works progressed, adding to Frederick's existing financial pressures (Thomson 1981: 114). The architecture of Trumland House is an example of Scottish Baronial style, a form of Gothic revival architecture frequently seen in Scottish Highland mansions. Another example is Balfour Castle, Shapinsay, which David Bryce had extensively rebuilt during the late 1840s. In the 1881 census, Eliza and Frederick are recorded living at Trumland House along with a household staff of five.²⁴

Rousay was a very different environment from the city life in which Eliza had grown up, but the dramatic, often storm-swept coastal scenery appealed to her artistic nature. This clearly shows in her evocative descriptions of Rousay in her Taversoe Tuick report (cf Reynolds 1985), as well as her various watercolour paintings of the island (Thomson 1981: 90). Eliza adjusted to her new environment and was soon actively involved in island life, showing a particular interest in the education and welfare of the Rousay schoolchildren. She visited the various schools around the island,²⁵ as well as inviting children and parents for picnics at Westness House, and later at Trumland House (Thomson 1981: 86, 89).²⁶ She led a Sunday school at Trumland House, and stayed in contact with various pupils even after they had grown up and left school.²⁷ She was also president of the Orkney branch of the Scotch Girls Friendly Society and regularly organised

events, meetings and entertainment, which were frequented by a large group of young women.²⁸

During her own time, Eliza clearly was not the elusive figure she is today. Her name was a frequent sight in Orcadian newspapers, with occasional mentions in the national news. The pair had a well-established social circle, notably in London and across Scotland. A detailed description of the dress Eliza wore to the King's levée at Holyrood Palace in 1903 was given in one such article,²⁹ while another piece from 1897 notes that 'Mrs Burroughes [sic], as well as her husband, has always been exceptionally popular in Edinburgh Society'.³⁰ In 1908, Orcadian Revd A Irvine Pirie remembers Eliza as the 'most prominent lady in our social life for well nigh forty years'.³¹

While not much survives relating to her personal character, Eliza is said to have been approachable and generous to those in her service and she made financial provisions for them in her will. Her former cook, Alexina Craigie, remembers how Eliza chose to hike across the Rousay hills one day so that Craigie could take the only remaining seat in a cart from Trumland House to Westness House, which saved her a walk of around three and a half miles while on duty.³² In contrast to some other employers Craigie knew of, Eliza ensured that those in her service were not overworked by hiring extra staff whenever there was a larger task at hand.³³ Eliza also noticed and encouraged artistic skills in members of her household staff (Thomson 1981: 90). Her own artistic talent becomes evident in the detailed drawings she produced for her Taversoe Tuick report and for Turner's article (cf Reynolds 1985; Turner 1903: 77, 81) as well as her watercolours (Thomson 1981: 90). She is known to have taught John Logie, butler (and later estate steward) at Trumland House, watercolour painting – a skill Logie remains renowned for in Orkney to this day.³⁴

TENSIONS

In 1883, after a seemingly peaceful and convivial first decade, relationships between Frederick and the crofters of Rousay soured. This was

partly stimulated by Frederick's management of the Rousay estate, notably the high increases in rent (Thomson 1981: 102; 2008: 390), although it was also tied into wider international developments. In Ireland Gladstone's land legislations, notably the Land Law (Ireland) Bill of 1881, had granted rights and protections for tenants while restricting the authority of their landlords (Heffer 2017: 286–8). This development played a part in mobilising the Rousay crofting community to demand similar conditions for themselves in Rousay (Thomson 1981: 123; 2008: 390).

The Napier Commission (in full: Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Condition of Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands), which travelled from the Hebrides across the Scottish highlands and islands in 1883, took evidence directly from the crofters themselves in the presence of their laird. After a hearing in Sanday, evidence from Rousay was taken in Kirkwall in July 1883. During this session, things rapidly deteriorated. Frederick appeared surprised by the level of discontent brought forward that day and, as the session progressed, he refused to grant immunity to those who were giving evidence – an assurance many other landlords had given their tenants.³⁵ The hearing in Kirkwall quickly led to a falling out between laird and crofters that would escalate over the years that followed (for a detailed discussion see Thomson 1981; for a shorter overview see Thomson 2008: 390–4). These disputes also cemented a divide within the population of Rousay, with the crofters on one side and supporters of the laird – whom Frederick referred to as 'the Respectables' – on the other (Thomson 1981: 136).

On paper, it might appear that the disputes between laird and crofters largely took place over three years, starting with the Royal Commission in Kirkwall in 1883 and concluding with the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Bill – or, in brief, the Crofters Act – of 1886, which granted protection of tenure and fair rents for crofters. In reality, however, the Crofters Act strongly contrasted with Frederick's views of lairdship and – as shown in newspaper articles from even a decade later – he continued to pursue his own views for years after the passing of the Crofters Act.³⁶

Eliza's role during these events is unclear, as there is no evidence that relates directly to her. In an account Frederick wrote to the editors of *The Scotsman* and *The Orkney Herald* and to the Napier Commission in January 1884, he related that the statements that had been brought forward to the Royal Commission in July 1883 had shocked and surprised Eliza,³⁷ but there is no record of this in Eliza's own words. She was not a witness in the procedure, she made no (known) public statements on the matter, and there is no record of her taking any public actions that directly impacted the situation. Even in Thomson's comprehensive biography of Frederick (Thomson 1981), Eliza is entirely absent from the history of Frederick's falling out with the crofters – a topic Thomson otherwise relates in much detail. Beyond Frederick's account of Eliza's initial surprise, her own opinion on the matter – and how it developed over time – remains unknown.

In September 1883 Eliza received an anonymous threatening letter³⁸ urging her to take Frederick out of Orkney, reputed to have come from the local community (see also Thomson 1981: 140). It would seem, however, that this formed part of the ongoing battle between crofters and laird rather than being targeted specifically at Eliza for any other reason. Perhaps a glimpse of her unease at the situation can be detected in an article from the *Aberdeen Press and Journal* from 13 September 1884 (in the midst of the crisis). A silver plate was presented to Eliza by the children from Sourin Public School, Rousay. Thanks were given to Frederick and Eliza, but expressly to Eliza, for her 'efforts for the good of the islanders, and to her conducting a Sabbath school herself at Trumland House'. Eliza's personal response was paraphrased (rather than cited verbatim, hence the third person), stating on behalf of herself and Frederick that 'though sometimes they might make mistakes, and even fail to be understood by some, yet it was very cheering to them when they felt that their friends recognised that their intention was to do their best'.

Frederick unsuccessfully tried to sell his Rousay estate – comprising both Westness House and Trumland House – from around

1889 (Thomson 1981: 210; see also Carruthers 2013: 204, 205). Whether the pair spent more time away from Rousay after Frederick's falling out with the crofters than in previous decades is unclear. When the 1891 census was taken, Eliza and Frederick were staying with friends in Hove: Edith Sherlock and her children, 22-year-old Georgina and 17-year-old Harry.³⁹ The 1901 census records the couple in London, along with three members of their Orcadian household staff.⁴⁰ In each case, Eliza and Frederick were away from Rousay in early April, but this is as likely to indicate an extended stay 'south' as it is to simply represent the tail-end of their usual three-month trip away during winter.

MARRIAGE

It is uncertain to what degree Frederick's dispute with the crofters affected the relationship between him and Eliza. Indeed, little is known about the overall nature of their marriage and how it developed throughout the decades they spent together. By the time the Royal Commission took evidence in Kirkwall in July 1883 they had already been married for 13 years. These initial years had, at least seemingly, been a reasonably peaceful time in Rousay (Thomson 1981: 8).

The only known document in which Eliza directly comments on Frederick is her Taversoe Tuick report – about 28 years into their marriage. Eliza mentions that she and Frederick disagreed often and on many matters, 'which', she writes, 'adds a zest to life' (Reynolds 1985: 119). Thomson (1981: 90), too, states that the pair 'argued furiously'. These references, however, are not specific, nor is much context given. Eliza's report contains various playful remarks about Frederick's conduct: 'Of course my Husband has another plan, he generally has', she notes while telling the reader about their initial idea of how their new summer seat was to be built (Reynolds 1985: 119). Then she adds, not without a hint of irony, that Frederick 'magnanimously consented to waive his plan without the usual pitched battle' on the day construction began. When Eliza sided with the two workmen, supporting the notion of going indoors when a thunderstorm broke, she

tells the reader how Frederick, ‘who is placidity itself wouldn’t hear of it’. Her ironic tone of writing would imply that Eliza had found her own ways of navigating through any tense moments between her and Frederick, notably with a dry sense of humour. Her report, however, is a single source and is therefore only a fragment of a much larger picture, much of which remains unseen. Another crucial factor that will have played a part in her choice of tone and words is the reader/s she had in mind while writing, a question that will be addressed further on.

The allusions to the pair fighting ‘furiously’ (Thomson 1981: 90) and ‘complacently over most things’ (Reynolds 1985: 119) do not disclose what exactly they argued about. They also do not clarify whether the couple had been fighting from the beginning of their relationship or if this was something that had developed between them over time. What they do reveal is that Eliza was able to speak her mind and to voice disagreement with her husband – at least in private – when she deemed it necessary.

On the other hand, Eliza also mentions how she and Frederick engaged in research together after the discovery of antiquities inside the hill-ock (cf Reynolds 1985: 122). They were both creating sketches of the site (Turner 1903: 73), some of which Eliza incorporated into her report. This testifies to an intellectual common ground between the two, a shared interest in antiquities, and the choice to spend time together exploring the discovery. Perhaps more importantly, it suggests that there was a convivial side to their relationship. According to Thomson (1981: 90), Eliza and Frederick had a happy marriage with various joint interests, although he does not specify what sources this is based on. Eliza’s various obituaries state that she grieved painfully when Frederick died in April 1905⁴¹ – regardless of whether the marriage had been a happy one or not, it had been the foundation of her whole adult life.

More primary sources relating to Eliza – such as personal correspondences and diaries – would be needed to obtain a more balanced understanding of her opinions and the nature of her marriage, but none are known of to date. The sources

referred to in this section reveal mere glimpses of a relationship that might have been tempestuous at times, but they do not provide a window into the whole 35 years of their marriage and its dynamics.

ARTS, CRAFTS AND MOVING PICTURES

For all her life in Rousay, Eliza was actively involved in island life, often tying local events in with wider national and international developments. In 1895, Eliza established the Rousay branch of the Scottish Home Industries Association (SHIA).⁴² The SHIA was a national initiative, established in 1889 under the patronage of Princess Louise and Lady Rosebery (Carruthers 2013: 131), that brought together local people to produce traditional crafts that were sold to visitors – including woodwork, wicker work and knitwear (Carruthers 2013: 133–4). Eliza herself was actively involved in both learning and teaching these crafts, notably spinning (Carruthers 2013: 133), and the ornately carved spinning wheel she owned is one example of her endorsement of local craftsmanship (Illus 2a, Illus 2b). It was manufactured for her by John Logie⁴³ (probably close to the turn of the century, when Eliza’s work with the SHIA was ongoing), its style inspired by that of the Arts & Crafts movement. The wheel was made with exceptional skill. The base is decorated with a floral pattern that surrounds Eliza’s initials (‘LDB’: Lizzie D’Oyly Burroughs), while the driving wheel is adorned with carvings of scallop shells (Illus 2a). Nowadays, the wheel is on display in the Orkney Museum in Kirkwall.

In 1902, May Morris, former director of the Embroidery Department in her (by then late) father’s (William Morris) business Morris & Co, visited Orkney (Carruthers 2017: 111). She was staying at Melsetter, Hoy, with Theodosia and Thomas Middlemore, to whom the Burroughses had previously leased Westness House (Carruthers 2013: 204; 2017: 111). Theodosia Middlemore had been a long-time client of Morris & Co’s, and various embroideries of hers, following designs by May Morris, have been exhibited across the UK (Bain et al 2017:



ILLUS 2A Eliza at her spinning wheel, Trumland House, Rousay. (GB241/746 S 6/3 © Orkney Library & Archive)



ILLUS 2B Eliza's spinning wheel. (© Orkney Arts, Museums and Heritage)

96–7; Carruthers 2017: 115–16). Notably, during her visit in Orkney, May Morris is said to have been introduced to the craft of spinning by Eliza, probably through their shared connection with the Middlemores (Carruthers 2017: 123).

The goods produced by the SHIA formed part of a larger network in which crafts were promoted and given as gifts, while the sale of the goods also provided additional income for the craftworkers – who were often farmers with little income – and their families (Carruthers 2013: 133–4). The work of the Rousay branch even attracted royal attention, with goods presented to HRH the Duke of York in 1898⁴⁴ during his visit to Orkney (Carruthers 2013: 133; 2017: 123). Eliza also actively promoted Rousay craftwork outside of Orkney. In 1904, she and Frederick were guests at a large society wedding in London and brought ‘a roll of Rowsay tweed’ as a present

for the bride.⁴⁵ In the same year she published a photograph of Rousay girls at their spinning wheels in an upmarket weekly paper, *The Queen: The Ladies' Newspaper and Court Chronicle*,⁴⁶ which will form a key point of discussion later on.

In addition to her interest in arts, crafts and antiquities, Eliza also followed the technological progress and the political developments of her own time. In September 1901 Eliza organised a cinematograph exhibition in Trumland United Free Church, Rousay.⁴⁷ The audience was presented with moving pictures of recent events, such as Queen Victoria's funeral earlier that year, scenes from the ongoing Second Boer War (1899–1902) in South Africa, as well as brief entertaining fictional scenes. To the audience, viewing moving pictures of recent global events would have been an interesting addition to the newspapers. The same cinematographer

was hired for an exhibition at Balmoral only weeks later.⁴⁸ Notably, the cinematograph exhibition Eliza organised in Rousay took place eight years earlier than the one that was held at the Temperance Hall⁴⁹ in Kirkwall in 1909.

While the Second Boer War was being fought in South Africa, Eliza was Honorary Secretary⁵⁰ of the Orkney branch of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association (SSFA), which supported the families of those who were fighting in the war at the time. After a successful fundraiser in late 1899 she was elected on to the committee of the SSFA during a public meeting in Kirkwall Town Hall in November 1899,⁵¹ as well as making the national news with an article in *The Scotsman* in December 1899. The article features an excerpt from a letter Eliza wrote in which she highlights and praises the compassion shown by Orcadians through their donations: 'I would like to mention that the contributions that have reached me are of a most touching and patriotic order', Eliza writes. 'I do not think there is a house in this parish that has not given; even a poor old woman living in a cot on the hillside sent 6d.' She concludes: 'That from an island parish in the North Sea is not so bad, and speaks much for the bond of sympathy, which this very subscription has helped to demonstrate, existing all over the Empire today.'⁵² In addition to this, *The Orkney Herald* (11 April 1900) and *The Orcadian* (11 May 1901) report that women from Rousay had been making clothes for the troops in South Africa, which were collected and sent to the front by Eliza.⁵³

THE TAVERSOE TUICK REPORT

What Eliza is independently known for nowadays is her report on the chance discovery and initial excavation of the chambered cairn Taversoe Tuick, Rousay in May 1898. It remained unpublished at the time – a topic that will be addressed further on – but her detailed recollection of events would suggest it was written not long after the initial discovery. The report is mostly referred to as 'the journal of Lady Burroughs' (cf Reynolds 1985), although it does not form

part of a larger diary. The original document is a standalone piece comprising nine large, unbound pages, neatly hand-written and illustrated in ink and pencil, and kept in a folder tied with string. In this article, therefore, it is referred to as a 'report' rather than a 'journal'.

Eliza's writing style is visually evocative, describing the dramatic scenery of Rousay before documenting the events that led up to the discovery of the first cist inside the cairn. After that she gives a detailed, chronological overview of the excavation, along with supplementary pencil sketches and plans of the site. Brief scenes from the excavation are woven into the narrative, including facial expressions of those present, citations of what was said, along with impressions of the overall atmosphere and mood on site. Importantly, these detailed descriptions are not merely quaint additions to an entertaining narrative; they also preserve information of interest to anyone studying the local history, traditions and folklore of Orkney. Since these insights add to the importance of Eliza's report, not limited to archaeological research alone, the discussion will briefly turn to these before focusing on the archaeological content of the report.

REFERENCES TO LOCAL FOLKLORE

The small mound of Taversoe Tuick is clearly visible on a natural elevation with sweeping views towards Mainland, Wyre, Egilsay and Gairsay. Frederick had attempted to rename the cairn 'Flag-Staff Hill', although locally it went (and still goes) by the older name of Taversoe Tuick.

'The view from it', Eliza writes, 'is lovely' (Reynolds 1985: 116). She and Frederick had spent many sunny days at the small cairn, 'stretched on the purple heather, basking in the sunshine; laughing and talking with the carelessness of youth' (Reynolds 1985: 122). It had been the persistent north-easterly winds that had prompted the pair to have a sheltered summer seat built into the mound (Reynolds 1985: 119).

What followed next could easily have sprung from the mind of a ghost fiction writer. After two days of digging into the cairn, a small void

in the ground was noticed (caused by a broken lintel in the underlying chamber: Reynolds 1985: 122). The moment the two workmen investigated this void further, a thunderstorm broke, and human bones in the depths below reflected the light that now fell on them (Reynolds 1985: 119). ‘Munro’s face’, Eliza notes, ‘was dark. The Inhabitants don’t much like finding these burials’ (cf Reynolds 1985: 119).

Local Orcadian folklore is replete with notions of mound spirits (for a collection of tales see Muir 1998). Akin to similar notions known from parts of Scandinavia and Iceland (eg Omland 2010: 212; Gunnell 2018: 31), Orcadian mound lore has affected the ways in which hill-ocks have been treated in the past – usually by leaving such sites undisturbed (see Muir 1998; Lee 2015: 135; Scholma-Mason 2020). Such notions declined from the mid-19th century onwards (Muir 1995: 10, 12–13; Thomson 1981: 86, 2008: 414–15; Firth 1995: 2), while the pace of the world was accelerating with steam, technology and large-scale industry. Various primary sources of the time, however, imply that such traditional ideas continued to form a part of local mentalities. Apart from those who actively continued to collect and record local traditions and folklore, such as Walter Traill Dennison (1825–94) and George Marwick (1836–1912), various excavation reports from the mid to late 19th century – by no means limited to Orkney – document local notions of spirits residing at ancient sites, especially mounds (eg Marwick 1975: 40; Farrer 1862: 12; Tait 1870: 528–9; Robertson 1991 citing Smith Leask’s memory of Stenness in the 1860s). James Farrer’s (1862: 12) enigmatic footnote concerning the ‘Hogboy’ of Maeshowe is probably the best-known example from Orkney. Eliza’s report, too, documents the reactions of locals to the discovery of ancient human remains in a mound, and how the news of the discovery had acquired supernatural elements within one day (Reynolds 1985: 119). Her report, therefore, adds to an intriguing record of antiquarian reports that indicate that such local notions were not forgotten. Having moved to Orkney later in life, Eliza would not have grown up with the notion of mound spirits, but despite

this – or perhaps even because of it – she found it worth recording. In doing so, her report is of use not only to those studying the archaeology of the Orkney islands, but also to those researching their folkloric traditions and local history.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ‘UNRECORDED PAST’

After the site was discovered, several weeks of research followed in which Eliza and Frederick read widely, consulting ‘every book at hand on the subject’ (Reynolds 1985: 122). Various relevant sources had been published by the time Taversoe Tuick was unearthed: George Petrie had already been a leading figure in Orcadian antiquities for decades (eg Petrie 1867a, 1867b, 1890). Further reports and notes on archaeological discoveries in Orkney had been written by James Farrer (1862) and John Stuart (eg Stuart 1864). Beyond Orkney, Joseph Anderson had published several articles on cairn excavations across Scotland (eg Anderson 1866, 1878, 1890), while Fergusson’s *Old Stone Monuments* (Fergusson 1872) includes British examples in an international context. It is likely that these works, among others, were read by Eliza and Frederick in 1898. Despite this, Eliza found no satisfactory answers to her questions in the sources she turned to, conceding that ‘There is no answer from The Unrecorded Past’ (Reynolds 1985: 122).

Glimpses of Eliza’s thought process during those weeks of research become evident in her original report. The published 1985 transcription only cites Eliza’s initial estimate of ‘2,000 years ago’ in reference to the possible age of the skeletons (cf Reynolds 1985: 122). The original document, however, features a correction that was not transcribed: Eliza had crossed the ‘2,000’ out at a later point and, with a sharp and steady pencil, written ‘4,000’ above it (Illus 3).⁵⁴ She could not know that roughly 50 years after the discovery, notable progress was going to be made in archaeological dating with the development of radiocarbon dating. A human bone from one of the three cists has since been radiocarbon dated to 2130–1740 cal BC (95% probability; GrA-21734), which overlaps with her estimate of 4,000 years.

... of youth, little dreaming
 - below us sat these firm &
 of, maybe, ^{4,000} 2,000 years ago?
 life we are in death"

ILLUS 3 Detail of report, showing the part where Eliza corrected her initial estimate of the age of the skeletons. (GB241/D19/10/9, © Orkney Library & Archive)

Eliza turned 49 a few days after the discovery, when the excavation of the site was still going on. She was new to excavations and the study of antiquities,⁵⁵ yet despite this, she showed an intuitive and critical understanding of the site. While studying the monument, she noted that the lower of the two passageways was unlikely to have been used as a drain:

13½ feet down the Passage is an unmoveable stone Barrier C of over 1 foot in height. The Passage then narrows till at 30 feet from its commencement it ends in only 6 inches of width! It is paved and roofed throughout the 30 ft with neat but rough flat stones. In fact but for the barrier it might have been intended for a well built-drain [sic], but the Barrier disposes of the possibility of this. What then is its purpose? (Reynolds 1985: 122)

She also acknowledged the possibility of reuse: ‘Was it primarily for burial, or for something else?’ She understood that only the latest use of the site was represented in the finds they encountered and wondered what else the site might have been used for throughout its existence: ‘Has it been the Law-giver’s seat, to administer Justice to the District?’, she wonders, ‘Or has it some connection with Sun-worship, or Astronomical observation?’ (Reynolds 1985: 122). In addition to offering the reader stimulating points of discourse, these suggestions also reveal a glimpse of Eliza’s own interests. She herself owned a telescope, which she had received as a gift.⁵⁶ Evidently, her enquiring nature and her interests

were known to and encouraged by those who knew her.

The discovery attracted local as well as national attention. *The Orkney Herald* reported on the discovery in an article on 18 May 1898,⁵⁷ when excavations were still going on. Here, too, the hillock is referred to as ‘Flag-Staff Hill’, although this renaming of the site did not stand the test of time. Eliza was one of the few people (as well as Turner 1903: 73) to ever use it in reference to Taversoe Tuick and it is possible this newspaper article was either written by her, or at least based on conversations with her and possibly Frederick. The article contains various narrative elements Eliza also uses in her report – such as the well-timed thunderclap at the time the bones were discovered (cf Reynolds 1985: 119), as well as the contrast between the merry gatherings atop the hill and the dead buried underneath (cf Reynolds 1985: 122) – which would point strongly towards Eliza’s influence in the writing of the newspaper article. It furthermore contains safety instructions, requesting people not to interfere with the excavation. The protection of ancient monuments had become increasingly important by the end of the 19th century (Brand 1998; Thurley 2013: chs 3 and 4) and the Burroughses sought specialist advice to ensure proper treatment and protection of the monument while under excavation and afterwards.⁵⁸

It was not until November 1903 – five and a half years after the discovery – that the findings from the site were published in an article

in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* by Sir William Turner. At the beginning of that year, Eliza and Frederick received an invitation to attend a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in Edinburgh on Monday 12 January 1903, at 8pm. The first of three communications was an account of the chambered cairn and cremation cists of ‘Taverso Tuick’, by Turner, along with lantern illustrations. Turner had included three detailed drawings of pottery fragments and a granite hammer head from the site in his article, all drawn by Eliza (Turner 1903: 77, 81). These are likely to have been among the lantern illustrations that were shown that night, given that they feature prominently in his article. It is not known whether Eliza and Frederick attended this event or not, as they often spent the winter in London. The reply slip is not filled in, although the membership instructions have pencil markings alongside them.⁵⁹ Neither Frederick’s nor Eliza’s name appears in the lists of Society Fellows in the years between 1898 and 1908.

At the time, the study of antiquities was still more akin to a leisure pursuit for well-to-do gentlemen than the recognised scholarship it is today. Fieldwork procedures, as well as the written documentation thereof, were far from standardised (Card 2005: 40). Consequently, antiquarian reports of the time vary greatly in quality and attention to detail. Women’s publications in the field were heavily outnumbered by those of male authors (for a detailed discussion see Sharpe 2007). Even though Eliza’s report stands to this day as one of the most detailed and high-standard documentations of a 19th-century excavation in Orkney, the report was not widely known during her own time. The question of whether she intended to publish it will be addressed further on.

Apart from coverage by the Orcadian press in 1898, Turner’s 1903 article was the leading piece on the discovery. Curiously, Turner presented the same case Eliza made against the disputed ‘drain’ feature cited above (Turner 1903: 77), but only mentions that ‘General Burroughs speaks of it as a drain’ (ibid: 76), while referring to Eliza only in relation to the illustrations of the article. It is somewhat unclear how much input Eliza had in

the written communication between Frederick and Turner at the time. At the start of his article, Turner states that his discussion of the site was based on ‘letters which General Burroughs has written’ to him, as well as ‘sketches made by himself and Mrs Traill Burroughs’ (Turner 1903: 73).

Archaeologist Walter Grant – who owned Trumland House and the Highland Park Distillery during the early 20th century – re-excavated Taversoe Tuick on behalf of the Ministry of Works in 1937. In his 1939 publication of the findings, he, too, discusses the doubtful ‘drain’ feature, crediting the argument against it to ‘Lady Burroughs ... in 1899’ (Grant 1939: 159–60). Given that Eliza’s report was held in Trumland House until 1982 (Reynolds 1985: 115), Grant may have come across it while living there. He supports her argument, adding that heavy rains during the summer of 1938 did not lead to any flow of water along the channel (Grant 1939: 160).

Indeed, it was not until Grant’s publication on Taversoe Tuick (Grant 1939) that a recorded reference to, and support of, Eliza’s archaeological views appeared in print. Without Eliza’s report itself in public circulation, however, Grant’s acknowledgment of her views lacked a clear reference point and remained an obscure reference. Reynolds’ 1985 article is therefore pivotal in that it contains the report in full and has made Eliza’s thoughts officially known, while also providing context for Grant’s acknowledgments of her.

There are no other known reports written by Eliza, although various private letters to and from the Burroughses – notably, one from Joseph Anderson of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland – seem to indicate that the pair had an interest in antiquities and that they made other, smaller, ancient finds across Orkney,⁶⁰ albeit nothing else on the scale of Taversoe Tuick.

‘VERONICA’

Why was the report written and why was it not published until almost a century later? Eliza might have considered sending it for publication

(a thought already entertained by Reynolds; 1985: 115) or at least for circulation among friends and family. James Farrer's Maeshowe report, for example, was intended to be viewed only by 'friends and acquaintances' and by 'Public Societies to whom such a subject might be interesting' (Farrer 1862: ix, although Fergusson refers to it: Fergusson 1872: 244, 246, 247). It is worth noting at this point that Eliza's report is almost entirely anonymous, which would lend weight to the notion of its being intended for publication: Eliza refers to Frederick only as 'my husband', and of the two workmen, only 'my friend Munro' is specified, while St Magnus Cathedral and other island names are given (cf Reynolds 1985: 116). Intriguingly, Eliza herself signs the report with 'Veronica' and not with her own name.

Eliza appears to have used the 'Veronica' pseudonym – complete with inverted commas – more than once. Another occurrence of 'Veronica' is under a photograph published in *The Queen: The Ladies' Newspaper and Court Chronicle* (henceforth: *The Queen*) of 1904,⁶¹ showing Rousay girls at their spinning wheels in an article on the work of the Rousay branch of the SHIA. Besides a copy of the article being kept in the Burroughses' own collection of newspaper cuttings,⁶² the topic portrayed in the photo, as well as the use of the pseudonym 'Veronica', all point strongly towards Eliza and it can be reasonably inferred that this submission – at least the photograph – is from her.

The Queen was an upmarket weekly paper, based in London, with a focus on fashion and culture⁶³ and it was common for readers of this journal to sign their enquiries and contributions with a pseudonym rather than with their own name. On the pages of *The Queen*, 'Veronica' finds herself in the company of 'Troubled', 'Diogenes', 'Tally Ho!', 'Hooded Crow', 'Witch', 'Sleeping Beauty', 'The Recluse'⁶⁴ and countless others (each name is always given in inverted commas). These anonymous readers appear in crowded columns, where they are credited for solving puzzles and riddles from previous issues, as well as individually, receiving advice and responses from editors and other readers. Advice usually

concerns high-end travel, fashion, dress codes, recipes, household matters, and even life advice. Many pseudonyms, including 'Veronica', re-appear in several issues and it is likely that various readers knew of each other's identities.

It is possible, although by no means certain, that Eliza is behind at least some of the various appearances of 'Veronica' in *The Queen*. Other submissions by 'Veronica', however, are not quite as clearly traceable to Eliza as the photograph of the Rousay girls, because they are often concerned with interests shared by women of Eliza's background more generally. Without the original letters it is impossible to determine how many contributions by 'Veronica' were written by Eliza.

The readership of the paper included people from Eliza's social circle, and some of their names – including Eliza's niece and goddaughter, Edith Sinclair of Dunbeath (née Dunbar) – appear in reports on society events.⁶⁵ In December 1905, *The Queen* featured a full-length article on a Christmas gathering in Biarritz and Pau, counting among its aristocratic and royal guests also 'Lady Burroughs' and 'Mrs and Miss Sherlock'. While it cannot be excluded that the 'Lady Burroughs' mentioned here is a namesake, the mention of 'Mrs and Miss Sherlock' within the same line is at least worth noting. It is possible that these are Edith and Georgina Sherlock, with whom Eliza and Frederick had stayed in Hove in April 1891. Another noteworthy factor is that no accompanying husbands are mentioned alongside the names of these three ladies. Frederick had died in April that year, Edith Sherlock had been a widow for several years, and Georgina Sherlock was never married.⁶⁶ Thomson mentions that Eliza and Frederick's social network included members of French royalty, as was shown by the visit of Prince Henry of Orléans to Trumland House in summer 1889⁶⁷ (Thomson 1981: 114), and this, among many other society contacts, could have led to invitations such as the one to Biarritz. Curiously, 'Veronica' received detailed travel advice for a trip to Pau in an issue of *The Queen* in 1894,⁶⁸ and advice on Biarritz and Brittany in 1903.⁶⁹ While no link to Eliza can be made with confidence, it is possible that this was among the

areas Eliza and Frederick had visited together previously.

Importantly, while there were readers of *The Queen* who used 'their' pseudonym for years, there was no entitlement to the exclusive use of a pen-name, even though some readers appeared to think so,⁷⁰ nor is this something that could have been controlled by the editors. It therefore cannot be excluded that other readers were also using the pseudonym 'Veronica' at the same time. One observation worth noting, however, is that the frequency with which 'Veronica' appears in *The Queen* decreases from 1905 onwards – the year in which Frederick died – and stops after August 1907. This corresponds with a gradual decrease of Eliza's appearances in Orcadian papers in the years following her husband's death. After last naming her in a column about a fundraiser in April 1907, both *The Orcadian* and *The Orkney Herald* fall silent about her activities.

Eliza is known to have stayed in Rousay at least into the summer of 1907, when she addressed the local schoolchildren on the topic of God and the British Empire.⁷¹ It is unknown when exactly her health began to deteriorate, but by autumn 1907 she had travelled down to London to stay with friends. In mid-November 1907, she added to her will while based at her friends' London address, making further provisions for members of her household staff.

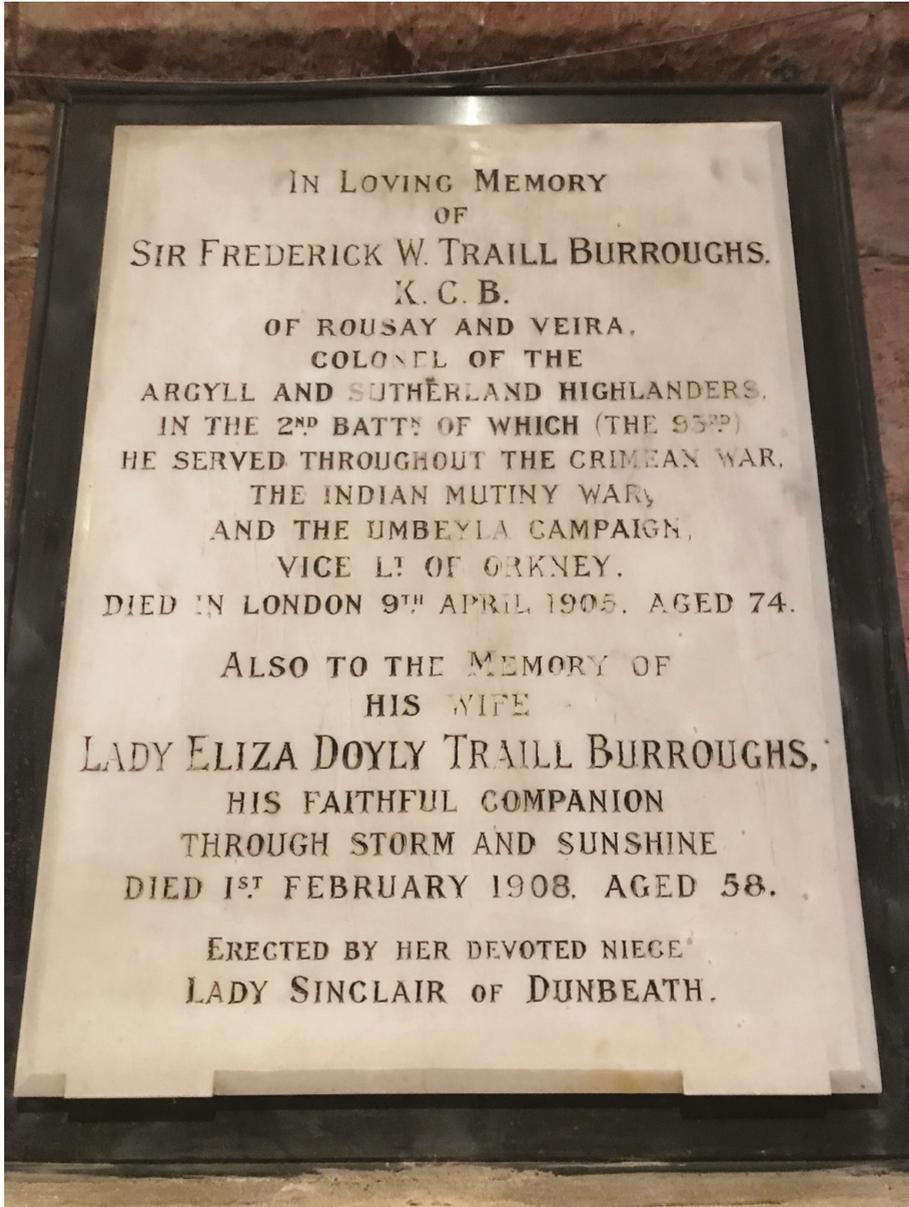
On 11 January 1908, *The Orcadian* notes that Eliza's usual New Year's letter to the Scotch Girls' Friendly Society was missing due to her illness.⁷² She died three weeks later, on 1 February 1908, and was buried alongside Frederick in Brompton Cemetery, London.

It is not until October 1910, over three years after the last appearance of the pseudonym, that a reader under the name 'Veronica' appears again in *The Queen*. While this re-appearance of the pseudonym shows that Eliza was not the only one who thought of calling herself by that name, the gradual disappearance, and eventual long absence of 'Veronica' corresponds with major events in Eliza's life.

The Queen is the only known channel where Eliza used the 'Veronica' pseudonym at least

once and the name might have been specific to her persona as a reader of that journal, but not beyond. Various published letters of Eliza's that were printed in Orcadian and national newspapers are signed with 'Lizzie D. Burroughs' or 'Lizzie Burroughs', and her artefact drawings in Turner's 1903 article are credited to 'Mrs Traill Burroughs' (Turner 1903: 73, 77, 81). Evidently, 'Veronica' was not a name she signed all her public work with. Given her use of the 'Veronica' pseudonym in the Taversoe Tuick report, one could wonder whether Eliza had planned on submitting the report for publication in *The Queen*. The paper often featured personal anecdotes and travel reports, as well as fictional stories that were printed in several parts (interestingly, one such story from 1896 features a heroine by the name of Veronica, although the pseudonym already appears infrequently in the years before that). The witty and suspenseful style of Eliza's report would imply that it was aimed at readers who enjoyed a dramatic narrative. Why it remained unpublished is not known.

What exactly 'Veronica' meant to her is also uncertain, but worth exploring. Eliza was a keen gardener, often seen at work in the expansive walled gardens of Trumland House,⁷³ and she tried to encourage others in Rousay to cultivate flowers by sharing her own cuttings (Thomson 1981: 90) as well as promoting local Flower Shows.⁷⁴ In light of this, it is possible that she refers to the flower of the same name. In Victorian flower language the *Veronica*, a herbaceous perennial of the Plantaginaceae family, is said to symbolise 'faithfulness' (Ingram 1869). A curious observation to make at this point is that 'faithful' is the single adjective she chose to be remembered by on her own memorial slab in St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall.⁷⁵ Following an inscription dedicated to Frederick, the relevant part of the slab's inscription reads 'his faithful companion though storm and sunshine' (Illus 4). Whether there is a link between the choice of adjective for her memorial inscription and the pseudonym 'Veronica' is by no means certain, but if it is a coincidence, it is one worth noting. Even if there is any value to this suggestion, however,



ILLUS 4 Eliza's memorial slab in St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall. (© F F Hollinrake, St Magnus Cathedral)

we are faced with the next conundrum: outside the context of Eliza's own thoughts, there is no way of knowing exactly what the virtue of faithfulness meant to her and what role it played in her life.

A VOICE FROM THE 'UNRECORDED PAST'

In April 1985, much of Trumland House was consumed by a fire that started on the top floor. The islanders had soon gathered to form a chain

to rescue valuable items from the flames, but the fire managed to work its way down, ravaging the top half of the house.⁷⁶ Eliza's report had made a narrow escape: it had been kept at Trumland House until 1982, when it was donated to the Orkney Library and Archive (Reynolds 1985: 115). While a fortunate rescue, one could wonder how many other documents relating to Eliza disintegrated into the 'Unrecorded Past' in the fire.

Importantly, however, much of the relevant literature in which Eliza receives only scarce attention, highlighted earlier in this article – such as Thomson's 1981 biography of Frederick – pre-date the fire of April 1985. Were documents relating to Eliza already scarce before the fire? Had they escaped everybody's attention – their research simply having a different focus – until it was too late? Nothing in her will indicates that she wished her papers to be destroyed (although it cannot be excluded that a private letter went to someone she trusted). Perhaps she herself had done away with any private diaries and letters before she died. Perhaps they were destroyed by accident – or simply not kept – by later generations. It is possible there are records kept somewhere that will be rediscovered in the future. Until such time, Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs will remain almost more of a mystery than the site she discovered.

CONCLUSION

In the case of someone about whom so little information survives, there is a risk of over-interpreting those sources that do remain, while major aspects of their life remain entirely unknown. Any new information that might emerge in the future can change the context within which earlier sources are to be viewed. Adopting a cautious tone, therefore, seemed appropriate for this first biographical discussion of Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs.

The snippets of information on Eliza that have survived, some of which have been discussed here, are largely from public sources such as local newspapers, census records and recorded local memories. While newspaper articles

and other official documents are invaluable as a means of tracing Eliza's public appearances and whereabouts, they remain silent about her private character. The papers give an impression of someone who was actively involved in island life and used her high position in society for philanthropy and community matters. This includes her investment in the welfare and education of the local children, in whom she took a deep interest. It also shows in the various ways in which she connected the Rousay (and wider Orkney) community with national and international matters, such as her work with the Rousay branch of the SHIA, the footage of international news shown during the cinematograph exhibition she organised, and her support of those fighting in South Africa, and their families, through fundraisers and donations of clothes.

While she found herself in the midst of her husband's battle with the crofting community during the 1880s, it is unknown to what degree she was directly involved, and what her own opinions on the matter were. It is possible that her active involvement in island life and her engagement with the Rousay community was her way to try and mend relationships during and after a politically challenging time, but at present this remains difficult to interpret in the absence of further evidence – notably, the absence of any statements on the matter in Eliza's own words.

It is the personal anecdotes that provide some insight, albeit in brief glimpses only, of her private character. This includes her staying in contact with pupils after they had left school; continuing her charitable work with the children of Rousay during the years after her husband's death and until the end of her own life; noticing and encouraging artistic skills in members of her household staff; and saving her cook a three and a half-mile walk by offering her own space in the cart and taking the walk herself. These memories and anecdotes are far too few in number to provide a clear idea of her whole personality, but the snippets that do remain speak of a friendly and thoughtful character. Her own account of frequently disagreeing with Frederick would imply that she was someone who voiced her own opinions, although presumably mostly in private.

Indeed, her Taversoe Tuick report is the most detailed document known so far that reveals aspects of Eliza's personality – her observational humour, her interests and her critical ways of thinking. If this document was indeed intended for publication, or at least some form of circulation – which is uncertain, although the tone and the anonymisation of most of the names, including her own, seem to imply this – then she is likely to have chosen carefully which of her personal thoughts to include and what to leave unsaid. The suggested meaning of the 'Veronica' pseudonym is based on what is known about her to date. Should more information about Eliza emerge in the future, other possible reasons for this choice of pseudonym might come to light.

There is a strange parallel between Eliza's documentation of Taversoe Tuick and the present-day reconstruction of her own life. 'What a pity the Stones cannot speak, and reveal to us the intentions of their builders', she writes (Reynolds 1985: 122), concluding her thoughts on the discovery. Detecting Eliza's own voice, especially amidst the loud history of her husband's falling out with the Rousay crofters, is similarly challenging.

The combination of the sources discussed here render an incomplete portrait, made of snippets of information from various points in her life. Ongoing research into Eliza's life aims to add more colour to, and restore further areas of, this portrait.

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Any mistakes and omissions are my own.

NOTES

- 1 To avoid confusion due to the shared surname, Eliza and Frederick Traill Burroughs will be referred to by their first names throughout, except where a full name is relevant. Other recurring persons will be referred to by their surnames.
- 2 GB241/OSA/TA/149 Howie Firth's interview with Alexina Craigie, 1977.
- 3 GB241/OSA-TA-149 Transcription (electronic source) of Howie Firth's interview with Alexina Craigie, 1977, by Nela Scholma-Mason, 2018.
- 4 Will of Margaret Loraine of No. 52 Georges [sic] Square Edinburgh, Mid Lothian (1854). The National Archives (TNA): *Records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, PROB 11/2188/312.
- 5 GB241/D19/11 p40.
- 6 General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh (GROS) 1851 Scotland Census. Reels 1–217. Parish: Edinburgh St Cuthberts; ED: 7; Page: 25; Line: 20; Roll: CSSCT1851_182; Year: 1851.
- 7 GROS 1861 Scotland Census. Reels 1–150. Parish: Edinburgh Buccleuch; ED: 82; Page: 21; Line: 23; Roll: CSSCT1861_128.
- 8 *The Orkney Herald and Weekly Advertiser and Gazette for the Orkney & Zetland Islands* (henceforth: *The Orkney Herald*), 5 April

- 1870; *Army and Navy Gazette*, 26 March 1870.
- 9 Information kindly provided by the current owners of Trumland House.
- 10 *Army and Navy Gazette*, 26 March 1870.
- 11 GROS 1871 Scotland Census. Reels 1–191. Parish: Edinburgh St Cuthberts; ED: 67; Page: 4; Line: 16; Roll: CSSCT1871_165.
- 12 *The London Daily News*, 22 March 1870.
- 13 *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 28 March 1870; *The Scotsman*, 26 March 1870.
- 14 SL245/3/2/1, Edinburgh City Archives.
- 15 *The Orkney Herald*, 21 June 1870.
- 16 *The Orcadian*, 25 October 1856.
- 17 *The Orcadian*, 26 September 1859.
- 18 *The Orkney Herald*, 2 August 1870.
- 19 *The Orkney Herald*, 28 September 1870.
- 20 GROS 1871 Scotland Census. Reels 1–191. Parish: Old Machar; ED: 19; Page: 50; Line: 24; Roll: CSSCT1871_35.
- 21 *Aldershot Military Gazette*, 1 November 1873.
- 22 Frederick says so himself during the hearing of the Napier Commission: *The Napier Commission in Orkney: Part 3 of 4*. <https://rousayremembered.com/rousay-crofters-part-3/>.
- 23 *The Napier Commission in Orkney: Part 3 of 4*. <https://rousayremembered.com/rousay-crofters-part-3/>.
- 24 GROS 1881 Scotland Census. Reels 1–338. Parish: Rousay and Egilshay; ED: 3; Page: 6; Line: 15; Roll: csct1881_6.
- 25 See, for example, *Aberdeen Press & Journal*, 13 September 1884; *Orkney Herald*, 2 September 1891, 7 and 14 September 1898 and 21 August 1901.
- 26 GB241/D19/11 p48 and p81.
- 27 *The Orcadian*, 15 February 1908.
- 28 GB241/D19/11 pp40, 54 and 74; see also *The Orkney Herald*, 18 April 1888 and 14 June 1899.
- 29 GB241/D19/11 p79.
- 30 GB241/D19/11 p34.
- 31 *The Orcadian*, 15 February 1908.
- 32 GB241/OSA/TA/149 and GB241/OSA-TA-149 p7.
- 33 GB241/OSA/TA/149 and GB241/OSA-TA-149 p8.
- 34 *Trumland Pier*. <https://rousayremembered.com/trumland-pier/>.
- 35 *The Napier Commission in Orkney: Part 3 of 4*. <https://rousayremembered.com/rousay-crofters-part-3/>.
- 36 For example, *The Orkney Herald*, 8 October 1890, 18 November 1891, 29 March 1893, 25 September 1902.
- 37 *The Napier Commission in Orkney: Part 4 of 4*. <https://rousayremembered.com/rousay-crofters-part-4/>.
- 38 *The Napier Commission in Orkney: Part 4 of 4*. <https://rousayremembered.com/rousay-crofters-part-4/>.
- 39 TNA Census Returns of England and Wales, 1891; Class: RG12; Piece: 816; Folio: 34; Page: 61; GSU roll: 6095926.
- 40 TNA Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901; Class: RG13; Piece: 85; Folio: 151; Page: 27.
- 41 *The Orcadian*, 15 February 1908.
- 42 *The Orkney Herald*, 5 August 1895.
- 43 Information kindly provided by the Orkney Museum, Kirkwall.
- 44 GB241/D19/11 p50; *The Orkney Herald*, 30 November 1898.
- 45 *Surrey Mirror*, 22 July 1904.
- 46 GB241/D19/11 np; *The Queen*, 2 January 1904.
- 47 GB241/D19/11 p70; *The Orcadian*, 28 September 1901; *The Orkney Herald*, 25 September 1901.
- 48 *The Orkney Herald*, 23 October 1901.
- 49 The Early Cinema in Scotland Research Project by J Caughie, M Vélez-Serna, T Griffiths, J Bohlmann and C Merz: *Temperance Hall, Kirkwall*. <https://earlycinema.gla.ac.uk/venue/793/> and *Venues Map*. <https://earlycinema.gla.ac.uk/venues-map/>.
- 50 *The Orkney Herald*, 15 November 1899; *The Dundee Advisor*, 18 November 1899.
- 51 GB241/D19/11 p57; see also *The Orkney Herald*, 15 December 1899.
- 52 GB241/D19/11 p57.

- 53 GB241/D19/11 p59.
 54 GB241/D19/10/9.
 55 This is implied by Eliza in her report.
 56 GB241/SC11/38/19 p496 Orkney Sheriff Court Inventory for Dame Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs, 1908,
 57 GB241/D19/11 p44; *The Orkney Herald*, 18 May 1898.
 58 GB241/D19/7/9/3.
 59 GB241/D1/862/4.
 60 GB241/D1/862/2/1 Letter from Joseph Anderson to General and Mrs Burroughs, 3 January 1902, concerning stone implements found in Rousay.
 61 *The Queen*, 2 January 1904; see also GB241/D19/11 np.
 62 The page containing the article is kept in an album of newspaper cuttings (GB241/D19/11, Lieutenant-General Sir Frederick William Traill Burroughs papers, press cuttings book, Orkney Library & Archive).
 63 *The Queen*. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/the-queen>.
 64 See for example *The Queen*, 14 January 1899.
 65 *The Queen* 24 December 1892 and 23 June 1906.
 66 TNA Census Returns of England and Wales, 1901; Class: RG13; Piece: 935; Folio: 92; Page: 18.
 67 *The Orkney Herald*, 19 June 1889.
 68 *The Queen*, 20 January 1894.
 69 *The Queen*, 8 August 1903.
 70 A reader named 'Mrs C—' complains that 'her' pseudonym, 'Petite', was being used by another reader: *The Queen*, 27 October 1900.
 71 *The Orcadian*, 22 February 1908.
 72 *The Orcadian*, 11 January 1908.
 73 *John o' Groat Journal*, 7 August 1879.
 74 *The Orcadian*, 27 August 1904.
 75 GB241/SC11/38/19 p496 Orkney Sheriff Court Inventory for Dame Eliza D'Oyly Traill Burroughs, 1908,
 76 *Trumland House*. <https://rousayremembered.com/trumland-house/>.

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See Notes for specific and more detailed citations of archive sources. Unless otherwise specified, historical newspaper articles were retrieved from the British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk); The British Library Board Census records were obtained from The National Archives, Kew (TNA); and from the General Register Office for Scotland, Edinburgh (GROS).

Edinburgh City Archives

SL245/3/2/1, Register of Baptisms including Marriages, 1821–1893, Records of St Peters Episcopal Church, Edinburgh City Archives.

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- GB241/D1/862/2/1 Letter from Joseph Anderson, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to General and Mrs Burroughs, 3 January 1902.
 GB241/D1/862/4 Evening meeting announcement, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
 GB241/D19/7/9/3 Two letters from J W Cursiter to General and Mrs Burroughs regarding Taversoe Tuick, dated 21 May 1898 and 22 May 1898.
 GB241/D19/10/9 Account of 'How we found a Tumulus' by Lady Burroughs, original document.
 GB241/D19/11 Lieutenant General Sir Frederick William Traill Burroughs papers, press cuttings book. (See endnotes for specific citations.)
 GB241/OSA/TA/149 (audio tape) Jessie Alexina Craigie interview by H Firth at the Balfour Hospital, 19.4.77 (1977).
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