

## THE NORTHERN LADS: THE MIGRATION OF SCOTTISH GARDENERS WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROYAL BOTANIC GARDENS, KEW

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### ABSTRACT

It is well known that a disproportionate number of plant collectors for the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew in the late 18th and 19th centuries were Scottish gardeners. Another important source of plants for Kew in its early days were the specialist London plant nurseries that were run by Scots. Less well known is the preponderance of Scots found in other areas of Kew's work – gardeners in charge of the botanic garden, curators of various departments and gardeners who transferred to colonial botanic gardens. This Scottish phenomenon was not unique to Kew: it was found in other botanical and non-botanical institutions in London and the provinces. This paper charts the extent of the phenomenon and, on the basis of 18th- and 19th-century sources, analyses its causes.

### INTRODUCTION

Before the pre-eminence of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, the leading centre of botanical and horticultural science in England was the Chelsea Physic Garden. Founded in 1673, Chelsea was given added acreage in 1722 by Sir Hans Sloan, who was of Ulster Scots stock and the successor to Sir Isaac Newton as President of the Royal Society. At the same time, Philip Miller, the son of a Scottish market gardener, was recruited to take charge of the Garden, and under his inspired management Chelsea became pre-eminent. Miller received visits from current and future celebrities in the natural sciences, including Carl Linnaeus, the great Swedish naturalist, and, frequently, the young Joseph Banks, thirsting for botanical knowledge.

During his 48-year tenure, Miller had a preference for employing Scotsmen as gardeners. Why should this be? According to one estimate, by 1750 Scotland had a literacy rate of 75 per cent compared with 53 per cent in England – the rate would have been even higher in the Lowlands, where most of the gardeners originated (Herman, 2002). A visitor to England in 1758 said of Scottish gardeners, 'such advantage was there in having been taught writing, arithmetic and the mensuration of land, the rudiments of which were taught in many of the schools in Scotland' (Carlyle, 1860). At a later date Sydney Smith would observe, 'no country [other than Scotland] can afford an example of so much order, morality, economy, and knowledge among the lower classes of society' (Holland, 1855). An excess of population and limited opportunities at home caused many of these educated gardeners to seek employment in England (the

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two countries had, of course, become united in 1707). The leading English landscape gardener of the day, Stephen Switzer (d.1745), resented their ubiquity. He characterised them as ‘the northern lads who have invaded the southern provinces’ and described them as having ‘rough tongues and uncouth manners’ (Urquart, 2005). Switzer’s campaign against them, however, failed to stem the tide (Robertson, 2000).

One of these invaders was a bright young man from Lanarkshire called William Aiton (Fig. 1). In 1759, after four years under Miller at Chelsea, he took up a position with Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales, under the direction of his compatriot, John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute. Aiton’s role was to take charge of a new 3.6ha physic and exotic garden at the north end of Augusta’s Kew estate. This is regarded as the official beginning of what would become the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

#### BOTANIC GARDEN, KEW<sup>2</sup>

##### *Plant collectors and nurserymen*

It is common knowledge that a disproportionate number of Kew’s plant collectors were Scots who had been employed originally as gardeners (Desmond, 2007). The ones of known nationality include Francis Masson (who collected in Europe, South Africa and North America), Peter Good (India, East Indies and Australia), William Kerr (China and East Indies), Allan Cunningham (South America and Australia), Richard Cunningham (Australia and New Zealand), George Barclay (South America and Hawaii), William Purdie (West Indies and South America), William Milne (Africa and South Pacific) and Robert Cross (South America). This list excludes collectors who were medically trained botanists, such as Archibald Menzies and Robert Brown; these constitute a separate but parallel phenomenon sufficiently important to merit its own separate treatment.

Sir Joseph Banks, George III’s unofficial (i.e. unpaid) Director at Kew, described Scotland as ‘a nation of gardeners’ (apparently the first usage of this phrase) (Sinclair, 1831) and favoured them as plant collectors because, he said, ‘so well does the serious mind of a Scotch education fit Scotsmen to the habits of industry, attention and frugality that they rarely abandon them at any time of life’ (Smith, 1911). Banks’s successor at Kew, Sir William Hooker, had made use of numerous Scots plant collectors during his 20-year tenure at Glasgow University, and he employed more of them when he came to Kew.

In the 18th century, especially before the Banksian era of plant collectors, the specialist plant nurseries in and around London, which had contacts around the world, were another principal source of exotic plants for Kew. Most of these had Scottish proprietors. According to Johan Christian Fabricius (1745–1808), a pupil of Linnaeus: ‘[James Lee] is a Scot like almost all seedsmen and gardeners in and around London.

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2. Kew’s current official title is Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Rather than use this title anachronistically for areas that at different times have had a variety of owners, functions and names, the text will refer to areas according to their *function* at the time, e.g. Botanic Garden, Pleasure Grounds, etc. Throughout the text, where an abbreviation is appropriate, ‘Kew’ will be used.

The Scots have established almost a monopoly in this occupation to the virtual exclusion of the English, and the businesses are handed from one Scot to another' (Willson, 1961). The most notable were James Gordon at Mile End and James Lee and Lewis Kennedy at the Vineyard Nursery in Kensington (the only rival to these was, perhaps, the German firm of Loddiges). The botanist John Ellis described Gordon as having 'more knowledge in vegetation than all the gardeners and writers on gardening in England put together' (Loudon, 1854). He is credited with introducing the ginkgo into Britain and popularising the camellia and gardenia. John Claudius Loudon, another Scot, described the Vineyard Nursery as 'unquestionably the first [i.e. foremost] nursery in Britain, or rather the world' (Loudon, 1822).<sup>3</sup> It was particularly noted for its fuchsias. James Lee was also famous for publishing the first account in English of the then new Linnaean system of plant classification (George, 2005).

Other Scots nurserymen who supplied exotic plants to Kew in the 18th century included John Russell at Lewisham, William Malcolm at Kennington and John Fraser at Chelsea. In the 19th century this tradition was continued by Hugh Low at Clapton and, most notably, the Veitch Nursery at Chelsea (founded in Devon in 1808 by Scotsman John Veitch), which was renowned for its prolific plant collectors, among them members of the Veitch family.

That many prolific plant collectors were Scottish is well known. Rarely mentioned, however, are other activities at Kew where the Scottish preponderance was, if anything, even more remarkable. Three areas of particular note are gardeners who were in charge of the botanic garden, curators in charge of various departments and gardeners posted to the British colonies.

#### *Gardeners in charge of the Botanic Garden, Kew*

The first (unofficial) Director of Princess Augusta's Kew estate (i.e. the Pleasure Grounds and the 3.6ha Botanic Garden), the 3rd Earl of Bute, has already been mentioned.<sup>4</sup> Augusta's architect at that time was William Chambers, born in Sweden of Scottish parents. He designed the first two heated glasshouses at Kew – the extant Orangery and, within the little Botanic Garden, the Great Stove, which was in use for 100 years. It is remarkable that for the first 126 years of the Botanic Garden's existence – that is, throughout the directorships of Bute, Banks, William Hooker and Joseph Hooker – it was under the charge of a succession of Scottish gardeners, including one son of a Scot (Table 1).

Their job title and range of responsibility varied. William Aiton was recruited in 1759 specifically to take charge of the newly created Botanic Garden, which he organised according to the then new Linnaean system. The Head Gardener in overall

3. Lee had previously been gardener at the Whitton (Middlesex) estate of the noted Scots tree collector, the 3rd Duke of Argyll, who was Bute's uncle and guardian.

4. Bute's official position was Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, until the latter's death in 1751, after which he became Groom of the Stole to Frederick and Augusta's son, the future George III.

William Aiton, 1759–1793	34 years
William Townsend Aiton (son), 1793–1841	48 years
John Smith I, 1842–1864	22 years
John Smith II (no relation), 1864–1886	22 years
Total	126 years

Table 1 Gardeners in charge of the Botanic Garden, Kew (1759–1886).

charge of the Kew estate at that time was an Englishman, John Haverfield. Aiton succeeded to that position in 1784, by which time George III was the owner of the estate and Joseph Banks the unofficial Director. Aiton was described as having ‘infinite merit in his management’, and the fact that the pallbearers at his funeral included such eminent figures as Joseph Banks, botanist Jonas Dryander and artist Johann Zoffany is a tribute to the high regard in which he was held. One of Aiton’s foreman gardeners, a fellow Scot by the name of James Donn, might have hoped to succeed Aiton, but he left instead to become a distinguished Curator of the Cambridge University Botanic Garden.

In 1793, Aiton’s son, William Townsend Aiton (Fig. 2), succeeded him as Head Gardener at Kew, and in 1795 the young Aiton also became the Head Gardener in charge



Fig. 1 William Aiton. The year of his appointment, 1759, is regarded as the official beginning of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Image: © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

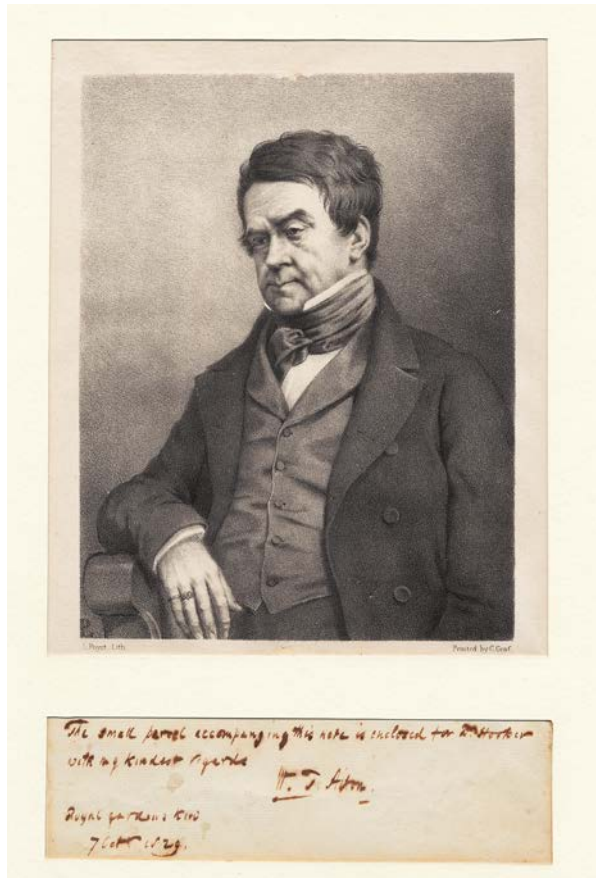


Fig. 2 William Townsend Aiton rose to become 'Director-General of [all] His Majesty's Gardens'. Image: © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

of George III's neighbouring Richmond estate. George IV, who acceded to the throne in 1820, had little interest in the, by then, 4.5ha Botanic Garden. He made Aiton 'Director-General of [all] His Majesty's Gardens' (although historians do not normally count him as one of Kew's Directors) with his brother John Townsend as his deputy (Pagnamenta, 2009). The King employed William as a landscape architect at Buckingham Palace, St James's Park, Brighton Pavilion and Windsor, so it is not surprising that the Botanic Garden deteriorated somewhat during his reign. William IV, who acceded to the throne in 1830, is thought to have harboured some kind of a grudge against Aiton and demoted him to his previous role in charge of the Kew and Richmond estates only (Pagnamenta, 2009).

During William Townsend Aiton's tenure, the first John Smith was a foreman gardener, and it was largely thanks to the latter's horticultural and botanical skills that the Botanic Garden survived the period of relative neglect. When Queen Victoria donated the Botanic Garden to the nation, it came under Sir William Hooker's direction



Fig. 3 John Smith, the first Curator of the Botanic Garden at Kew after it had passed into state ownership. Image: © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

with effect from 1841, and Smith became its first Curator the following year (Fig. 3). The second John Smith, previously Head Gardener to the Duke of Northumberland at Syon Park, succeeded his namesake in 1864 and was the Curator of the Botanic Garden throughout the directorship of Hooker's son and successor, Joseph Dalton Hooker.

### *Curators*

As William Hooker's operations at Kew expanded in the period from 1841 to 1856, he created four new curatorial posts. In each case the first holder was a Scot or, in one case, the son of a Scot (Table 2).

Although initially granted only the 4.5ha of land that contained the Botanic Garden, Hooker soon acquired a further 20ha on which he built a magnificent palm house. The

Curator of Botanic Garden 1842–1864	John Smith I
Curator of Pleasure Grounds (Arboretum) 1848–1866	Alexander Williamson
Curator of Herbarium 1853–1864	Allan A. Black
Curator of Museums (Economic Botany) 1856–1858	Alexander Smith (son of John Smith I)

Table 2 First Curators at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

foreman gardener John Smith was promoted in 1842 to become the first Curator of the Botanic Garden, and one of his legacies would be a great improvement in the training and career prospects of gardeners at Kew. By 1848, Hooker had acquired a further 75ha of the surrounding royal Pleasure Grounds, allowing him to greatly expand his arboretum. In that year Alexander Williamson was appointed the first Curator of the Pleasure Grounds (Arboretum), a post that would be merged with that of Curator of the Botanic Garden when Williamson retired. In the space of 12 years, 3,000 species and varieties were planted out in this arboretum.

In 1852, Hooker was granted Hunter House on Kew Green, which provided space on site to house his own private herbarium and other donated herbaria. The following year, Allan Black was appointed the first Curator of the Herbarium, a landmark in Kew's development as a scientific institution. In 1856, the first purpose-built Museum of Economic Botany was completed and some of the plant exhibits from the Great Exhibition of 1851 were housed there (Fig. 4). Hooker attached great importance to the economic botany collection as government funding of the gardens was largely



Fig. 4 Museum no. 1. Kew's first purpose-built museum of economic botany, whose first Curator, in 1856, was Alexander (son of John) Smith. Image: © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 5 Alexander Smith was the first Curator of Museum no. 1 in 1856. Image: © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

predicated on Kew's usefulness to British commerce and the Empire. Alexander Smith, son of the first John Smith, became the first Curator of Museums (Fig. 5). He did not stay long in the post but it is notable that, as of 1856, all four of Hooker's Curators were Scottish.

### *Colonial postings*

In the 19th century, Kew was at the centre of an informal network of colonial botanic gardens, overseeing the movement around the world of plants, information and personnel. In 1837, there were only ten functional colonial gardens, but by 1889 there were more than thirty of sufficient importance to warrant a manager or superintendent of director grade (Thiselton-Dyer, 1889). Some of these gardens, like Kew, combined the functions of botanical centre and public park. Of great interest is the fact that many Kew gardeners transferred to the colonies to serve as (in ascending order of pay grade) curators, superintendents or directors in these gardens. According to Ronald King, 'Many [Kew-trained gardeners] went overseas to serve in Empire countries and it was on them that the economic development of the Empire was built ... Kew-trained men played the key role in this work because of their training in the cultivation of a large number



of exotic plants ... When the unbiased story comes to be written in future centuries, the role of these young men will be recognised' (King, 1985). From Desmond's *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists and Horticulturalists* (Desmond, 1994) and McCracken (1987), 20 of these Kew gardeners can be identified as Scots who, together with 11 Scots not from Kew, became managers of botanic gardens in Australia, the West Indies, India or Africa during the 19th century. There would undoubtedly have been others whose nationality cannot now be definitely established.

In many cases, including Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Ceylon, Ootacamund, Singapore, Durban, Pretoria and Entebbe, Scots gardeners were the first to hold the post. In the same period, there were at least twenty-three botanically trained Scots surgeons (three directors and twenty superintendents) in charge of botanic gardens, mostly in the Indian subcontinent. The most prestigious gardens in India, such as Calcutta and Saharanpur, were headed at one time exclusively by surgeons, almost all of whom were Scots. One of them, (Sir) David Prain, succeeded William Thiselton-Dyer as Director of Kew in 1905 and also became President of the Linnaean Society. In these elite gardens, even excellent gardeners like John Scot, who corresponded with Charles Darwin, had to be satisfied with a subordinate role.

Some of the previously mentioned Kew plant collectors went on to become colonial curators or superintendents, including William Kerr (Ceylon), William Purdie (Trinidad) and the Cunningham brothers (Sydney). The Cunninghams, who were the sons of a Scottish head gardener at Wimbledon, were succeeded at Sydney by another Kew gardener, Scotsman Charles Moore (the family name had been changed from its original Scottish form, Muir). The latter served with distinction at Sydney for an impressive 48 years, attaining the position of Government Botanist and Director of the Botanic Garden.<sup>5</sup> Two other Scots Kewites, John Dallachy and Walter Hill, became the first Superintendents of the Melbourne and Brisbane gardens respectively (Fig. 6).

Other Scottish Kewites include, in India, William McIvor who was the first Superintendent at Ootacamund and who played a key role in Kew's famous transfer of *Cinchona* (quinine) from its native South America to the subcontinent. Meanwhile, James Gammie managed the Mungpoo *Cinchona* plantation for a period of 32 years.<sup>6</sup> Elsewhere, Nathaniel Cantley was Superintendent of the Singapore Botanic Garden (which had been initiated by another Scot, Lawrence Niven) and established other gardens at Penang and Malacca. On Mauritius, John Horne and William Scott were successive Directors of the Pamplemousses Garden. Taken over from the French, this prestigious garden reached a peak of excellence under the management of these two Scots Kewites and their predecessor James Duncan, who was also a Scot (McCracken, 1997).

Further examples include, in the West Indies, William Purdie and Nathaniel Wilson. Though not the first Superintendents at Trinidad and Jamaica respectively (with effect

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5. Longevity evidently ran in the family – his brother and nephew were in charge of the Glasnevin Botanic Garden in Dublin for a combined total of 84 years!

6. The quinine that was first produced in these plantations would facilitate the colonisation of Africa and make it feasible for colonial officials in India to be accompanied by their wives.



Fig. 6 Brisbane Botanic Garden, whose first Curator, from 1855 to 1881, was former Kew gardener Walter Hill. Image: © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

from 1846 in both cases), they were responsible for successfully reviving these two flagging gardens. At Cape Town, James McGibbon was less successful, at least botanically, with a garden taken over from the Dutch, although he was in post for 30 years. At King William's Town, James Leighton and Thomas Robertson Sim were successive Curators of a newer botanic garden, the latter going on to become the first Conservator of Forests for the Colony of Natal.

#### THE WIDER PHENOMENON

According to *L'Almanach des modes* (1816), 'almost all the gardeners employed in England are [Lowland] Scots, and you will find not one who is unable to name all the plants in Latin' (Dennis, 2005). The above Kew-related examples were not exceptional but were part of a more generalised phenomenon of Scots gardeners making notable contributions, especially in the formative years of many organisations. Many of these were botanical institutions, where knowledge of the Linnaean system with its Latin names would have been essential.

*London botanic gardens*

In 18th- and early 19th-century London, there were a number of organisations in the field of botany that were potential rivals to Kew Gardens. At the Chelsea Physic Garden (from 1722) at least four of the first five Curators were Scots, including William Forsyth and Robert Fortune. The private 18th-century botanic gardens of John Fothergill, William Pitcairn and William Curtis also employed Scottish gardeners, notably Thomas Blaikie who was probably the first professional alpine plant collector. He later became a landscape designer to the French aristocracy and (after the Revolution) to the Empress Josephine.

At the Horticultural Society of London (founded in 1804 and renamed the Royal Horticultural Society in 1861), three of the founders, William Townsend Aiton, William Forsyth and James Dickson, and many of its plant collectors, including George Don, David Douglas, John Jeffrey, Robert Fortune and George Forrest, were Scottish gardeners. Similarly, at least two of the early Superintendents of the Society's gardens, including Archibald Barron who was in post for 33 years, and miscellaneous other Society officials were Scots gardeners. The Royal Botanical Society at Regents Park (in existence from 1839 to 1932) employed Robert Marnock as designer and first Curator of the garden, and at least one of his successors was also a Scot.

*Provincial botanic gardens*

In the 19th century, botanic gardens were springing up in many cities throughout Britain and Ireland. In most cases, Scots were the designers and/or the first Curators, or the developers. Examples of these are: Dublin, Trinity College (James Townsend MacKay: designer, 1806, and Curator for 56 years); Cork (James Drummond: designer, 1808, and first Curator); Belfast (Thomas Drummond, brother of James: first Curator from 1828) (Fig. 7); Birmingham (John Claudius Loudon: designer, 1832); Derby Arboretum (partly botanical; John Claudius Loudon: designer, 1840), Sheffield (Robert Marnock: designer, 1834, and first Curator); Dublin, Glasnevin (founded in 1795 as a centre of agricultural science, but became a prestigious botanic garden under successive Scots Curator/directors in the period 1834–1922: Ninean Niven, David Moore and Sir Frederick Moore<sup>7</sup>); York (Sir John Murray Naesmyth: designer, 1830s); Manchester (opened 1851, but had to wait until the following year for its first Scots Curator, Alexander Campbell); and Hull (James Craig Niven, son of Ninean: re-designer, 1853, and Curator). The one notable exception, before the general trend had started, was Liverpool Botanic Garden, which was founded in 1802 and whose designer and first curator was an Englishman, John Shepherd.

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7. Glasnevin, like Kew, Edinburgh, Calcutta, Ceylon, Mauritius and Trinidad, had the title 'Royal Botanic Garden'.



Fig. 7 Thomas Drummond, the first Curator of Belfast Botanic Garden and a plant collector in North America. Image: © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

### *Stately homes in England*

Alexander Carlyle, a Scottish minister, visiting the Earl of Portland's Buckinghamshire estate in 1758 observed, 'It was here that we discovered the truth of what I had often heard, that most of the head gardeners of English noblemen were Scotch ... This man [a Scots head gardener] gave us a note to the gardener at Blenheim [the Duke of Marlborough's estate] who, he told us, was our countryman, and would furnish us with notes to the head gardeners all the way down' (Carlyle, 1860). It is important to record that the Scottish phenomenon was not restricted to botanic gardens. English stately homes in this period also had a disproportionate number of Scottish head gardeners, and there was some movement of personnel between the two types of garden (for example, John Smith (1821–1888)). Further research is needed in this area, but examples of high-ranking people in England who had Scottish head gardeners in the 19th century include George III, Queen Charlotte (at Frogmore: Thomas Ingram was in post for 52 years), George IV, William IV, Queen Victoria, King Leopold I of Belgium (Queen

Victoria's uncle, at Claremont in Surrey), Duke of Norfolk, Dukes of Bedford, Dukes of Rutland, Dukes of Northumberland, Duke of Portland, Duke of Sutherland, Marquess of Westminster, Earl of Stamford, Earl of Harrington, Earl of Radnor, Earls of Craven, Earl of Liverpool and Earl of Stafford.<sup>8</sup>

#### REASONS FOR SCOTTISH DOMINANCE

Various explanations have been put forward for the dominance of Scottish gardeners in England. In addition to the educational factor emphasised by Carlyle, the Scottish head gardener, John Wighton, writing in 1839, attached great significance to the bothy system which was more common in Scotland than in England (Wighton, 1840)<sup>9</sup>, whereby apprentice gardeners lived communally on big estates away from their families and 'harmful' distractions. This was said to promote self-reliance and professionalism at an early age and therefore gave Scottish gardeners an advantage over English ones.

The Scottish horticulturist Patrick Neill, in a publication commissioned in 1813 by the Board of Agriculture, listed a range of factors (Neill, 1813). It should be noted that Neill, unlike Wighton, had never worked in England, so not all of the following may have been unique to Scotland. First, in Scotland, 'the common people' in general had benefited from the establishment of parish schools. Junior gardeners, additionally, received evening instruction from master gardeners on such subjects as plant nomenclature and the drawing of plans. Moreover, employers had a habit of conversing with their gardeners and giving them access to their libraries. Secondly, the longstanding connection between gardening and medicine meant that gardeners in Scotland were often skilled in herbalism and botany. Also, many of the large estates had botanical gardens of the highest order, providing gardeners with a knowledge of a wide range of plants. Third, as Carlyle had also observed, head gardeners in Scotland often served as land stewards with a wider remit that gave them experience of such things as forestry maintenance. Fourth, the difficult climate and poor soils in Scotland meant that their gardeners had to be, of necessity, possessed of great ingenuity in order to carry out such tasks as the cultivation of exotic fruits. And, finally, the Scots were a hardy race, used to harder labour and poorer fare than their English counterparts. They were generally noted for their sobriety, industry and conscientiousness.

An article in *The Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1872, written presumably by an Englishman, attributed the phenomenon to three main factors: 'teeming numbers, climatal difficulties, and the genius and education of the people' (anon., 1872). As

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8. The head gardeners in question are: William Forsyth, William Townsend Aiton, Thomas Ingram, John Townsend Aiton, Charles McIntosh, George McEwen, George Sinclair, James Forbes, John Caie, William Ingram, John Smith, William Tillery, John Fleming, Richard Forrest, John Aiton (fl. 1840s), William Barron, Henry Eckford, William Miller, James MacPhail and John Wighton.

9. 'In England, the mansion and gardens of the wealthy are more frequently situated adjoining a populous village; the proprietor, in consequence, often finds his property burdened by too many labourers. When his gardener wants an apprentice, his employer obliges him to take one who belongs to the parish; as he cannot think of employing strangers [except, evidently, as *head gardeners*]. On the preference for Scottish gardeners, *Gardener's Magazine*, 16 (1840), 244–246.

regards the first, there was a saying that ‘they strike gardeners in Scotland like goose-berry bushes, and that, moreover, most of them find good warm roomy quarters in the South’. The gist of this argument is that their large numbers increased the likelihood of gifted individuals rising from their ranks. Also, the social status of head gardeners was higher in Scotland, therefore ‘the prizes seem more worth the striving for, and consequently more earnest effort may be put forth to grasp them’. As for climatic factors: ‘to the majority of Scotch gardeners difficulty is simply a thing to be vanquished ... Cold sunless skies but warm their skill into life; thin poor soils are manured thickly with fruitful expedients’. Under the heading of ‘genius and education of the nation’, the author listed perseverance, a craving for knowledge, an unquenchable enthusiasm and a dash of canniness. The author warned, however, that ‘Scotland must look to her laurels. England is doubtless making great educational efforts, and her rising race of gardeners will be the first to profit by them ... [The Scots] will have in the future a tougher fight than ever to beat or even keep alongside of the English or Irish contingents’. By the end of the century the Scottish dominance does indeed appear to have come to an end.

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