Buried in the Antipodes':
an Enlightenment Scot in
Colonial New Zealand

The nineteenth century saw a flood of Scottish emigrants populating the British Empire. Compared to their share of the total population of Britain, notes Harvie, "the contribution of the Scots to overseas one settlement was disproportionately large, particularly in the Empire."¹ It has long been considered that in terms of their cultural presence as one component of the settler population of the "British" colonies, Scots tended to be "an indistinguishable group blending anonymously into the colonial background..."² Recently that view has been challenged. A study of Scottish settlers in Australia argues for their maintenance of a distinctive Scottish national identity and the impact of this on their new surroundings.³

Scottish national identity and Scottish nationalism, however, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, were problematic phenomena. They carried a tension between the desire to protect and maintain traditional Scottish values and institutions - such as the Kirk and the legal system - which marked Scots as different from (and in the minds of many, superior to) the English, and the desire to participate (even assimilate) with England in the fruits of industrial capitalism and empire. Social class further complicated the picture, as different classes had different loyalties and agendas around national issues. Nor was religion a simple factor: while the Kirk was responsible for a good deal of Scottish cultural homogeneity and self-confidence, the Disruption of 1843 cut across class and nation. By bringing the Church and the law into debilitating conflict, argues Michael Fry, the Disruption effectively destroyed "the only possible source of a native reforming impulse."⁴
might expect, then, to find a profound ambivalence about Scotland’s past, its national character, and its future role, reflected in the mental baggage of Scottish colonial emigrants, especially those leaving Scotland as adults in the first half of the nineteenth century. Their conflicted attitudes to their own culture could have added an extra dimension to their attitudes to the native cultures they encountered. In order to examine this, we need access to the colonists’ reflections on their experiences; not all have been obliging to the historian. Some, however, have left full records of their lives as emigrants and colonists. This article, by examining the ways in which one nineteenth century Scot attempted to make sense of the antipodean new world, tries to suggest fruitful themes and approaches for a larger study of Scottish “emigration ideology,” in the interests of what the New Zealand historian Erik Olssen calls “an archaeology of [the colonists] psyches and minds”.

The subject is a Scottish physician, Dr David Monro (1813-1877), who emigrated to New Zealand in 1842 and spent the rest of his life there. Monro trained and practiced as a physician in Edinburgh. Both his father and grandfather - Alexander Monro primus and Alexander Monro secundus - were famous professors of medicine; his grandfather was particularly influential in helping lay the intellectual groundwork for the Scottish Enlightenment. A stout Tory, David Monro was one of the original settlers in the Wakefield settlement of Nelson. He became a wealthy sheep farmer and landowner, local politician and Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was knighted in 1866.

The article is based on a number of letters Monro wrote from the colony over the course of 20 years to his old friend the Scottish Tory writer and critic William Aytoun. The letters illuminate the value system from which Monro tried to cope with the disorientation of space, time and culture. The letters are valuable because of the candour with which Monro’s opinions were expressed; a candour reflecting his assumption of a shared
intellectual and cultural background with Aytoun. The discourse of race, class and cultural identity revealed in this correspondence is in a broad sense typically Victorian, but in a specific sense owes its origins to Monro’s experience in late-Enlightenment Edinburgh.

Monro intended to remain in New Zealand only as long as he could make a reasonable amount of money from landholding and farming, and for the first few years there, he was unremissingly hostile to the colony. In his first letter to Aytoun in 1849, he frequently bemoans his situation: “I proposed to myself originally a 10 years lagging, and I do not think I shall make much more of it.”; “… a poor devil like myself buried in the antipodes… in this savage country; … this contemptible little dunghill of ours.” This is reinforced in the next letter:

I have never entertained the idea of making this country my permanent home – God forbid, I loathe the place – only one word expresses my feeling towards it and that is the Scotch word “skunner.” You can imagine nothing more dwarfish and contemptible than such a colony as this – the littleness of everything about it and the paltriness to which men’s minds lower themselves in such a place is quite disgusting… I am half inclined to go immediately & try my profession in California.

Monro was certainly not the only colonist or visitor to New Zealand, especially in the early years, who, expecting some sort of South Sea paradise, was shocked by the physical reality they encountered. Another Scot, Captain Charles Graham, Senior Naval Officer in New Zealand in 1846-7, wrote of “this… poverty-stricken, and trashy colony, where there are none but wooden huts to live in – only a few wooden barns as storehouses – no landing place except mud, knee deep, at low water – no watering place with a stream bigger than my thumb…” Graham despaired
of "the diabolical part of the world I am employed upon..." 14

Monro, however, had soon accumulated enough land, enough sheep, and enough political influence that expressions of "skunner" did not appear again in his letters. Still, the initial contempt for the new world and its inhabitants remained not far below the surface. In December 1858 he wrote: "...for myself, I have been about as successful as I ever expected to be... I have so far made my fortune that I can live out here as what the French call a 'rentier'".

Given his antipathy to the new colony, it is interesting to consider Monro's opinions of Scottish culture. We might expect to find an idealised image of the "old country", but idealism is almost always reserved for Britain in general; his reactions to Scotland and the Scots were more complex and ambivalent. Certain Scottish qualities were praised. In a letter to Isabella Aytoun, Monro mentioned that he was pleased with a recent memoir of her brother William, but wished that it had been "written by a Scotchman" instead of by an Englishman: "... it is entirely unreasonable to expect any man born south of the Tweed to be capable of reproducing the drollery of a thorough Scotchman." 15

The passing of time, and sadness at the death of his boyhood friend may have injected a nostalgic glow here; eighteen years earlier Monro had expressed himself quite differently on the subject of the Scots. In 1849 Monro had congratulated Aytoun on his poem "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers." While admiring the imaginative aspect of the poem, Monro was nonetheless surprised at Aytoun's choice of topic:

I did not know that you were so much of a patriot, and I rather suspected you of a sneering contempt for the Gael, a feeling which I admit I myself am rather in the habit of indulging in. I do not think the Scotch on the whole are a practical people (as
a subject I mean)... to us who have lived among them and know how confoundedly hard & utilitarian the beggars are, how coarse their language, how uncouth their merriment, how unpicturesque their appearance and amusements, I cannot understand their appearing as the objects of tender sentiment or chivalrous action... I confess I cannot connect anything that is practical with a sandy haired high cheek boned Caledonian who talks of washing down his "baps and crowdie wi hauff a mustchkin o'whisky."\(^{16}\)

Here Monro wrote of his own culture from both the distance of exile and the distance of class and cultural assimilation. Although he described the "Scotch" as a "people", he did so almost as if not one of them—"to us who have lived among them". Perhaps it was the Highlanders ("the Gael") who were uppermost in his mind; speaking from the perspective of a well educated and worldly Tory gentleman, who saw his countrymen in much the same way as a gentleman "south of the Tweed" would. At the very least, and unusually for a Tory, Monro displayed the same assimilationist impulse which had led Scottish intellectuals such as David Hume to eradicate "Scotticisms" from their speech and writing, and Whigs such as Henry Cockburn to press for anglicisation of the Scottish legal system.

Monro's Enlightenment values of "tender sentiment" and refinement\(^{17}\) functioned as criteria for his division of experience into "natural" and "artificial", the latter another term for civilized. Whether he was discussing the absence of game, or democratic politics or the native Maori, Monro consistently evaluated his subjects from within this framework. For Monro hunting game was a symbol of civilized, hierarchic society. Lamenting that in New Zealand "there is hardly anything to shoot at," he noted
efforts to introduce European birds. However, "as to game it appears to me that it is an artificial thing & not likely to thrive well in a democratic and level state of society." 18

For any settler, let alone one brought up in polite Edinburgh society, contact with the Maori posed the greatest challenge to the culture of origin. A debate over the "status" of colonised peoples had raged since the increase in exploration of the Pacific in the mid-eighteenth century. Scottish Enlightenment thinkers seemed well placed to contribute to this debate, as many of them had developed versions of the stages theory of history which charted the progress of societies towards civilisation. "Savage" societies then, were by and large viewed optimistically as being able to eventually progress towards civilisation.19 Some, such as the Aborigines of Australia, seemed so primitive that they could hardly be included on the "scale of humanity". They were accordingly treated with the brutality this seemed to merit. The New Zealand Maori, however, were another matter. While clearly savages, their cultural and military sophistication provoked a far more nuanced and ambivalent response on the part of their colonisers. It seemed to many Europeans that the Maori were closer to civilised time than most other "savages".20 However, their very resistance, and certain cultural traits such as cannibalism, meant that the Maori "status" hovered between noble and ignoble savage.

Even though Monro's solution to the Maori "problem" was crude - a good "thrashing" to bring home the physical superiority of the British - his reactions and opinions were often more complex. James Belich, in his recent study, The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict, examines both the hitherto underestimated strength and capacity for military innovation, in Maori resistance to British invasion21 and the constellation of denial and justification which constituted a consistent European pattern of interpretation. Monro's letters contained an almost text book illustration of such a pattern: an
uneasy mixture of admiration, fear and contempt. An added dimension in Monro’s case was his ambivalent attitude to his own Scottish culture. Monro’s caricature and contemptuous dismissal of the “backward” Highland aspects of his own culture echoed the descriptions and explanations he gave Aytoun of the Maoris.

Monro’s information about Maori society came largely from newspaper accounts, but he also had access to official documents on the various military conflicts and skirmishes, as well as communication with military officers. Also, one of his first experiences of New Zealand was of Maori communities in the north of the North Island. As he wrote to his sister in 1842, he at first expected to have his “brains knocked out & my earthly tabernacle served up as a native repast”. However, before too long he felt as secure among the Maori “both as regards life and property as I should be among my countrymen. If you could have seen me sometimes, squatted in a native house upon a mat, & surrounded by a crowd of wild, naked, tattooed & ferocious looking savages, I think you would have made a curious pair of eyes.”

In future years, Monro’s benevolent opinion of the “poor natives” was to be confined to their military skills and the extent to which they adopted pakeha manners. This was a common pattern of response from Europeans who for many years existed on the fringes, and at the sufferance, of a larger, more confident Maori society. While Monro generally interpreted relations between the races as Europeans had been taught to do, his responses were specifically informed by his knowledge of the philosophical stadial theories of the Scottish Enlightenment, which posited progressive stages of civilization, and by the taming and “civilizing” of the Highland “barbarians” in his own country. After the 1843 killing of settlers by Maoris defending their land in the Wairau valley of Nelson province, Monro attacked sentimental notions of the noble savage:
Upon this horrible occasion, they have shown too much of their innate ferocity & bloodthirstyness. They must be taught that they cannot gratify these propensities of theirs without drawing down upon themselves certain punishment, ... All these fine pictures of amiable and interesting savages, that well meaning people & tract society ladies gloat over so fondly at home, are, take my word for it, mere rubbish. Golden ages & primitive simplicity are all in my eye. Civilization increases man's moral qualities as much as it adds to his physical comforts.  

Six years later Monro was optimistically reporting to Aytoun that "the natives are becoming civilized with wonderful rapidity." They were adopting the commercial and agricultural traits of the Europeans, "deserting their old pahs & building good cottages in villages laid out in English fashion." They were, in short, doing much more towards production and developing the resources of the country than the white men are." Also, the Maoris' "artificial wants" were increasing. This term was used often by other late-Enlightenment Scots familiar with the stadial theory of historical evolution. For instance, the Ultra Tory Sir Archibald Alison saw the degree of acquisition of artificial wants as the bench-mark of progress towards civilization made by the labouring classes. While it was desirable for Monro that the Maoris became Europeanized, in fact, a necessary stage of historical progress, there was a point beyond which this progress could not continue: Maoris could not, for instance, enjoy the same political privileges as pakehas. Because they were innately inferior to Europeans, the latter always had to represent their interests in the political arena. Maoris' ideas about government were childlike; like "monkeys" they wished to imitate European institutions without being able to understand them. Monro's "experience" told him
that sheer physical power would be the only real solution; benevolence was always too likely to go astray.

Monro’s overall assessment of the Maori-British conflict was a familiar settler scenario:

Nothing more has happened with regard to the Maori than happens in the case of all savages when they come in contact with civilized man. At first they are treated & cajoled & it all seems right. Presently, they discover that they are getting the worst of it, & are necessarily doomed to inferiority. Then they revolt: there is a collision, & the result is that they learn that the white man excels them not only in industry but also in pluck & skill in his weapons. When satisfied of this they submit, but not before.

Maori pretensions were inflated by misguided “sentimentalists”: missionaries and colonial officials. Maori strategy was to hold back their land for sale, but Monro was insistent that the wars themselves were not primarily about land; rather they were about “authority: whether the British governor or the Maori King is to be paramount.”

Monro’s description of the Maori in military conflict with British forces, revealed an occasional recognition of the fact that Maoris developed not only effective guerilla war tactics against the British but also a form of trench warfare far in advance of any existing military strategy in the mid-nineteenth century. Monro thought the Maoris were “no contemptible enemy. Their organisation is very like that of the Highland clans in former days.” Occasionally, Monro’s considerable powers of observation got the better of his prejudices, and he was able to accurately describe the impressive innovative features of Maori war techniques: “they have shown an amount of engineering skill in the construction of their rifle pits and other defences which is
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really astonishing."

Most of the time, however, Monro could not admit to such superiority; his admiration of Maoris as fighters could extend only as far as their skill as "skirmishers". Further, Monro diminished the Maori achievement by explaining it as a consequence of terrain: "any enemy occupying a country broken into countless ravines & water courses & covered with a dense thicket of vegetation has a great advantage in acting on the defensive." Offensively, the Maoris had no real organisation and were little better than a "mob of incendiaries and assassins" who had "always got the worst of it when they... tried anything of the sort." He frequently fell back on a typical observation that the Maoris, lacking true British courage, seldom engaged the army head on, but retreated into the bush, leaving "another empty pah [to] be taken." 33 The following passage shows Monro struggling to reconcile the reality of Maori power with his own illusions about savagery and civilisation:

It is no joke to have the Maoris as enemies. They are uncommonly ugly customers I can assure you. If you were to see one of these fellows stripped stark naked for battle with his face black with tattooing & sundry large circles of the same ornament upon his backside, nothing upon him but a cartouche box strapped around his waist, and a good double barrelled percussion gun in his fist you wd. admit that there are few more fearful wildfowls than your Maori living. Those too, who have shot at them of whom I am not one tell me that it is almost impossible to hit them. At the flash of the gun they throw themselves flat upon the ground as fast as an Eider duck can dive (you recollect the Orkeneyes) and are up again as fast, exhibiting brilliant anthropophagous teeth from ear
to ear rolling their eyes, thrusting out their teeth, slapping their breeches and quivering every muscle in their bodies.

The terminology is interesting, especially the specific references to Scottish wildlife which hark back to his discussion of shooting game. Monro here effectively dehumanized the Maoris; foreclosing any possibility of communication.35 Although Monro despised the missionaries and their supporters partly because he claimed they had a noble view of savages, the description in this passage comes close to the image of the ignoble savage found in evangelical missionary tracts.36 Monro’s Eider duck savages were not an affront to salvation, but rather to social order.

New Zealand’s emerging political culture was such a profound shock to a conservative such as Monro, partly because it was constantly in the process of becoming; hierarchical certainties tended to evaporate. Democratic politics had become detached from property—now anything was possible. “At home” he remarked to Isabella Aytoun, “I see you have been enfranchising the unwashed. Here we go ahead of you and admit the Maori to a share in making our laws.”37 Elections in New Zealand for Superintendent and Provincial Councils were “all but equivalent to universal suffrage… The consequence is as anyone might have foreseen, the Supt. is a representative of numbers & nothing else and instead of being a check upon the Provincial Council as he ought to be, or a sort of second chamber is the biggest demagogue in the place.” Democracy based on “numbers” produced a society lacking conflicting interests:

I distrust self govt. if placed upon anything like a wide basis in small communities, particularly when these are all engaged in the same pursuit—a collision of interests—the consideration of the measures demanded by one interest by those of
different & perhaps conflicting interests appears to me essential to the proper working of representative govt. ... [in a colony] generally speaking you are without that mass of leisured intelligence which is a bulwark against the imposition of specious disclaimers.\textsuperscript{38}

Ironically this man of "leisured intelligence" who so feared the triumph of the "unwashed," was defeated for the office of Superintendent by a transplanted English radical, "a Birmingham chartist."\textsuperscript{39}

Monro defended his involvement in such an apparently distasteful activity as colonial politics, as a matter of self-protection. "Everything," he noted perceptively, "has got to be constructed and the rule according to which it is put together is generally self-interest and if you dont take care of yourself you go to the wall."\textsuperscript{40} Unable to find politics on the class basis of paternalist tutelage in which he had grown up, Monro reluctantly accepted what he saw as an egalitarian self-interest politics. However, his background, his connections and his position as a "rentier" ensured that in the limited hierarchy of colonial politics, Sir David Monro was invariably placed somewhere near the top of his "little dunghill."

In one important respect, Monro's colonial circumstances dictated a change in his ideological perspective. William Aytoun, along with most Scottish High Tories such as Archibald Alison, was one of the foremost supporters of Protectionism in Britain. Aytoun simply assumed that Monro, a fellow Tory, would join him in attacking free trade. However, Monro requested that Aytoun not call upon him to take such a position. "A colony," he remarked, "is not a bad school of political economy: the machinery is so simple and its operation so direct that the connexion between law & consequence is traced without difficulty..." He argued that "every colonial in this part of the world is in favour of free trade: we all want to buy when we can cheapest and sell when we
can dearest... you can only protect any particular branch of industry by robbing all the others.” Even “England” would benefit from free trade; the main obstacle was the high rent for land, maintained by the landed interest.41

This article has examined the discourse of one prominent settler. One should be cautious about generalising from his experience to that of Scottish colonists as a group, even to those born around the beginning of the nineteenth century and into the same milieu as Monro. However, I wish to suggest that Monro’s experience highlights themes—especially the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment, the ambiguity of Scottish nationality, and the ideology of class—which may have been factors in the cultural “reality-maintenance”42 of other Scottish emigrants. David Monro’s late-Enlightenment Edinburgh milieu and his class position provided him with a paternalistic view of society, but also a set of criteria with which to measure the degree of civilisation a society had reached. These criteria were organised around the poles of “natural” and “artificial,” and included the stages theory of society, acquisition of “artificial wants” and the ascription of animal or semi-human natures to those “others” outside the pale of civilization. Monro’s experiences in New Zealand presented a profound challenge to his paternalist world view. He was forced to grapple with a telescoping of historical time and with the almost simultaneous opening up and contracting of physical space: “buried” in a “dunghill” in the vast Pacific. While he recognized that in the colony “[e]verything has got to be constructed”, and while he compromised and adapted, his world view was part of that hegemonic imperial vision, to which Scots contributed in great part, and which predominated for the better part of the next hundred years and has only recently begun to be challenged by the peoples long subjected to it.

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Notes


3. See note 2 above.


5. Harvie 58.


8. Rex E. Wright-St. Clair, “Thoroughly a Man of the World”: a Biography of Sir David Monro, M.D. (Christchurch, 1971). This article is concerned with only an extremely small part of Munro’s diaries. Wright-St. Clair’s biography is a detailed, but uncritical record of his achievements.


10. Monro’s biographer was not able to find out exactly why he decided to emigrate, other than plausibly citing the doctor’s love of travel as well as the fact that his brother Harry had gone to live in Australia. Another reason, hinted at in the letters, may have been the influence of his Masonic lodge. In a letter to Isabella Aytoun after her brother William’s death, Monro describes hearing in 1838 the Treasurer of his lodge announce his own decision to emigrate having learned “that a new colony was about to be established in New Zealand which from all he could hear about it was a most desirable country, so had determined to cast his lot with it.” The Treasurer went on to note that Free Masonry was in his opinion the human institution most suited “to civilise the savage and confer large benefits upon humanity.” David Monro to Isabella Aytoun, 3 November 1866, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) ms. 4896.
12. “To get a feeling of aversion, disgust or loathing; to feel surfeited or nauseated.” Scottish National Dictionary.
13. Monro to Aytoun, 16 September 1849, NLS 4896.
14. Captain Charles Graham to Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, 26 October 1846, NLS 9732, p. 90. The images in Monro’s and Graham’s letters are nicely captured in the New Zealand director Jane Campion’s recent film The Piano. For a good part of this film, the settler’s physical surroundings consist almost solely of wooden shacks set in a sea of mud amongst misshapen, burnt tree trunks. Just beyond this purgatory are glorious stretches of coastline and ocean, useless for the utilitarian tasks of settlement.
15. Munro to Isabella Aytoun, 4 November, 1867, NLS 4934.
16. Monro to Aytoun, 12 August, 1849, NLS 4869.
17. See John Dwyer, Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987).
18. Munro to Aytoun, 10 May, 1864, NLS 4869. For an enlightening discussion of the relationship between hunting and British imperialism, see John M. MacKenzie, The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism (Manchester: Mancheter UP) 1988. “The nineteenth-century hunting impulse, writes MacKenzie, “existed in two main areas, the drive to classify and order the natural world through a new scientific understanding, and the emergence of hunting not only as a dominant pursuit of the elite but also as an ethos to be respected and admired by subordinate social classes.” (23) “As the century progressed the hunting cult was transferred overseas, often searching for a genuine wilderness, and generated an entire ethos which distinguished certain characteristics of the Hunt as markers of civilisation and gentlemanly conduct.” (26) Monro’s discussion of hunting is an illustration of MacKenzie’s analysis. Compared to the abundance of fauna in North America, notes MacKenzie, “Australasia was marked by its relative poverty. By the time Europeans arrived in Australia and New Zealand wild animals seemed to be so important as an underpinning of colonial enterprise that colonists set about introducing them.” (296)
21. Belich (310) argues that “the Maoris ceased to be the senior partner in the racial relationship in 1863-9, not 1840, 43, 45, or 60.”
23. “Pakeha” is the Maori name for Europeans.
25. Wright-St. Clair 61.
26. A “pah” (more common spelling pa) is a stockaded dwelling or fort.
27. Monro to Aytoun, 12 August 1849, NLS 4869.
29. Monro to Aytoun, 8 March, 1861, NLS 4869.
30. Monro to Aytoun, 10 May, 1864, NLS 4869. Captail Charles Graham would have been a typical government “sentimentalist” in Monro’s eyes. Graham frequently blamed “base, selfish” settlers for undermining the government’s desire for peace and order in the colony. “I think there are more vagabond scoundrels in the Colony amongst the white inhabitants,” he complained, “than the Maoris...these white scoundrels and missionaries (if one of the many reports be true) incite rebellion and blow the flame of discord.” Graham to Governor George Grey, 1 October 1846, NLS 9732, 70-1.
32. Monro to Aytoun, 12 August 1849, NLS 4869. Here is another Scot, the writer Alexander Wood, comparing Maoris and Highlanders: “I believe a party of Europeans to be about as well qualified to engage a party of natives, as a set of countrymen would be to contend against an equal number of Highlanders.” Wood to G.W. Hope, 14 April 1845, Scottish Record Office GD 364/1/469.
33. Munro to Aytoun, 8 March, 1861, NLS 4869. Another illustration of this alleged cowardly propensity of the Maori appears in a letter written by a British Army Captain in 1860: “The Maories [sic] won’t give us a chance of catching them. All the pahs that we have attacked...have been abandoned at our approach and the enemy have retired generally to inaccessible fortresses in the forest.” Captain Charles Pasley R.E. to his sister, 8 October 1860, NLS 9878.
34. Munro to Aytoun, 12 August 1849, NLS 4869.
35. On the subject of communication, Monro may have forgotten a lecture
he gave in Edinburgh three years before emigrating. His talk, "On the Expression of Passion," to Edinburgh artists, presented the understanding of other (civilised) minds as dependent upon exterior bodily signs:
The passions & emotions which agitate the mind have all their corresponding signs in the exterior of the body: thus in one man made aware of what is passing in the breast of another, and reading in his figure whether he fears, loves, or hates can prepare himself accordingly...what is instinctively performed is in the same manner instinctively understood (otherwise we might die before we gain the experience to know this... R

36. As an example of the image of the ignoble Savage, BErnard Smith quotes from a poem - Pelican Island - written in 1827 by James Montgomery. Much of the description is close to that of Monro in the passage just quoted:

Large was their stature, and their frames athletic;
Their skins were dark, their locks like eagles’ feathers;
...when roused to wrath...
The tongue of malice...
Raged through their gnashing teeth and foaming lips.


37. Munro to Isabella Aytoun, 4 November 1867, NLS 4934.
38. Monro to Aytoun, 16 September 1849, NLS, 4869.
39. Monro to Aytoun, 23 December, 1858, NLS 4869.
40. Monro to Aytoun, 23 December 1858, NLS 4869.
41. Monro to Aytoun, 16 September 1849, NLS 4869.