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**GRAPHIC SCOTLAND:
VISUALITY AND EMPIRE, 1810 – 1913**

by

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M.A., University of Georgia

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

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ABSTRACT

Graphic Scotland: Visuality and Empire, 1810–1913 interrogates the aesthetic, technological, and literary conventions used to represent Scotland's character in nineteenth-century publications. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, publishers, authors, and readers began to correlate the material format of prints, books, illustration, and bookbinding with individual and national character. Periodicals and literature drew the correlations between the aesthetic conventions of picturesque Scottish landscape, physiognomy of Scottish authors, and bookbinding to frame ideas about Scottish character as a didactic model for middle class British and American readers. Thus, *Graphic Scotland* offers an intertextual reading of three illustrated publications about Scotland—J.R. Osgood's 1882 edition of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*; John Watson's lithographic magazine *The Glasgow Looking Glass* (1825–1826), and Charles Scribner's 1913 edition of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped*—to trace the visual transmission of

Scottish character through multiple genres, techniques, and material properties to examine the ways Scotland functions as a model for the character of homes, nations, and empire.

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Introduction

Digital, printed, and drawn graphics underpin current discourse about Scotland. Journalists, artists, designers, activists and others have presented Britain's exit from the European Union (Brexit), Scottish independence, and the United Nations' Climate Change Conference (COP26) hosted in Glasgow in a variety of ways. Maps in stark blue and yellow mark the border between Scotland and England in the Brexit referendum vote.¹ A map in vivid orange and yellow proclaims which countries have committed to net zero emissions.² Artists like Lorna Miller, Martin Rowson, and Steve Bell have drawn caricatures addressing the ways that Scotland is perceived by the British government as an ideologically distant and unfamiliar location.³ Printed, drawn, and digital signage lined the streets of Glasgow and social media feeds as protesters demanded that politicians work for immediate solutions to avert climate extinction. This wealth of graphic information forms a network that probes Scotland's physical and ideological boundaries.

The Scottish government and other national institutions have also demonstrated a keen awareness of the way Scotland is visually recognized and visually communicated.

¹ "EU referendum," *BBC* (2016), https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/politics/eu_referendum/results#orb-banner; Mike Small, "All Yellow," *Bella Caledonia* (Dec. 26, 2021), <https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2021/12/26/all-yellow/>.

² Hanna Duggal, "Infographic: COP26 Goals Explained in Maps and Charts," *Al Jazeera* (Nov. 4, 2021), <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/4/infographic-cop26-climate-summit-goals-explained>.

³ Steve Bell, "Go for a Covid Test..." *The Guardian* (Sept. 9, 2020), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/picture/2020/sep/09/steve-bell-on-the-uks-world-beating-test-and-trace-system-cartoon>; Steve Bell, "Moonshot," (Sept. 10, 2020), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/picture/2020/sep/10/steve-bell-moonshot-testing-plan-cartoon>; Lorna Miller, "UK Runs Out of Testing Capacity," *Bella Caledonia* (Sept. 7, 2020), <https://bellacaledonia.org.uk/2020/09/17/uk-runs-out-of-testing-capacity/>.

Shortly after the Brexit referendum, First Minister Nicola Sturgeon and the Scottish National Party (SNP) began to push for a second independence referendum. At this time, the Scottish government along with “Visit Scotland,” the national tourism office, began coordinating a multinational campaign to help draw attention to Scotland as a unique entity apart from Great Britain. In 2018, the Scottish government and Visit Scotland debuted “Scotland is Now” in London, Shanghai, New York, and San Francisco before deploying to other destinations. Further, a documentary video displayed at the end of the exhibition *Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland* (2019) at the National Museum of Scotland declared Scotland and Scottish tourism to be one of the most recognized brands in the world. The documentary goes on to note that Scotland’s national brand identity is so successful that it elicits jealousy in marketing personnel in other countries. These patterns suggest that the Scottish government and foreign audiences identify the country with a distinct set of characteristics.

Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland closely examined one of these characteristics: Scotland’s landscape. The exhibition displayed a large range of historic artifacts to trace the rise of Scotland’s recognition as an idyllic travel destination following the 1745 Jacobite Uprising and the battle of Culloden (1746). The curators Patrick Watt and Rosie Waine focus particularly on the ways that artists and authors combined Scottish landscape, Gaelic ballads and histories, and Highland and military dress, with Romantic European literary and pictorial conventions. In doing so, they highlighted the complex historical network underpinning literature and images still familiar to an international audience today.

The exhibition further highlighted the way graphics operate in the production, circulation, and interpretation of knowledge. Selected examples, including a number of prints and drawings, were also digitally reproduced at a massive scale and adhered to the gallery walls so that audiences could closely examine the minute details located in smaller-scale objects. The monumental digital prints and smaller objects provided a clear navigational structure for the exhibition and also reinforced information about the visual composition of Scottish topography and Scottish people from the mid-eighteenth to early twentieth century.

“Visit Scotland” similarly emphasizes the landscape. Its ongoing marketing campaign features wide-angle photographs and videos of Scotland’s landscape layered with the phrase “Scotland is Now” and other phrases in bold sans serif lettering. Many of the graphics and statements made for the campaign also emphasize Scotland’s idealized character traits that may appeal to international audiences, particularly its warm hospitality, intellect, entrepreneurial spirit, and high quality of life. For example: one of the early graphics for the campaign that was displayed as Nicola Sturgeon spoke at the press release event in Shanghai noted: “Now is the time to experience the warmest of welcomes” layered onto a view of Eilean Donnain castle and Loch Duich.⁴ A more recent example proclaims “Our thinking is the cream of the crop” to complement an

⁴ First Minister (@ScotGovFM), “FM @NicolaSturgeon attends Shanghai Scotland is Now showcase event to promote the new campaign in China #ScotlandIsNow #FMChina18,” *Twitter*, Apr. 12, 2018, <https://twitter.com/ScotGovFM/status/984443649701367808?s=20>.

aerial view of farmland.⁵ Infographics combining the unpopulated landscapes of text suggests that land produces the warmth and intellect that comprises Scotland's character.

Press documents further elaborated on Scotland's character and the present marketing concerns. The Scottish government's statement noted:

'Scotland is Now' builds on the nation's acknowledged strengths as a land of unrivaled history, breath-taking scenery and warm welcomes, but shines a light on lesser-known qualities: a pioneering, dynamic and progressive nation taking the lead on key global challenges.⁶

At the Shanghai press event, First Minister Nicola Sturgeon additionally remarked:

The message at the heart of 'Scotland is Now' is of a bold and positive country offering the warmest of welcomes, rich in history and heritage and with a progressive, pioneering and inclusive approach to our future.⁷

Land, the "breath-taking scenery," and the pictorial transmission of that landscape are inseparable from Scotland's history and the character of its people. This present research stems from the ongoing interest in the historical foundations of this recent exhibition and current marketing campaign. My dissertation, *Graphic Scotland: Visuality and Empire, 1810–1913*, interrogates the aesthetic, technological, and literary conventions used to represent Scotland's character in prints and books from the nineteenth century

Visuality underpins larger discussions of Scottish identity. In 1994, the often-cited T.C. Smout imagined Scottish identity as a series of six orderly and concentric rings:

⁵ This image appears to have first circulated as a tweet on December 29, 2021. See: Scotland IS Now (@Scotland), "Scottish company [@SoilEssentials](https://twitter.com/SoilEssentials) has teamed up with leading space industry engineers and soil biologists to harness data which helps farmers cut their carbon emissions," *Twitter*, Dec. 29, 2021, <https://twitter.com/Scotland/status/1476281890541907983>.

⁶ "Global Campaign Takes Scotland to the World," *Scottish Government*, Apr. 11, 2018, <https://www.gov.scot/news/global-campaign-takes-scotland-to-the-world/>.

⁷ Ibid.

family; kin and clan; local environment; state; nation, and supranational or imperial entities. Fiona M. Douglas later asserted that identity is modeled more like coordinates or functions on a Cartesian grid that tracks an individual's characteristics in relation to current and historical constructions of qualities like nationality, gender, race, class, and profession. Geometric diagrams are too neat to fully express the ways that humans navigate multiple roles and characteristics, but thinking about the process of diagramming highlights a focus on visualizing the relationships between a smaller unit—the individual or family—to larger units of nation and empire.⁸

Scottish mobility permeates scholarship on Scotland's visual characteristics. R.N. Millman in *The Making of the Scottish Landscape* (1975) and David Turnock in *The Making of the Rural Scottish Landscape* (1995) use geographic, geologic, and archeological data to map settlement and agriculture patterns in urban and rural Scotland from the Iron Age into the mid-twentieth century. In turn, Art Historian Charlotte Klonk has examined the way geologic study and picturesque aesthetics impacted topographic renderings of Scotland's islands.⁹ A recent trio of books co-authored by Christopher Fleet, Margaret Wilkes, Carolyn Anderson, and Charles Withers examine the ways maps demonstrate Scotland's changing infrastructure, social and political values, and the relationships between Scotland's geographic regions along with relationships to Europe,

⁸ T.C. Smout, "Perspectives on the Scottish Identity," *Scottish Affairs* 6, no. 1 (Feb., 1984). 101–113; Fiona M. Douglas, *Scottish Newspapers, Languages and Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 11–12.

⁹ Charlotte Klonk, "From Picturesque Travel to Scientific Observation," *Science and the Perception of Nature: British Landscape Art in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 66 – 99.

the British state, and United Kingdom since the first century.¹⁰ In *Art and Identity in Scotland* (2020), Vicky Coltman examines examples of dress, textiles, and accessories alongside paintings, prints, travel literature, and archival materials to draw attention to the roles of Scots as individuals and Scotland as a contributor to the wider British Empire. These foundational multi-disciplinary analyses exhibit protracted interest in the visualization of Scotland's historic boundaries, topography, resources, and the mobility of Scots within Scotland, in Europe, and throughout the British Empire.

The relationships between national identity, print and visual culture comprise an extended discourse. In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), Benedict Anderson argued that printed text in the bible and, later, newspapers and novels, spread ideas of nation because print allows repetition of consistent language. In *What Do Pictures Want?* (2005), W.J.T. Mitchell added that visual images represent as much of a record of this process as typographic artifacts.¹¹ Building on the work of Jonathan Crary, design theorists like Johanna Drucker and Sandra Rendgen have examined the ways graphics function with human cognition and perception to act as both a means of knowledge production and a representation of abstract concepts.¹² Dominic Thorburn in a 2011 talk argued that the spread of prints,

¹⁰ Christopher Fleet, Margaret Wilkes, Charles W.J. Withers, *Scotland: Mapping the Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2012); Christopher Fleet, Margaret Wilkes, Charles W.J. Withers, *Scotland: Mapping the Islands* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2016); Carolyn J. Anderson, Christopher Fleet, *Scotland Defending the Nation: Mapping the Military Landscape* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2018).

¹¹ W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?: The Lives and Loves of Images* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 272–274.

¹² Johanna Drucker, *Graphesis: Visual Forms of Knowledge Production* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Sandra Rendgen, “Line, Color, Area, Symbol. 1,200 Years of Visually Transferring Knowledge,” *History of Information Graphics* (Köln: Taschen, 2019): 4 – 40.

economic structures of print markets, and transmission of printed aesthetics provide a map of European national and imperial structures.¹³ Printers, and printed texts and images are a mechanism for both the manufacturing and understanding of national identities.

Drawings and prints of Scotland do more than transmit only observed features of the land. In *Picturing Scotland* (2010), Richard Hill outlines the way Walter Scott commissioned drawings of Scottish locations to help expand parts of his literary descriptions of topography and architecture represented in his novels and poetry. Scott's literature in turn influenced the further creation and proliferation of other images of Scotland for more than a century after the 1810 publication of *Lady of the Lake*.¹⁴ The drawing—the graphic—shapes the ways other authors and artists think about and identify Scotland.

In *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745–1820* (2011), John E. Crowley underscores that Paul Sandby's topographic drawings and etchings of Scotland produced for the Ordnance Survey (1747–1755) established a pattern for the pictorial representation of Scotland and the British Empire through the early nineteenth century. During Sandby's time in Scotland he tutored associates like Robert Adam in landscape drawing, and Adam in turn introduced Sandby to Scottish society and potential patrons. In 1768, Sandby became Chief Drawing Master for the Royal Military Academy,

¹³ Dominic Thorburn, "Navigating the North-South Axis - Divide and Rule?," International Multi-disciplinary Printmaking, Artists, Concepts and Techniques (IMPACT), Melbourne, Australia, Sept. 2011, unpublished; Nicholas Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

¹⁴ Richard J. Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 32–34.

where he trained personnel to record topography to suggest a wide and unobstructed view of the space. Such images were used by the military and also circulated as travel prints through London's print shops. Sandby's images of Scotland functioned as a template for the representation of North America, the Caribbean, and India.

Building on Crowley's work, Douglas Fordham has recently overviewed the ways new developments in aquatint at the end of the eighteenth century alongside the rise of amateur printmaking and painting increased empathetic investment in both the print medium and the often peripheral locations of the being depicted in prints and books.¹⁵ Others like Katharine Grenier and Kate Hill use travel prints to discern larger patterns in tourism and travel narratives through the early twentieth century.¹⁶ These histories trace the circulation of travel prints and the ways they operate to draw people to Scotland and as navigational tools.

Yet these patterns of travel prints say little about how they are used alongside other types of print, illustrations, or books. Nineteenth-century travel guides in fact suggest that readers navigate Scotland through connections to other printed materials. Travel guides such as *Black's Guide Books* (from 1839) along with travel narratives in periodicals directed viewers to look beyond the travel experience and destinations. Setting forth to identify Scotland's key characteristics, these texts present their

¹⁵ Douglas Fordham, *Aquatint Words: Travel, Print, and Empire: 1770–1820* (London: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2019).

¹⁶ Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770–1914: Creating Caledonia* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005); Kate Hill, *Britain and the Narration of Travel in the Nineteenth Century: Texts, Images, Objects* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

information in a complex network that envelopes descriptions of landscape within layers of artistic and literary history. Contemporary descriptions of the land are cross-referenced with visual and textual allusions to the locations that appear in literature, such as Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810) and *Waverly* novels (1814–27), and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886). In turn, as Richard Hill mentions, such literature was further proliferated through prints and illustrated editions. Nineteenth-century publishing, travel, and reading practices facilitate paratextual and intertextual experiences of images and literature through multiple avenues.¹⁷

Looking more closely at book culture and literature illuminates further questions about how print functions in construction of Scottish landscape and Scottish character. British and American readers and publishers began to frame ideas of national character and Scotland within a broader discourse of visual aesthetics of prints and book design. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, publishers, printers, the periodical press, novelists, and readers began to correlate the material format of prints, books, illustration, and bookbinding with concepts of individual and national character. Further, the physiognomy of Scottish authors like Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson were

¹⁷ Intertextuality is a method adopted in 1966 by theorist Julia Kristeva, in conversation with the work of literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, as a means to analyze the relationships between literary texts and also their historical contexts. The method has been applied widely to literature from many periods, and Sudha Shastri has asserted that intertext is particularly useful for tracing the relationships between literary devices such as genre, theme, and other classifications. Intertextuality has also been used to understand the relationships between visual and typographic materials, particularly movies and literature. Nineteenth-century travel guides, literary reviews, and other materials establish multiple layers of relationships between images, literature, and location that lend itself well to organizing an argument with this multi-faceted approach. See: Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue and Novel," in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moril (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 33–61; Shastri Sudha, *Intertextuality and Victorian Studies* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2001); Abigail Burnham Bloom and Mary Sanders Pollock, *Victorian Literature and Film Adaptation* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2011).

equated with the Scottish landscape along with the visual properties and content of their publications. The movement of Scots and Scottish character into England and India was traced through caricature, broadsides, and periodicals. And American authors like Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Henry James, and Kate Douglass Wiggin wrote about the ways Walter Scott and his literature impacted their visual experiences of Scotland and the United States. Construction of Scottish identities is deeply bound with the processes and experience of prints, books, and publishing.

Scope of Project

Thus, *Graphic Scotland* traces the representation of Scotland as transmitted via print with intertextual readings of three illustrated publications about Scotland: J.R. Osgood's 1882 edition of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*; John Watson's lithographic caricature magazine the *Glasgow Looking Glass* (1825–1826), and Charles Scribner's Sons 1913 edition of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886). Each of these publications represents a different literary genre including poetry, satire, and the novel. Further, criticism and publisher trade advertising noted that each example displays a different pictorial technique or material part of the book or magazine to highlight Scotland's national character. These include drawing and landscape conventions for A.V.S. Anthony's designs for Osgood's edition of *Lady of the Lake*; caricature of Glaswegians in the *Glasgow Looking Glass*; bookbinding and book structure in *Kidnapped*. Looking at examples across multiple genres provides opportunity to identify commonalities in theme, content, or compositional technique.

These case studies also concern the navigation of Scotland and Scotland's roles as part of Great Britain and the British Empire in North America and India. Multiple spheres inform the discourse around Scotland's relationship to empire and migration to the North American colonies and later the United States. From the 1715 Jacobite Uprising until the mid-nineteenth century, periodicals, art criticism, travel literature and novels framed the improvement of Scottish character and productivity around the discourse of the enclosed estate, the picturesque landscape, and Scottish replication of enclosure in North America. By the late nineteenth century, United States' publishers, authors, and readers regarded illustrations of Walter Scott's poetry and novels as a way for Scottish-Americans to virtually connect to ideas of home and history while also providing a model for reimagining the American landscape. Chapter one will thus examine Boston publisher J.R. Osgood's 1882 edition of *Lady of the Lake* (1810) through the lens of eighteenth-century British landscape aesthetics, colonization, immigration, and tourism to examine how Walter Scott and Scottish character function as ideological foundations for the United States.

Chapter two will follow with a discussion about the relationships between urban Scotland and India. From the eighteenth century, Scottish presence expanded in the British government and the British East India Company, which in turn fueled Scottish economic growth and renovations of Scotland's largest cities, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Travel prints and caricatures about India were highly circulated in British print shops. However, travel typically excluded Scotland's presence in India. And by the 1820s, London caricature largely excluded explicit connections between Scotland and India.

Later publications like *McLean's Monthly Sheet of Caricatures* (1830–34) and *Punch or the London Charivari* (1841–2002) followed this pattern. However, in 1825 the *Glasgow Looking Glass*, a new caricature magazine, highlighted the city's urban growth and affluence alongside several images of Scottish and British involvement in the first Burma War (1824 – 1826). The *Glasgow Looking Glass* ended only a few months after the war, but by comparing the contents of the magazine to the contents of caricatures from the principle print market in London, chapter two considers the way repetition of Anglo-centric ideas of Scottish character have worked to conceal Scotland's contributions to the British Empire's growth.

Lastly, chapter three examines the role of book structure and book binding in discussions around national character. During the 1830s, the relationships between readers and books also changed dramatically. The development of sized book cloth facilitated the production of full editions of books with decorated bindings. As these new bindings became more common in bookshops and homes during the mid-nineteenth century, critics, authors, artists, and audiences began highlighting the relationship between book bindings and the character of readers and the nation. Scottish and English authors like Robert Louis Stevenson and John Ruskin contributed to a discourse over Scotland's history and the aesthetic changes of Edinburgh. Publishers and periodicals also began circulating novels like William Mackepeace Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* (1852), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886) and *David Balfour* (1893), H.C. Adams' *In the Fifteen* (1893) and *James or George* (1886) that extolled the heroic actions of individual Jacobites. This chapter will consider N.C. Wyeth's cover design alongside the

bindings for other publications within the context of adjacent debates about technology, design, and character with the aim of demonstrating how material objects encapsulated Scottish character for the home, family, and nation.

Graphic Scotland broadens ongoing discussions by connecting the conventions of landscape to popular literature and discussions of print and book design. Landscape, travel prints, and travel literature represent a substantial body of work about Scotland, which is why scholars justifiably continue to probe the subject. However, when we examine eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscape conventions in a larger framework of historic debates concerning national character, design, and the material properties of books, we see that idealized models of Scottish character and Scottish people circulated through print media visually formulate the structure of Scottish landscape and the British Empire.

Chapter 1

A.V.S. Anthony's Slip of a Pencil and the Limits of Time and Space in Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810)

In the summer of 1881, Boston publisher J.R. Osgood took advantage of American enthusiasm for Scotland and Walter Scott (1771 – 1832) to produce a holiday gift edition of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810) with more than one hundred and twenty engraved illustrations. Osgood sent illustrator and engraver A.V.S. Anthony (1835 – 1906) to Scotland to sketch landscape views from the locations in Scott's poem to provide part of the illustrations for an 1882 holiday gift book edition. Anthony produced some of the designs for the edition's plates, and he also supervised a team of twenty draftsmen and engravers for the remaining image blocks. Many literary reviews praised this edition as the standard for American illustrated editions of Scott and complained when more of the plates were not recycled in subsequent editions. This edition of Scott's narrative poem represents an intersection of technical achievement in printing and appeal to a broad readership.

A.V.S Anthony's designs and the overall Osgood project received very little negative criticism. One especially sharp literary reviewer suggested, however, that Anthony's illustrations contained a worrisome misstep in the form of a train rushing through the Highland landscape (**Fig. 1**). The critic remarked:

These sketches obviously represent the scenery of today, but the accessories have been wrought out of historic materials with all possible fidelity. The general excellence of the woodcuts is quite as great as could be expected. The reader looks on grim and gloomy mountains, on tumbling brook and glassy lake, on

meadows laden with the harvest, on mist-wreathed forests, on cloudy heavens, on glades and thickets, on castle and cottage, on lovers wandering in the woodlands, on chieftains sleeping by the fire, on lonely water-fowl flying to their island nests, on clustered accoutrements of the chase, on the flowers of the Scottish highlands. There is a curious anachronism in the picture facing p. 96, where a railway train is seen steaming along a river valley on a double-track road. Doubtless Mr. Anthony saw it when he made his sketch, but this mark of recent times would better have been omitted, would it not? But these slips of the pencil are very few...¹⁸

The reviewer outlines at length Anthony's precise detail in landscape features and figures of "chieftans" and "lovers" traveling through the space. In one instance the author argues that Anthony defies an expectation that there should not be a train depicted even though the artist must have observed the vehicle during his trip to Scotland. For the reviewer, the train's presence is an anachronism that misaligns with reader conception of either the poem or for the way contemporary Scotland should be portrayed. The train is a relatively small part of an illustration that's only about ten square centimeters. Removing it would bring that frame into alignment with the volume's numerous illustrations of mountains, valleys, islands, forests. Some illustrations also include elements of Romanesque architecture in varying degrees of decay or ruin without signs of current infrastructure. Through questioning the train's presence, the critic suggests that Scotland is characterized by the iconography of rural landscape without signs of modern infrastructure to create a stage for the reader to envision the narrative.

The Literary World's comment on Anthony corresponds with a much larger discourse surrounding landscape and Scotland. Since at least the Union of Crowns (1603), printers and publishers circulated landscape prints, maps, literature, essays,

¹⁸ 1 "Lady of the Lake," *The Literary World; a Monthly Review of Current Literature* 13, no. 21 (Oct. 21, 1882): 348 – 49.

letters, histories, news, and pseudoscientific studies that framed Scotland's character around its topography. The spread of enclosed estates beginning around the mid-eighteenth century shifted the focus towards Scottish productivity and the containment of wildness. And as Scott continued in popularity, readers in both Britain and North America began to define Scotland in terms of the author's writing and physiognomy. In the United States, readers even began to use Scottian landscape conventions to define American national character. Thus, contextualizing A.V.S. Anthony's illustrations of *Lady of the Lake* within a broader visual and material framework provides a robust avenue for examining the visual and material construction of Scottish character.

Landscape Conventions

The anonymous critic considered A.V.S. Anthony's work to be precise, even as he critiqued the inclusion of the train in one plate out of a set of one hundred and twenty. Discussions of illustration also permeate scholarship regarding Scott's work. Peter Garside and Ruth McAdams at the University of Edinburgh took on the immense task of cataloging more than 1,500 unique printed images included in Scott's *Waverley* novels and poetry.¹⁹ Further, Richard J. Hill and Richard Altick have traced Scott's role in establishing a trend for high volumes of illustrated novels during the nineteenth century along with the author's intense engagement with the conceptual development of editions

¹⁹ University of Edinburgh, *Illustrating Scott: A Database of Printed Illustrations to the Waverley Novels, 1814–1901*, 2009, <http://illustrating-scott.lib.ed.ac.uk/index.html>.

published during his life.²⁰ These efforts highlight Scott's immense impact on the history of publishing and book illustration in Britain.

Scholarship on the illustration of Scott's poetry has in fact focused on the way illustration enhances the immersive qualities of the printed text. Most recently Michael Nott in *Photopoetry 1845 – 2015* discussed publisher A.W. Bennett's photographically illustrated edition from the 1860s, suggesting it creating a stage for Scott's narrative aof Scotland to enhance the travel experience for readers. Helen Groth, in *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia*, examined the ways the photographic compositions allude to their previous status as stereo-cards and how that composition acted as a cue to invite readers into the literary space. Further, Nicola J. Watson in *Romantic Localities* (2015) briefly overviews Scott's decision to begin including landscapes in editions from the early inclusion of topographical images for the posthumously published *Collected Works* to the inclusion of a removable map in an 1813 edition and the publication of portfolios of travel prints like *Six View of Loch Katrine* (1822). These discussions emphasize the ways Scott's poetry shaped and responded to travel, tourism, and the print market.

However, Anthony's work and many other American editions are not yet included in Edinburgh's Corson collection or given more than passing mention in studies of Scott.

²⁰ Richard J. Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); Richard Altick, *Paintings from Books. Art and Literature in Britain, 1760–1832* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985); Lindsay Errington, "Sir Walter Scott and Nineteenth-Century Painting in Scotland," *Scotland Creates: 5000 Years of Arts and Design*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1990).

Anthony's work as an American illustrator and engraver for a prominent Boston publisher provides an opportunity to think about the representation of Scotland and the transatlantic communication of the Scottish landscape. In order to understand the gasp of disappointment over A.V.S. Anthony's inclusion of a train in a single illustration, we must then think about the literary and visual conventions that informed the aesthetics of Scottish landscape as well as the ways that American readers interpreted Scott's text.

During Scott's lifetime the Scottish landscape began to conform to a particular meaning and template. Discourse around landscape suggested that it extended the literary experience and represented a nation's identity. In a 1788 lecture, Joshua Reynolds equated landscape to portrait in which the composition retains:

the general effects of the countenance, than in the most minute finishing of the features, or any of the particular parts...It is presupposed that in this undetermined manner there is the general effect; enough to remind the spectator of the original; the imagination supplied the rest, and perhaps more satisfactorily to himself, if not more exactly, than the artist, with all his care could possibly have done.²¹

The Victorian critic, John Ruskin, would add to those thoughts in *Modern Painters* (1843) by asserting that the most successful landscapes depicted the qualities of a nation during the contemporary era. Landscape, like portraiture, represents an idealized composite of a nation rather than the minute detail of each possible feature.

Ruskin further reminds us that landscape is more like a language or conversation. Landscapists must learn a grammar of skills and icons in order to effectively communicate meaning and interpret history. Rather than objectively mirroring the natural

²¹ Joshua Reynolds, "Discourse 14, December 19, 1788," in *Discourses on Art* (New York: Bobbs-Merril Company, 1965), 221.

world, it is the landscapist's job to guide the view to the worthiest features and to apprise the viewer of the appropriate thoughts and emotional response to the composition.²² The iconography and syntax of landscape become tools, or as W.J.T. Mitchell has noted a medium (akin to paint or stone) for the conveyance and shaping of meaning.²³ Landscape encourages both the artist and viewer to imaginatively reshape nature — to emphasize some characteristics or values at the expense of others — regardless of what is actually present in a particular region of a country or segment of land. However, the resemblance to nature garners a sense of familiarity and allows viewers to overlook the idealization.²⁴

Since at least the seventeenth century, English literature has demonstrated a strong interest in the immersive and multi-dimensional properties of landscape. Thomas Hobbes declared that the natural state of the world is controlled and given solid form by an absolute monarch in *Leviathan: The Matter, Forme, and Power of a Common Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (1651). The frontispiece in the 1651 edition—and subsequent editions from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—features the monumental figure of a crowned monarch with its torso extending from the hills surrounding a city and filled with the outlines of miniature human figures.²⁵ Later philosophers such as John Locke and Thomas Paine refuted, refined, and added to Hobbes' work, but by the eighteenth

²² John Ruskin, *Modern Painters, volume I, The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 3, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1903), 87–90.

²³ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscapes," *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 14–15.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Horst Breidenkamp, *Leviathan: Body Politic as Visual Strategy in the Work of Thomas Hobbes*, trans. Elizabeth Clegg (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), 11–18.

century readers were grounded in the idea that land and state were shaped by political bodies imbued with power by land-owning men.

Nearly three decades later, John Bunyan published an allegory about landscape building on the work of Dante Alighieri and John Milton.²⁶ *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) described the ways character's metaphysical traits shape the landscape and the ways the landscape in turn molds the characters as they advance through a pilgrimage to the Celestial City. Bunyan's narrative follows the protagonist Christian on a journey from his home in the City of Destruction to the Celestial City. Christian begins his journey by falling into the 'Slough of Despond', thick, swampy, mud giving material form to his fears and sins. The personification of Help heaves Christian from his muddy near death experiences and allows the landscape to take further shape. From this point, the protagonist and a series of personified character traits pass through several locations on the way to the Celestial City. Christian survives ordeals, temptations, lessons in secular ethics, arrests, and other distractions on a path through the Hill of Difficulty, the Castle of Despair, Vanity Fair, and the Valley of the Shadow of Death before finally being granted a distant view of the Celestial City through a Shepherd's 'perspective glass'. At the Delectable Mountains, Christian eats from the vineyard and washes in cool river water—mirroring the sacraments of baptism and communion—before continuing the last leg of the journey through the Country of Conceit, the land of Enchanted Ground, and wading through the River of Death and finally being admitted to the Celestial City. Christian's act

²⁶ For earlier examples in European literature, see Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. and ed. Robin Kirkpatrick (New York: Penguin Books, 2013); Maura Brady, "Space and the Persistence of Place in 'Paradise Lost.'" *Milton Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (2007): 167–82, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24461820>.

of pilgrimage, survival of numerous ordeals and punishments for partaking in distractions, and guidance by the personifications of virtues shapes his character in a fashion that permits him to enter the Celestial City.

Bunyan's allegory was reprinted numerous times over the next three centuries. By the time Walter Scott was writing at the turn of the nineteenth century, publishers began to include fold out maps directly into the book block of Bunyan's texts. These maps visually outlined Christian's full path to the Celestial City, and summarize the narrative to help readers better imagine the space.²⁷ Criticism in literary magazines continued to underscore the narrative as an ideal literary work to appropriately shape the mind and character of readers.²⁸ By the early nineteenth century, Bunyan's tale of pilgrimage was firmly established as an educational tool and the personal navigation of landscape was established as a multi-sensory way of engaging with literary narrative and space.

Bunyan's narrative is also heavily invested in the idea of vision and composition of space and not only the connections between person and landscape. The telescopic 'perspective glass' Christian uses on Mount Clear in the Delectable Mountains provides a wide and condensed view of the Celestial City. The glass reveals to its holder "something like the gate, and something of the glory of the place." The gate presents a focal point, and it expands into a wider—though still limited—context. Being able to

²⁷ W. Jeffreys, "A Plan of the Road from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City adapted to the Pilgrim's Progress," ca. 1790–1800, etching, London, British Museum, https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1975-U-1140.

²⁸ *Pilgrim's Progress* continued to be so prominent throughout the nineteenth century, that many authors of fiction like William Mackepeace Thackeray and Louisa May Alcott reference content from Bunyan's allegory. See: Louisa May Alcott, "Playing Pilgrims," and "Meg Goes to Vanity Fair," *Little Women : An Annotated Edition* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2013), 1 – 16; 118 – 138.

clearly visualize and experience the city represents Christian's possession of the most accurate framework for vision. Command of that ocular framework also represents a full transformation of Christian's character by the landscape. Literature and vision inexorably link the landscape and body.

Printed atlases and maps from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries present this kind of wide and condensed view of Scottish cities. German geographer Sebastian Münster produced a stylized view of Edinburgh for the *Cosmographia* (from 1544), which situated the city's prominent architecture between the port of Leith to the north and Holyrood Park and Arthur's seat, an extinct volcanic peak to the south (**Fig. 2**).²⁹ Edinburgh is deeply condensed without many visible roads and little detail in any of the structures. The composition emphasizes the city's steep hills, elevation, and its integration between the city and surrounding landscape.

Later maps also further emphasize the correlation between the bodies and landscape. For example, *Edinburgum Scotiae Metropolis* (ca. 1589) depicts King James VI standing on a hill above Castle Rock and Edinburgh Castle and the city low in the valley (**Fig. 3**). The multiple variations in height emphasize one of the Scottish capital city's most prominent topographical features while displaying the monarchs' authority over the region, not unlike the looming figure of Hobbes' *Leviathan* from half a century later.

²⁹ Christopher Fleet, Margaret Wilkes, et. al., *Scotland: Mapping the Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2011), 102–103. George Braun and Franz Hogenberg demonstrate a similar integration of city infrastructure with landscape in 'Edinburgum Scotiae Metropolis' from the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1583), which included views of two Scottish cities - Edinburgh and St. Andrews — along with sixteen views of other cities from across England, Wales, and Ireland.

Over the next century, maps continued to maintain this sloped and slightly skewed aerial view located in *Mapiæ Scotiæ*. In the seventeenth century, town councils across Scotland began to commission Scots drafters to create more detailed maps of city infrastructure. For example, in 1647 Edinburgh's council commissioned James Gordon to produce *Bird's Eye View of Edinburgh* (**Fig. 4**). Gordon's map presents an intricate view of the city's overall organization and the minutiae of individual sections or neighborhoods. The key in the lower right identifies several major streets along with major religious and secular buildings. Irregular lines of buildings crowd the spaces between roads. In the less crowded area to the right, the map displays orderly geometric gardens in Holyrood Park and smaller parks inside and outside of the city's walls. There are no human bodies directly portrayed in this map, but the aerial view suggests that the city officials using the map possess a similar power as James overlooking the city.

Some of Gordon's other maps demonstrate Scotland's external connections more clearly. In a 1661 map of *Old and New Aberdeen* forgoes much of the minute details of buildings throughout the town to emphasize Scotland's extensive access to waterways (**Fig. 5**). The River Dee's large scale allows for detailed views of ships moving into the North Sea (*Maris Germanici Pars*), which was a crucial route for trade with Flanders and Holland.³⁰ The people included in the offset view of the city at the bottom of the map are not depicted from an aerial point of view, but the overall composition of map presents the

³⁰ Edda Frankot, "Aberdeen and the east coast of Scotland: autonomy on the periphery," *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade Around Europe 1300-1600: Commercial Networks and Urban Autonomy*, eds. Wim Blockmans, et. al. (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2017), 414–416.

city from an aerial perspective, and emphasizes the strength of Aberdeen's city council as part of Scotland and a larger network of European trade.

Bunyan's popularity along with the critiques of Reynolds and Ruskin overlapped with a period in British history when landscape painting and gardening reached new heights of popularity. Vernacular landscape outside of cartography was not a genre painted by English and Scottish artists until around the mid-eighteenth century. The Classicized pastoral landscapes of Claude Lorraine and Nicolas Poussin featuring biblical or mythological subject matter prevailed in Europe during the seventeenth century, and Netherlandish landscape paintings were prominent in Scottish and English collections.³¹

A series of changes in the eighteenth century brought new attention to Scottish land. In the 1690s and 1709, Scotland experienced widespread crop failure leading to famine. Economic instability accompanied the crop failure, and it contributed at least in part to the failure of Scotland's Darién scheme, an attempt to establish a colony in Panama.³² Further, insufficient agricultural production placed Scotland at a political disadvantage after the 1707 Acts of Union when it was unable to contribute resources for Queen Anne and then George I as they sought to expand British control of North America and the Caribbean against French and Spanish opposition.³³ Famine and Scotland's

³¹ John Barrell, *The Dark Side of Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 6–8; Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age*. London: Phaidon Press, 1986.

³² Eric Richards, "Darién and the psychology of Scottish adventurism in the 1690s," *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, ed. Andrekos Varnava (Manchester University Press, 2015), 26–31.

³³ Alexander Charles Baille, *Call of Empire: From the Highlands to Hindostan* (Montreal & London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 9–10

political reorganization as part of Britain emphasized Scotland as an economic hub to support the British Empire.

Parliament began to encourage the restructuring or improvement of Scottish estates and common grazing lands after the union, particularly in the decades following the 1745 Jacobite Uprising until the mid-nineteenth century. Large numbers of crofters were evicted and pushed from the Highlands into coastal towns, cities, and British colonies. Several estates were also foreclosed and changed ownership. Thousands of acres of land in the Lowlands and Highlands were enclosed to increase agricultural yields and increase property values. Different kinds of farming and agricultural production were also regionalized alongside the enclosure of individual estates.³⁴ Enclosure radically changed the appearance of Scotland's topography and the organization of its population.

Emphasis on the production capacity of enclosed land management led to changing valuation of the unenclosed space. The wealthy began to imbue land that appeared to be unenclosed and natural with high social value, and they spent money on portraiture and landscape gardening to reinforce those values. Outdoor conversation pieces—images of wealthy figures or families enjoying leisure time in nature—are one such sign of the idea of nature guiding human behavior.³⁵

For example, in David Allan's portrait of Sir William Erskine with his family (ca. 1788), the view of the estate is bifurcated with the men and boy children stridently

³⁴ Barbara Arneil, *Domestic Colonies: The Turn Inward to Colony* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 137–139.

³⁵ Kate Retford, *The Conversation Piece: Making Modern Art in Eighteenth-century Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

occupying the left side with Torrie house and the village Low Torry in the distant background (**Fig. 6**). Erskine's spouse and girl children placidly fill the right quarter in front of a cluster of trees. Frances Erskine sits with erect posture observing the action of her spouse, sons, and servants preparing for a hunt while patting the back of the toddler affectionately hugging her legs. Two slightly older girls sit on the ground in the lower right corner petting a rabbit and mimicking their mother's action of caring for a child.³⁶ In alignment with the background village, William looks downward at the girls while pointing towards his boys dressed for a hunt and the youngest boy leaping to grab his brother's hat adorned with a fox tail. Hunting on estates was carefully regulated by the owners and asserted ownership and power over the land.³⁷ The children likewise represent the estate's legacy. Allan's correlation of family roles with the estate's ground and animals marks the group's designated class and gender roles as a microcosm for the world's structure.

New gardening techniques assisted further in this visual and material regulation of estates throughout much of Britain. Prior to enclosure, both England and Scotland favored formal gardens arranged in geometric patterns. Gordon's maps of Edinburgh and Aberdeen (**Figs. 4 – 5**) display some pictorial evidence of this geometry with microscopic squares and dots arranged evenly in lines with a substantial space between each element.

³⁶ See other conversation pieces by David Allan to emphasize this pattern. For example, in *John Francis, 7th Earl of Mar, and Family* (ca. 1783), the male head of the household ignores a toddler yanking at his coat hem to intensely focus on his son shooting an arrow while his wife rests her hand on an older child's back. David Allen, *John Francis, 7th Earl of Mar, and Family*, oil on canvas, 150 x 211 cm, ca. 1783, National Trust for Scotland, Alloa Tower.

³⁷ Emma Griffin, *Blood sport: Hunting in Britain since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 124–140.

Further, these groupings of plants are oriented towards the estate house or park's entrance. Geometry designated a legible and spacious path for comfortable navigation of the grounds.

Alongside enclosure, the English—and later Scottish—landowners embraced a new style of landscape gardening that featured arrangements of plants and other materials organized with multiple paths and multiple points of view in mind. Rather than fences or hedgerows, gardeners used a shallow ditch to delineate the boundaries and keep livestock from wandering into the area. The variegation of the landscape facilitated the illusion of fanciful or unplanned exploration of nature.³⁸

The aesthetics of this new style of landscape were further chronicled in painting. Thomas Gainsborough in scenes like *Road Through a Wood* (1747) began applying the new principles of gardening to his composition. The forms such as a grove of knotted and gnarled trees outlines a secondary path leading the viewer down a line deeper into the woods rather than to the horizon.²⁵ No visual cues indicate that this composition represents a garden or an estate. Even Joshua Reynolds, who was notoriously reticent about the genre of landscape, regarded Gainsborough's paintings as the product of the artist's careful observations and interpretations of the vernacular English land. According to Reynolds, Gainsborough was indebted to no French, Italian, or Flemish school of

³⁸ Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 9–11.

Baroque painting or gardening. The compositions are nature for either the exploration or possession of the viewer, and a proxy for Britain's open pasture lands.³⁹

Reynolds demonstrated his support for Scottish landscape painters later in the century. In 1771, Jacob More moved from Edinburgh to London, and he exhibited a trio of paintings of the waterfalls on the River Clyde with the Incorporated Society of Artists. Reynolds purchased the painting *Falls of Clyde (Corra Linn)* that year (**Fig. 7**), which much like Gainsborough's work includes multiple pathways visually leading the viewer through the landscape. Based on this painting, Reynolds declared More to be the best landscape painter since Claude Lorrain, and helped the artist secure patronage in London before the artist's travels to Rome in the 1780s.⁴⁰ Reynolds' comment holds More above even Gainsborough, and punctuates a growing English interest in Scottish landscape.

Painting and gardening exhibit a concentrated effort to remake British landscapes. Essayists such as William Gilpin, Uvedale Price, and Richard Payne Knight observed that they made the land "picturesque" or like a picture. These men wrote observations on techniques for formulation of landscape and also guided their readers through the process of looking at landscape.⁴¹ The fact that commenters thought viewers needed assistance in guiding themselves through a composition underscores that there was nothing instinctual or natural about the landscape. As Ruskin later stated, it is a convention or a language.

³⁹ Reynolds, 215.

⁴⁰ David Irwin, "Jacob More, Neo-Classical Landscape Painter." *The Burlington Magazine* 114, no. 836 (1972): 775–79. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/877183>; Duncan Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland in the Golden Age* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1986), 137–138.

⁴¹ Uvedale Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque, As Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful; and, on the Use of Studying Pictures, for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape* (London: Printed for J. Rob, 1794, Hathitrust), 247, <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/7005815.html>.

In its most basic form, the picturesque would be defined as objects or groups of objects that presented “the kind of beauty that was agreeable in a pictures,” as Gilpin would note in his *Essay on Prints* (1768). Gilpin provides little deliberation on what precisely that means in his early commentaries. However, both he and Price would later emphasize that the picturesque was the product of active processes. Of altering the land, Gilpin noted:

Should we wish to give it picturesque beauty, we must use the mallet, instead of the chisel: we must beat down one half of it, deface the other, and throw the mutilated members around in heaps.⁴²

The artist must crush the base material and rearrange it to produce an entirely new likeness. The picturesque is not a passive process; it demands decisive action.

Other than an emphasis on an active compositional process, the observations defining the picturesque are more of a set of guidelines than a mathematical formula for replication. Gilpin determined that the picturesque resided at a median point between the terrifying expansiveness of Edmund Burke’s *Sublime* and the insipid smoothness and neatness that Burke appoints to the Beautiful. To avoid either extreme of the spectrum, the landscapist must carefully crop the composition in order to avoid overwhelming width or vastness and elements to make it appear rough, rugged, or worn.⁴³ For Gilpin, it is especially important that the artist avoid an overabundance of smooth surfaces, because it is a feature rarely found in nature and excess would engender a sense of deceit in the

⁴² William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape* (London: printed for R. Blamire, 1792), 7–8, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, <http://name.umd.umich.edu/004863369.0001.000>.

⁴³ Ibid; Price, 81–86.

viewer. Roughness can be achieved through the application of an architectural ruin, or generally making any of the surfaces appear worn, used, or traveled. He comments:

All this is true; but the *smoothness* of the whole, tho right, and as it should be in nature, offends in picture. Turn the lawn into a piece of broken ground: plant rugged oaks instead of flowering shrubs: break the edges of the walk: give it the rudeness of a road: mark it with wheel-tracks; and scatter around a few stones, and brush-wood; in a word, instead of making the whole *smooth*, make it *rough*; and you make it also *picturesque*.⁴⁴

The artist should break, plant, mark, and scatter to conceal the appearance of intentionally planned or placed objects. Lastly, the artist should alter any parts he finds offensive.

Gilpin suggests covering them with a forest, adding bush where the area is too barren and removing any “little objects” that take away too much attention from the larger composition.⁴⁵ The artist’s purpose is to unmake what they see and remake nature into a pleasing picture.

In addition to being perfected or idealized, writers on the picturesque emphasize that it should incite the viewer’s curiosity.⁴⁶ The composition should be closely cropped, but there should be devices that guide the eye through the painting or garden. Gilpin suggests that there should be ample open space, particularly in the foreground, to guide the eye to the mid and background. Sparse numbers of figures can be used at the mid-distance to give something for the eye to focus on. Paths may be included for the eye or the feet to follow, but the artist should avoid too many elements to avoid constraining the

⁴⁴ Gilpin, *Three Essays*, 1–8.

⁴⁵ Gilpin, 70–72.

⁴⁶ Price, 86.

viewer's mind or body.⁴⁷ The picturesque, much like the stereo-photography of the next century, encourages the use of tools that invite the viewer into a fiction devoid of enclosure or boundaries.

The picturesque was designed as a series of generalized guidelines for the composition of visual artworks, but Gilpin in particular applied his theories directly to the Scottish landscape during travels in the 1770s. In *Observations relative chiefly to picturesque beauty* (1776), Gilpin frequently ruminated on the proportionate dimensions of lakes, the harmonious relationships between the mountains and sky, and places where the river has rendered the landscape too smooth and beautiful. Of one view of Loch Lomond, he even commented that the numerous islands break the lake's surface, destroy all compositional unity, and made it impossible to 'admire the southern part of the lake as a picture.'⁴⁸ Gilpin applied the language of his ideal composition directly to Scottish topography as if artists had already shaped it and failed to do sufficient work.

The picturesque has its origin in English gardening and painting, but it would eventually move northward into Scotland. London and the Royal Academy served as a central location for the circulation of fashionable aesthetics and artistic education. Scottish artists, like Alexander Nasmyth, who trained in Allan Ramsay's London studio and moved and later worked mostly in Edinburgh, began making landscape views in the

⁴⁷ Price, 377.

⁴⁸ Gilpin, *Observations relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1776: on several parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-lands of Scotland* (London: printed for R. Blamire; 1789), 21–22, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, <http://name.umd.umich.edu/004864140.0001.001>.

picturesque style.⁴⁹ For example, the boundaries of Nasmyth's *Loch Katrine* (1810) are carefully framed by a group of trees to the right and the face of a cliff to the left. The foreground is marked by an empty patch of path that winds along the edge of the lake. Two figures rest on the path near the midground gazing at the lake and a building on the other side of the water guides the eye back into space toward the hazy forms of distant mountains. This composition appears to follow many conventions of the picturesque.

Both English and Scottish critics of Nasmyth's work felt that his work was subpar and composed incorrectly. The foregrounds in most of the painter's compositions were declared abhorrently similar and lacking variety. Joseph Farrington even suggested that Scotland's favor towards Nasmyth's work prevented superior English painters from establishing themselves in Scotland.⁵⁰ *The Scots Magazine* would go on to comment on the lack of variety in his work: the sameness of all the trees, rocks, and even the shape of the foregrounds. The magazine's critic noted that his work overall "lacked a characteristic touch for the different objects which he represents."⁵¹ Critics perceived the picturesque as an overwhelmingly English concept.

However, when his designs were adapted for engravings published in London for an 1842 edition of Walter Scott's work (**Fig. 8**). The wood engraver slightly reorganized some of the figures from the above scene of Loch Katrine to create a more legible

⁴⁹ Murdo Macdonald, *Scottish Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 79 – 83.

⁵⁰ John Morrison, *Painting the Nation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 79–81.

⁵¹ "On the Exhibition of Modern Paintings," *The Scots Magazine* (May 1821): 404– 411, British Newspaper Archive, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000547/18210501/003/0003?browse=true>.

picturesque composition. The major geological features surrounding the lake remain the same, but the engraving further emphasizes the act of looking at the landscape and the depth of the space. In the foreground, a pair of tartan-clad male figures gaze towards the lake rather than facing towards the foreground. The engraved male figures form a direct path deep into the mountains rather than towards the tent in the painting's right mid-ground. The engraving's characteristic linear marks lend more clarity to the foreground than most of Nasmyth's paintings. Images like these helped make the picturesque Highlands more conceptually accessible to readers, but duality of the critical responses to painting and print emphasizes the Anglo-centric framework for ideal landscape conventions.

Early reviews of *Lady of the Lake* highlighted the drawing-esque qualities of Scott's words rather than images or a lack thereof. In March 1811 the *Monthly magazine* commented:

The liveliest fancy can only call forth those images which are already stored up in the memory; and all that invention can do is to unite these into new combinations, which must appear confused and ill defined, if the impressions originally received by the senses were deficient in strength and distinctness. It is because Mr. Scott usually delineates those objects with which he is perfectly familiar that his touch is so easy, correct, and animated. The rocks, the ravines, and the torrents which he exhibits, are not the imperfect sketches of a hurried traveller, but the finished studies of a resident artist, deliberately drawn from different points of view; each has its true shape and position; it is a portrait; it has its name by which the spectator is invited to examine the exactness of the resemblance.⁵²

⁵² "Art. XVII. The Lady of the Lake, a Poem," *The Quarterly review* 3, no. 6 (May 1810): 513.

Scott's familiarity with the lands — according to the reviewer — makes it possible for the author to create such defined word drawings. A mere tourist or visitor is unlikely to gain solid enough familiarity through their short time, but Scott's are designed with such precision and clear sense of perspective and direction that the reader can locate the space and compare it with their view for accuracy. Beyond a piece of literature, it's presented quite literally as a map to guide the reader to their destination.

Critics of *Lady of the Lake* also considered more broadly the ways Scott's poem and pictorial illustrations of the poem presented nature. The first illustration edition appeared in 1811 with designs drawn by Richard Westall and engraved by Charles Heath. Westall's designs were much advertised for their availability as both a portfolio and printed in published book blocks, but they received little in-depth published attention. The limited available comments particularly emphasize that Westall was too much of a mannerist with a distinct drawing style that incorrectly corresponded to Scott's words.⁵³ Westall's work is only saved through their translation into In the March 1811 issue, the *Monthly magazine* commented:

... Mr. Westall has too long given up the study of nature for the ideal world of his own creation; not so furious indeed as that of Mr. Fuseli, but equally monotonous, and that of a worse description— cloying or insipid. The designs appear done in much haste, and not in the best manner of the artist; who can, when he will, produce pictorial loveliness and luxuriousness in all its splendor ... The first print (Ellen in her Boat) is decidedly the best: the attitude is appropriate, the figure charming and lovely, and is the very Ellen of the poet, But candor impels us to say, that, comparing the drawing with the print, the draftsman is under infinite

⁵³ "The Lady of the Lake; a Poem by Walter Scott, Esq. illustrated with Engravings from the Designs of R. Westall, Esq.," *Monthly magazine, or British register* 31, no. 210 (March 1811): 166.

obligations to the engraver, who has produced one of the sweetest prints that has emanated from the burin of modern art.⁵⁴

According to the author, the engraver Charles Heath has taken ‘cloying’ and overly idealized designs and produced a product that is ‘appropriate’, ‘charming’, ‘lovely’, and perhaps most importantly, the engraving accurately matches Scott’s words. Westall was much praised throughout his career for his skill in adapting the words of artists, and Scott carefully managed the selection of artists and engravers of several editions published during his lifetime, but this example highlights the importance of Scott’s words in understanding the poetry’s content and interpretation.

Scott was deeply engaged with the picturesque. He was especially cognizant of his relationships to land and space. In memoirs published in the decade after his death in 1832, Scott bemoans the inadequacy of his drawing skills and ability to recreate the perspective and other compositional techniques required of picturesque landscape, and says he was eventually able to replicate some sense of these visual techniques in the words of his poetry through much study.⁵⁵ Scott’s reflections indicate both his interest in the subject and the fact that drawing, drawing in a picturesque mode, and recognizing the picturesque are all learned skills used to create the sensation of experiencing an unmodified land. The picturesque demands decisive action of the artist, viewer, and reader.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart* vol. 1, 2nd ed (London: Robert Cadell, 1839), 15.

Scott's *Lady of the Lake* encourages the exploration of the geographical space of the Trossachs and Loch Katrine over the course of six cantos that span six days. The text opens by announcing that the reader will be observing the remnants of the, "ancient days of Caledon," when songs of minstrels "bid a warrior smile," and could "teach a maid to weep." After the initial establishment of era and location, the reader follows a stag—rather than the actions of human characters—for several verses. The stag races through the land and allows the reader to experience a variety of landscape features, such as "a rocky way", glens, dales hills, and cairns. Eventually a clan chief, a horseman, and several dogs give chase to the animal, but the text continues to focus on the actions of the stag and the excitement of the dogs in the landscape rather than the human actions. The poem's structure helps the reader gain familiarity with the literary environment.

Scott further ruminated on how landscape and scenery function for him in his memoirs. He commented:

... but show me an old castle of a field of battle, and I was home at once, filled it with its combatants in their proper costume, and overwhelmed my hearers by the enthusiasm of my description. In crossing Magus Moor, near St. Andrews, the spirit moved me to give a picture of the assassination of the Archbishop of St. Andrews to some fellow-travellers with whom I was accidentally associated, and one of them, though well acquainted with the story, protested my narrative had frightened away his night's sleep.⁵⁶

For Scott, the battlefield and moor become platforms for imagined interpretations of historical events. The author populates the field with fully costumed soldiers and envisions an assassination at Magus moor. His recounting of these imagined theatrical

⁵⁶ Ibid.

performances is so vivid that he scares one of the travelers with him. The landscape that a traveler associates with an historical narrative simultaneously holds Scott as a contemporary viewer along with his active images of the past.

American authors would reference this layering of reader and landscape into the space and time in travel narratives and novels during and after Scott's lifetime.

Washington Irving provides one of the earliest of such accounts in his 1817 trip to Scott's home in Abbotsford. In *The Crayon Miscellany* (1835), Irving noted:

The fictions of Scott had become fact with honest Johnny Bower. From constantly living among the ruins of Melrose Abbey, and pointing out the scenes of the poem, Lay of the Last Minstrel had, in a manner, become interwoven with his whole existence, and I doubt whether he did not now and then mix up his own identity with the personages of some of its cantos.⁵⁷

Irving refers to one of Scott's earlier poems, but it follows a similar format to *Lady of the Lake*. For Irving, study of history, and narrating that history creates intimacy with physical space. Repetition over time reinforces and transforms the nineteenth-century landscape into a meticulously staged historical space and the historian even temporarily assumes the identity of the historical characters. Landscape becomes a fully immersive space through literature and history.

Other American authors like Henry James and Kate Douglass Wiggin applied the idea of Scott's literature more generally to their travels and the concept of leisure travelers in Edinburgh, Scotland's capital city. Writing about tourists' habits during an 1878 trip to Scotland, James commented:

⁵⁷ Washington Irving, "Abbotsford," *The Crayon Miscellany*, The Author's Revised Edition (New York: G. P. Putnam and Son, 1868), 243–323.

Of course all the Englishmen who cross the Tweed have not paid a thousand pounds down as the basis of their entertainment, though the number of gentlemen who have permitted themselves this fancy appears to be astonishing. Tourists of the more vulgar pattern, who have simply come to enjoy the beauties of nature and to read the quotations, in the guide books from Sir Walter Scott, are extremely numerous...⁵⁸

James does not comment on the staging of events. Rather, he describes tourists as entertaining the “vulgar” habit of coming to Scotland to enjoy nature as framed by the quotations from Scott’s picturesque word sketches. The widespread popularity of Scott’s work beginning in the early nineteenth century created a whole framework for the experience and navigation of landscape, and we see in the association of quotation with specific locations, a less invasive version of the transformation described by Irving.

Kate Douglas Wiggin wrote further on the habits of tourists and how they create associations with Scotland. In her novel, *Penelope’s Progress* (1898), she narrated a scene in which the characters buy copies of Scott’s poetry, tam-shaped purses, thistle accessories, and models of Burns’s cottage. After they mailed everything back to friends and family at home, Penelope collapses on the steps of Scott’s monument and ruminates:

...I sat down upon the steps of the Scott monument and watched the passersby in a sort of waking dream. I suppose they were the usual professors and doctors and ministers who are wont to walk up and down the Edinburgh streets, with a sprinkling of lairds and leddies of high degree and a few Americans looking at the shop windows to choose their clan tartans; but for me they did not exist. In their places stalked the ghosts of kings and queens and knights and nobles; Columba, Abbot of Iona; Queen Margaret and Malcolm — she the sweetest stain in all the throng; King David riding towards Drumsheugh forest on Holy Rood day, with

⁵⁸ Henry James, “In Scotland, Edinburgh, September 25, 1878,” *Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America* (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993), 298–99. This essay was also published in *The National* during 1878.

his horns and hounds and huntsmen following close behind; Anne of Denmark and Jingly Geordi; Mary Stuart in all her girlish beauty, with the four Maries in her train; and lurking behind, Bothwell, “that ‘ower sune stepfaither,’ and the murdered Rizzio and Darnley; John Knox in his black Geneva cloak; Bonnie Prince Charlie and Flora MacDonalds; lovely Annabella Drummond; Robert the Bruce ... Behind them, regardless of precedence came the Ploughman Poet and the Ettrick Shepherd, Boswell and Dr. Johnson, Dr. John Brown and Thomas Carlyle, Lady Nairne and Drummond of Hawthornden, Allan Ramsay and Sir Walter; and is it not a proof of the Wizard’s magic art, that side by side with the wraiths of these real people walked, or seemed to walk, the Fair Maid of Perth, Jeanie Deans, Meg Merrilies, Guy Mannering, Ellen, Marmion, and a host of others so sweetly familiar and so humanly dear that the very street-laddies could have named and greeted them as they passed by?”⁵⁹

Penelope occupies a space that simultaneously holds the contemporary tourists walking around Edinburgh and the materialized ghosts of historical Scottish figures from a range of time periods from Robert the Bruce and Prince Charles Edward Stuart to the more recently deceased author Thomas Carlyle. Characters from Scott’s work—including Ellen Douglas, a central character from *Lady of the Lake* — join the non-fictional apparitions. Printers and publishers reproducing Scott’s writing in a variety of material formats created familiarity with the author’s work and the Scottish landscape through intense repetition. As a result, Scott’s writing created a new framework for experiencing and viewing rooted in contemporary experiences layered with Scottish history.

⁵⁹ Kate Douglas Wiggin, *Penelope’s Progress: Being Such Extracts from the Commonplace Book of Penelope Hamilton as Relate to Her Experiences in Scotland* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1897; Project Gutenberg, 2009), 30–32, <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/28877/pg28877.html>

Scott-ish Character

A dialogue around national character, land, and gender surround *Lady of the Lake*'s publication. Reviewers of *Lady of the Lake* carefully outlined the character of Scott's personages by gender and also focused broadly on the character of the Highlands. Scott's reviewers established a system of foils in which Roderick Dhu—representing the Highlands—is wild, reckless, and violent. Lowlander James is even-tempered and intelligent.⁶⁰ Scott presents Ellen as a transient intermediary who is kind and orderly, and ultimately brings balance in the form of peace between the Lowlands and Highlands. Ellen's body and orderly character physically represents the geographical and political unification of Scotland.

Scott's language around masculinity mirrors that of travelers to Scotland beginning after the 1707 unification of Scotland with England. For England, and the British Parliament, Scottish land represented something other than control of a people. It indicated new resources. Enclosure, much like it had in England, increased agricultural production. Yet even before the Uprising, a push for widespread enclosure by the English focused intently on the material resources Scotland had to offer. Daniel Defoe—an English novelist, journalist, and spy, who resided in Scotland during the decades following the country's incorporation into Britain—summarized English enthusiasm for Scottish resources in observations first published in 1726 and republished several times throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Defoe noted:

⁶⁰“ART. XVII. The Lady of the Lake, a Poem,” *The Quarterly Review* (May 1810): 499–501.

Those who fancy there are but wild men and ragged mountains, storms, snows, poverty and barrenness, are much mistaken: it being a noble country, of a fruitful soil and healthy air, well seated for trade, full of manufacturers by land, and a treasure great as the Indies at their door by sea.⁶¹

Defoe associated wildness and poverty with an unpleasant, cold, and unproductive landscape, but suggested that the resources—like those of the Caribbean plantation colonies—were appropriate for trade and manufacturing. In his analysis of taste and the picturesque, Richard Payne Knight notes a similar association between landscape and valuable material possession. He noted:

Love may be extinct, and friendship buried in the grave with deceased contemporaries: but, nevertheless, both will be replaced by habitual attachment to inanimate objects: —to the trees, that we have planted or protect: —to the lands, that we have purchased or improved: —to the books, that we have studied or admired: — to the curiosities, that we have collected or valued:—and even to the money that we have amassed.⁶²

The land, coal, and iron ore are just one more thing to own and admire. By visiting or viewing images of the pristine Scottish landscape one could observe land representing the transition from a violent and unenlightened society into a docile region with vast potential to support the Empire.⁶³

Emigration was seen as one way to correct the poor Scottish character, especially Highland character. During the early phases of the Jacobite Uprisings, Clearances, and

⁶¹ Daniel Defoe cited in “The Rise and Progress of the Scottish Tourist (1727),” republished in the *North British Review* 42, March 1865, 10. These statements, and others regarding Scotland, were published in a volume containing his collected works and memoirs: *The Works of Daniel Defoe with a Memoir of his Life and Writings* (London, Little Putney St.: John Clements, 1840).

⁶² Richard Payne Knight, *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (London, 1805), 463.

⁶³ Grenier, “Land of the Mountain and Flood: tourists and the natural world,” in *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770–1914: Creating Caledonia* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 95–136.

enclosure, many Scots immigrated to North America either directly from Britain or via Ulster, Ireland.⁶⁴ As early as 1800, journalists in the United States suggested that Scottish poverty and wildness stemmed from an incorrect relationship to the land that was fostered by the crowded conditions in the Highlands. Being able to occupy land in rural or frontier areas of North America and developing the housing and agricultural infrastructure allowed Scots to develop the proper relationship with the land.⁶⁵ The solution to Scottish moral and financial poverty was to roughly mimic the structural process of enclosure and land improvement happening in Britain.

In Scotland, periodicals documented public debate about whether Highlanders could be reformed and the best means to achieve that goal. Articles and reader opinion letters suggested that emigration would be unnecessary if landlords had given crofters good leases and sufficient time to make necessary improvements.⁶⁶ Other magazines gave examples of how working the land successfully produced the desired results. In the summer of 1801, *The Farmer's Magazine* noted:

In no part of Britain have greater improvements been made upon the soil, than in the vicinity of Aberdeen; and, what to some may appear surprising, these have been chiefly executed by persons, not trained up to agriculture, but whose early life was devoted to the purposes of trade and manufactures. These cultivators may be justly ranked as friends to the human race; they have given funds for the

⁶⁴ Collin Woodard, "Founding Greater Appalachia," *American Nations: A History of the Eleven Rival Regional Cultures of North America* (New York: Viking, 2011), 101–103.

⁶⁵ "On Scottish Emigration To America, And Lord Selkirk's Canadian Colony," *The Literary Magazine, and American Register* 5, no. 33 (June 18, 1806): 446–57. For discussion of Scots as a buffer between Anglo-American cities and settlements and the frontier, see: David Hackett Fischer, "Borderlands to the Backcountry: The Flight from North Britain, 1717–1775," *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 654–655.

⁶⁶ Alexander Irvine, "Causes Of Emigration from the Highlands," *The Scots Magazine* 65 (April 1803): 267–69; A Constant Reader, "Remarks on Mr. Laurie's Letter Concerning Emigration from the Highlands of Scotland," *The Farmer's magazine* 10, no. 38 (June 1809): 165.

subsistence of mankind, from whence none were driven in former times, and increased the national stock in its most permanent branch. In fact, no agricultural enterprise appears too hard for an Aberdonian. Rocks have been blown, large stones dug up and carried off, the soil trenched, and lime and dung applied, where the hand of sterility formerly ruled, and where nothing was to be seen but barrenness and poverty. It is with pleasure we notice, that the reward has been in proportion to the merit of these extraordinary exertions, and that rents from 3^l. To 4^l. per acre are now produced, where scarcely 1s. was paid prior to these improvements. In the hands of Aberdeen, the wastelands of England would be fund from whence more wealth could be drawn, than from the mines of Mexico and Peru united; yet John Bull staggers, when the cultivation of these wastes is mentioned, and pleads established usage, as an excuse for leaving them in their present unproductive state.⁶⁷

The author frames infinite possibilities of this improved Aberdonian land by its earning potential. Rent has increased around sixty times from one shilling per acre to at least three pounds sterling (or sixty shillings per acre). The author posits that this same level of effort could be applied to unused English land to improve earnings beyond the yield from Peru and Mexico. The essay doesn't acknowledge earlier Scottish character traits. These workers who lacked previous experience in agricultural labor are so industrious that they've corrected the barren and sterile land that Defoe previously associated with wildness and poverty. Optimal productivity erases many previous flaws.

Other sources suggested that the lack of industry and ingenuity in Highlander tenants was beyond correction. According to one article in the *Caledonian Mercury*, the landlords who are "patriotic Gentlemen of the Highlands" deserved to charge rents equal to the land's full earning potential, and idle tenants who refused to adopt improved

⁶⁷ "Sketch of a Tour through the Northern Counties of Scotland," *The Farmer's Magazine*; Edinburgh 2, no. 7 (August 1801): 283 – 94.

techniques to afford properly valued rent should expect to be evicted.⁶⁸ According to the newspaper, if improved lease conditions were the only thing necessary to correct Highland character, the Irish would now be less indolent. Further, the increased growing production was necessary to feed and clothe the British Empire in the ongoing wars with France and continuing expansion in India and the Caribbean.

Many of these comments regarding agricultural labor focus directly on the bodies of men. However, women—and particularly Ellen Douglas—perform an active role in the peaceful resolution of Scott's narrative. Ellen's favor from King James and her request to end her father's exile leads to Clan Douglas's return to court and the resolution of the men's violent tempers. Meanwhile, Ellen's marriage to a knight in James' service unifies the Highland and Lowland Scots. Ellen's character and body represents political balance and unification of Scotland's geographical regions.

Overlapping with Scott's career, a number of Scottish women published novels expressly about the character of upper class Scottish and English women. Novels like Elizabeth Hamilton's *Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808), Mary Brunton's *Discipline* (1814), and Susan Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818) compare Scottish and English mannerisms and fashions through the process of travel between the two countries. Women's domestic labor as transmuted via England transformed Scottish character, home, and estate grounds. Each of these examples was reprinted numerous times into the late nineteenth

⁶⁸ "To the Printer of the Caledonian Mercury," *The Caledonian Mercury*, no. 12, 626 (August 14, 1802): 3, *British Newspaper Archive*, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000045/18020814/001/0001?browse=true>.

century. These prominent novels provide a lens into the idealization of women and Scottish land that might be overlooked with only narrow focus on agricultural content.

Elizabeth Hamilton's *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* concerns the widowed Mrs. Mason returning to Scotland to be the housekeeper for the MacClarty family. Mrs. Mason's efforts to reform the filth and the household's poor economy result in changes to character of the entire town. In this example of what Ian Duncan has labeled the first known example of the "Scottish school of domestic national fiction", the character of the home unit directly informs the character of the region and the nation.⁶⁹

Reviews for dozens of editions from fifty years of publication confirm the novel's moral and didactic qualities. For example, in September 1808 a reviewer for *The Scots Magazine* said of the novel:

This little work, with its ingenious satire on certain parts of our national character, has excited an extraordinary sensation in this metropolis [Edinburgh]. The charges which it advances are such as we have been long accustomed to hear from our English neighbours, and have, through custom, become somewhat callous to. But his is the first time that the attack has been made by one of ourselves, and by one who appears to be intimately acquainted with all the *penetralia* of our household economy. When so strong a part of the garrison is thus found co-operating with the enemy, there seems reason to apprehend that the fortress of national prejudice will not be long able to hold out.⁷⁰

The reviewer goes on to mention that poor hygiene and lack of industry impact the entirety of household management and particularly how it leads to a weak and shameful indulgence of children. However, these poor behaviors have been largely eliminated in

⁶⁹ Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 79.

⁷⁰ "II. The Cottagers of Glenburnie, a Tale for the Farmer's Ingle-Nook," *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* (September 1808): 678–679.

“the more cultivated parts of the country” thanks to the novel.⁷¹ The reviewer describes Scots in military terms as a garrison of troops deployed to defend the border and character against insult from the English “neighbor” and later the English “enemy”. However, when one identified as Scottish or—“one of ourselves”—corroborates this negative opinion, the reviewer wonders if it is perhaps time to break rank and make the suggested changes.

London reviewers responded in a similar manner to the great improvements this book made possible for Scotland, but they also note the broad sweeping accessibility of the novel’s content. *The Literary Panorama* announced in 1816 that *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* was:

a lively, humorous picture of the slovenly habits, the indolent *winna-be-fashed* temper, the baneful content which prevails some of the lower class of the people parts of Scotland. It is a proof of the great merit of this book, that it has, in spite of the Scottish dialect with which it abounds, been universally read in England and Ireland, as well as in Scotland. It is a faithful representation of human nature in general, as well as of local manners and customs: the maxims of economy and industry, the principles of thrush, justice, and family affection and religion, which it inculcates by striking examples, and by exquisite strokes of pathos, mixed with humour, are independent of all local peculiarity of manner or language, and operate upon the feeling of every class of readers in all countries...In Ireland, in particular, the history of the Cottagers of Glenburnie has been read with peculiar avidity, and it has probably done as much good to the Irish as to the Scotch.⁷²

The author notes that the book appeals widely to readers in England, Scotland, and Ireland in spite of Hamilton’s use of Scots language. The novel especially appeals to the Irish because the Scots are more like the Irish, without reference to Scotland’s history of

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² “Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton,” *The Literary Panorama* 5, no. 26 (November 18, 1816): 1671. Similar texts were also published in non-literary publications. See also: “Character and Writings of Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton,” *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (December 17, 1816): 632 – 624.

colonizing Ireland. The review counts it as a beneficial text, but only to the Scots and Irish. Similarly, the Scottish reviewer makes no mention of the text improving English manners.

Likewise, the Scottish novelist and travel writer Elizabeth Isabella Spence reported on the great debt that Scotland owed to Hamilton. She noted:

Poverty and dirt no longer excited disgust. The visible change for the better, is most grateful to the eye, and pleasant to the feelings in the progress of improvement. The neat cottages of the poor are now built of good substantial stone of the bounty, finished with slate, instead of thatched roofs, and sashed window, which admit the light of heaven. The dunghill before the door has disappeared, and rural gardens, with fruit-trees and flowers, embellish the walls. How greatly are the lower class indebted to Mrs. Hamilton, for the “Cottagers of Glenburnie,” which has tended to effect such a happy change amongst that community of people that must ensure not merely comfort, but health.⁷³

For Spence, the impacts of progress in hygiene and manners created pleasant effects on the eye and feelings. Further, the novel inspired substantial improvements to infrastructure with houses now being built with sturdy stone and slate and a “dunghill” being replaced by orchards and gardens. The whole of these changes suggests that Scottish poverty is ennobled rather than disgusting, and the whole of Scotland is now becoming more orderly and formulaic for the eye to understand, much like earlier efforts of mapping Scotland. Hamilton’s literature does not center descriptions of landscape to the extent of Walter Scott. Hamilton does discuss at length the status of various home interiors and the work that happens in urban and suburban Scottish homes, and critics still

⁷³ Elizabeth Isabella Spence, “Letters from the North Highlands,” *Women’s Travel Writing in Scotland*, vol 4, eds. Kirsteen McCue and Pam Perkins (1816, New York: Routledge, 2017), 31 – 32.

used the novel to frame national character and improvements to character as something that could be experienced visually through an orderly and formulaic domestic landscape.

Overall, these contemporary reviews and interpretations of Hamilton's text largely speak about the application or benefit of the text on a national level. The text acts as a useful example and then readers apply the example to improve the whole. In *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Women's Writing*, Glenda Norquay notes that the gendered language of work provides a template for the nation.⁷⁴ *Cottagers* is authored by a woman and the narrative revolves around women and family. The de-feminized language found in the criticism of the novel and related to improvement of the nation doubly conceals the feminine labors in the language of barrenness and sterility surrounding the pre-enclosure landscape.

We see further evidence of that erasure of labor and development of family and nation at the expense of individual character in one of the limited articles about Scotswomen as agricultural laborers. The author of an account in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* from 1836, commented that American travelers had observed—upon seeing Scottish women working in the fields—that British men had degraded them to the level of enslaved Black people on plantations in the U.S. The author suggests that this is a gross misunderstanding of the work in the improved agricultural system, and responded that:

⁷⁴ Glenda Norquay, "Introduction," *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Women's Writing*, ed. Glenda Norquay (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 1–10.

...the number of peasantry is exceedingly limited, by the wise policy of an enlargement of farms, and the conducting of the manufacture of corn at the smallest possible expense. By this arrangement, the community are supplied with bread at an exceedingly low price. According to the plan pursued, there are no idlers among our rural population. All work; at least all know that if they do not work, they must starve; for we have no work houses in the country districts; and is only the extremely aged and impotent who receive relief from the parishes. Now, sir, the women ... are grown-up daughters of ploughman and other farm-servants, who either cannot get situations as domestics in country gentlemen's or farmers' houses, or who prefer field-labour, or out-work as they call it, to a confinement in other persons' households. Perhaps some of them have bedridden fathers or mothers, whom they delight in attending upon during the hours of remission from toil, and thus supporting them by their industry, instead of leaving them to fall a burden upon the public. Surely this is a commendable act of filial duty, not an act to be visited with opprobrium. Others are young widows with small families dependent upon them. They also detest the idea of parochial aid: and how are they to employ themselves but by any kind of honest labour that offers?⁷⁵

The author completes their statement by describing companionable glee and wit to rival any found in the drawing rooms of wealthy Scots.⁷⁶ Women who are described as being unsuitable for other kinds of paid domestic labor in other households can provide for their families through this honest work. Aid from the church parish—or “the public”—is framed as reprehensible and dishonest. Such resources must be avoided unless a person's body is so infirm and aged that work is impossible. Women's labor sustains their families much as the wealthy figures in Nasmyth's earlier conversation pieces.

However, the women described in this meager subsistence living do not exchange their labor for wealth and elevated character. The author notes that the land and

⁷⁵ “Thoughts on Commonplace Subjects,” *Chambers' Edinburgh journal*, no. 252 (Nov 26, 1836): 351–352.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

agricultural methods have been improved over the last sixty years and now laborers maintain the production levels. The poor women are the beneficiaries of the land via wages, cheap bread, and not being perceived as a burden by their parishes. The work and land prevent the failing of personal and filial character, rather than improving of character or economic status.

Leisure travel experiences reframe these manual skills in a visual manner. Queen Victoria wrote extensively about her travels in Scotland during holidays to Balmoral in the 1840s and 50s. She particularly focused on the appearances of the residents. For example, on September 1, 1842, she recorded:

The country and people have quite a different character from *England* and the English. The old women wear close caps, and all the children and girls are bare-footed. I saw several handsome girls and children with long hair; indeed all the poor girls from sixteen and seventeen down to two or three years old, have loose flowing hair; a great deal of it red.⁷⁷

She also commented on the following day that:

Albert says that many of the people look like Germans. The old women with that kind of cap which they call a “mutch,” and the young girls and children with flowing hair, and many of them pretty, are very picturesque; you hardly see any women with bonnets.⁷⁸

The women are handsome, pretty, and picturesque. Victoria is cognizant of the differences between Scottish and English dress, but they’re largely removed from the judgement of duty to family and the larger framework of labor. The Queen writes about them primarily an element of her larger visual experience.

⁷⁷ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, “First Visit to Scotland, 29 Aug. 1842,” *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*, from 1848 to 1861 (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1868; *HathiTrust*, 2011), 5 – 6, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002001723692>.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Throughout the journal's entries, she frequently refers to various views and arrangements of elements as picturesque. For example, of Balmoral she noted:

We arrived at Balmoral at a quarter to three. It is a pretty little castle in the old Scottish style. There is a picturesque tower and garden in front, with a high wooded hill; at the back there is wood down to the Dee., and the hills rise all around.⁷⁹

And in another location, she noted:

I wish an artist could have been there to sketch the scene; it was so picturesque—the boat, the net, and the people in their kilts in the water and on the shore...the lights were beautiful.⁸⁰

Here the picturesque is something that the figures or landscape features already possess.

The tower and garden are picturesque, and she wishes an artist could sketch the scene before her eyes *because* it is picturesque. For Victoria, the picturesque is a quality imbued into the land or architecture rather than something an artist actively creates.

The queen even treats manual labor differently than other commentary. For example, on September 12, 1842, she observed:

We walked on, to a cornfield where a number of women were cutting and reaping the oats ("shearing" as they call it in *Scotland*), with a splendid view of the hills before us, so rural and romantic, so unlike our daily *Windsor* walk (delightful as that is); and this change does such good: as Albert observes, it refreshes one for a long time. We then went into the kitchen-garden, and to a walk from which there is a magnificent view. This mixture of great wildness and art is perfection.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, "First Impressions of Balmoral, 8 September 1848," *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands*, from 1848 to 1861 (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1868; *HathiTrust*, 2011), 65–66.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

The women threshing oats become an afterthought for the Queen during the trip to the impressive view. The laboring figures become like the small scale staffage figures that Gilpin suggests are one way to guide a viewer into the landscape. They're integral to the composition's unity and structural integrity, but they are not the focal point.

The orderly labor and cultivated field counterbalance the wildness of the surrounding scenery. Scotland's landscape retains much of the wildness of Defoe's eighteenth-century comments, but it is no longer entwined with the idleness and impoverished status of the Scots. This wildness is in fact beneficial and refreshing to the leisure traveler. When balanced by high productivity, it's not necessarily a threat to British values.⁸² During a little more than a century, the aesthetic language of landscape compressed Scottish character and agricultural labor into an orderly framework that made it possible for visitors to disconnect the political and economic circumstances from the visual experience of Scotland.

Learning the nation through Armchair Tourism

Around the mid-nineteenth century, technology, new infrastructure, and advertising further enhanced the spatial compression and reframing of Scotland as a visual experience. Railroads crossed through Scotland and from Scotland to England by the 1840s. Hotel and other hospitality infrastructure such as tour guidebooks and arranged travel packages supported growing numbers of travelers at an increasing range

⁸² For an overview of the ways the Lowland periodical press continues to perpetuate negative ideas about Highland Scots, see: Krisztina Fenyő, *Contempt, Sympathy, and Romance : Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances during the Famine Years, 1845-1855*. Tuckwell Press, 2000.

of budget points. Travel still required disposable income and leisure time, but Scotland and its much-lauded Highland views were more physically accessible than ever with less transit time.⁸³

Shifting attitudes about the relationship between print and travel also facilitated greater access to Scotland. Prints, maps, atlases, and guidebooks had been an established part of the Grand Tour since the eighteenth century. They functioned as educational aids, signs of status, and souvenirs.⁸⁴ In the mid-1830s, reviews of new print portfolios of landscapes associated with Scott's literature, and reviews of print portfolios and illustrated guides such as *Swan's Select Views of Scotland*, positioned the print as a conceptual way to travel from the reader's room or parlor. A reviewer in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, a prominent publication that was read by both residents and visitors, commented:

Our walking days are over; and as we could never bear the thought of journeying after any other fashion, we cannot help comparing ourselves with our land-tortoise, at this moment sunning himself in our back-green, nor ever wishing to quit the enclosure in which his old age finds a home. A cloud conceals the sun — and he crawls to his couch — we to our chair. ... Yes! All we have to do is to let down their lids — to will what our eyes shall see — and, lo! there it is — a creation! Day dawns, and for our delight—in soft illumination from the dim obscure — floats slowly up a visionary loch — island after island evolving itself into settled stateliness above its trembling shadow, till, from the overpowering beauty of the wide confusion of woods and waters, we seek relief, but find none, in gazing on the sky—for the east is in all the glory of sunrise, and the heads and

⁸³ Grenier, 58 – 62.

⁸⁴ Iain Gordon Brown, "Scotland and Italy: Books and the Grand Tour," *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*. The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, eds. Warren McDougall and Stephen W. Brown. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 234 – 236.

the names of the mountain are uncertain among the gorgeous colouring of the clouds. Would that we were a painter!⁸⁵

Viewers no longer required extended trips to Scotland to see everything. They could now languidly crawl to a chair, and through the power of descriptive print, sensorial language, and their own minds, they could travel to distant locations through the restful and nap-like experience of reading a book. The language of printed images joined picturesque landscape aesthetics and travel infrastructure to form a massive network of ideas about the visual navigation of Scotland.

Extensively illustrated editions of Scott's poetry joined these other printed materials. London publisher A.W. Bennet and Boston publisher J.R. Osgood received particular attention for the ways their editions represented the nation. In the 1860s and early 1870s, London's A.W. Bennet published editions of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion*, and *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Advertising and reviews throughout periodicals declared photography to be a medium uniquely suited to the accurate display of Scott's poetry and an ideal means to familiarize oneself with the nation. Reviews repeatedly highlighted J.R. Osgood's 1882 edition of *Lady of the Lake* as a way for people to intimately connect to Scotland and Scottish heritage even if one was unable to ever make the journey across the Atlantic Ocean. A reviewer in *The American Bookseller* commented on the edition's further value, noting:

⁸⁵ Swan's Select Views of the Lakes of Scotland," ed. Alexander Blackwood. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 39, no. 245 (March 1836): 284 – 295. For another discussion of armchair tourism, see: "Recent Travellers." *Bentley's Miscellany* 30, (1851): 99, *British Periodicals*. <https://libproxy.unm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/recent-travellers/docview/1310866622/se-2?accountid=14613>. University of Edinburgh, "Corson Collection," *Walter Scott Digital Archive* <http://www.walter-scott.lib.ed.ac.uk/imdata.html> provides a range of travel prints related to Scott's poetry and novels.

As regards scenery and correctness of costumes, therefore, the present edition will surpass all others, and be specially sought by admirers of the poem of the Wizard [Scott], and by readers whose family traditions tell of stirring scenes in the Highlands. It is hardly possible to give an adequate idea of the beauty of the wood-cuts which crowd the volume; views of peaceful lakes, wild scenes in the Celtic Highlands, and meetings of Highlander and Saxon, the whole forming a series of engravings which perfectly illustrate the course of the poem.⁸⁶

The trade publication praises the edition's contents and the technical properties of the woodcut illustrations. The printed images are integral to the clear understanding of the poem, and they make possible the connection to an island on the other side of the Atlantic. Illustration compressed the distance and time between home and destination without ever needing to make travel arrangements.

Illustrative content and compositions indicate a framework for how the armchair tourist is supposed to navigate the literature and the nation. Image order in A.W. Bennet's edition of *Lady of the Lake* offers cues for how readers should approach Scott's narrative. Thirteen of fourteen images feature expansive landscape views made by Thomas Ogle. However, the title-page image by George Washington Wilson focuses on a tightly cropped ruin of Dryburgh Abbey where Scott was buried (**Fig. 9**). The composition directs the reader through an archway of architecture and foliage to a small male figure in the background. He stands casually with legs crossed; hat to his side, turned away from the viewer, he is wholly absorbed in the act of looking at Scott's tomb, which is obscured by a fence. Scott died about two decades before Bennett's publication of his work. Yet the crumbling stone and overgrown grass create a sense of age. Before turning additional

⁸⁶ "Illustrated Books for the Holidays," *The American Bookseller: A Semi-Monthly Journal Devoted to the Interests of the Book, Stationery, News, and Music Trades* (1876-1891) 13, no. 23 (December 1, 1882): 723.

pages, the reader knows that they are being invited to examine the fragments of the past as an antiquarian or tourist looking at a tightly structured composition offering the illusion that Scotland is unaffected by contemporary infrastructure changes.

Image placement further impacts the way a reader handles the text. Scott's text firmly establishes the landscape before Ogle interjects an image beyond the Wilson's title page. The image follows the stag's harrowing escape from a hunter. Unable to catch his breath, the horseman takes a break and watches his prey swim across a lake. After this encounter, the reader turns a page and views *The Brig of Turk* (**Fig. 10**). Ogle's photo illustrates none of the narrative action; there is a bridge and lake, but no stag, horse, or rider. The landscape creates a stage for readers to pause and consider the landscape; to imagine the events unfolding on the bridge, or to imagine taking part in the events. The placement of the image encourages readers to take a pause like the horseman, but the limitations of visual and textual description leave the contents of that pause at the discretion of the viewer.

The composition of text and illustration also creates distance between the narrative and reader. The hunt eventually continues with another fatiguing chase, and the dogs lead the hunter to a canopy of trees. Under the protection of the trees, the figure peers out onto the lake and sees a woman rowing a skiff to a small island. Accompanying this event is the image *Ellen's Isle* (**Fig. 11**). In this instance the title suggests a direct connection to the narrative by naming the image after the female character, whose name the reader learns in later verses. The composition itself lacks narrative figures or actions.

Instead of revealing a boat on the water, this image provides a view of an island in the center and a foliated foreground for the viewer to peer over, and into the distance.

Elaborate description of the landscape and the boat cutting through the water obscures the hunter's action. Here, the combination of text and image encourages the reader to move beyond the role of observer and to take on the role of the huntsman. The reader is once again left to consider their own relationship to the landscape and the figures who are described but perpetually unseen. The composition may encourage the reader to move beyond the role of observer to take on the role of huntsman or to populate the pictured space with apparitions much like Douglass Wiggins description of Edinburgh in *Penelope's Progress*.

Pauses continue throughout the text, and they invite the readers to also pause and consider the material. An absence of narrative figures in these or subsequent images set a stage of dynamic possibilities for reader interaction. Yet no matter how absorbed readers may become in the fantastical environment, at the turn of each page, readers are directed to the surface and the present. Surface components implicate the reader as a proximal tourist. When considered holistically, the book constructs the reader as a viewer of a spectacle rather than an active participant of the ballad's events.

Osgood's edition of *Lady of the Lake* entices viewers to engage with the narrative space in a similar fashion. Each of the poem's cantos begins with an illustration of a landscape on the recto side with a blank verso to create visual space between the image and text. Each of these six landscapes are framed with a variety of plants and objects. For

example, in the first canto, a thin black border and two spears topped by a stag skull and horn frames a landscape with a rapid river (**Fig. 12**). The border and shadow cast by the rectangular frame suggests the display of a painting on an easel and the collection of antiquarian objects. The book carefully presents the landscape for the viewer like paintings displayed on a salon wall or Queen Victoria drawing attention to specific portions of the landscape.

One hundred and twenty total engravings in Osgood's edition provide substantial opportunity to display intricate detail of the narrative space. For example, the second canto begins with a view of the island (**Fig. 13**). The composition is like Ogle's *Ellen's Isle* from the Bennett editions with foliage framing the island to direct the viewer's focus. The book presents several views and multiple perspectives of the island to the reader as the canto progresses. Each plate representing the island includes a different perspective of locations throughout the section, including views of the island's shore from inland and from the water, views of the mainland from the island, and even close views of features like waterfalls within the landscape. The more expansive development of the environment enhances reader familiarity with the island and narrative space.

The placement of illustrations also helps guide readers through the story. A landscape punctuates a scene in the canto where a segment of Clan Alpine compares its might to a firmly rooted tree. Here, the reader sees an image with a seagull flying from outside the image frame toward a gnarled, spindly tree anchored in the riverbank (**Fig. 14**). The tree frames a wider view of the water and distant mountains. During subsequent

stanzas, the group begins to row onto the water and the bottom of the next page features a vignette of gulls flying over the water (**Fig. 15**).⁸⁷ The scene makes no mention of birds, but various kinds of gulls have long been present in Scotland's ecosystems. Further, we are presented with head and wings in roughly three-quarters view as if being viewed at a close distance from shore or through a telescope rather than from directly below as if looking up from the ground or a boat. The scattered placement of images throughout page spreads creates variety in the design and mimics the way a tourist might focus on different details while walking through the local landscape.

Additional views also facilitate more comparisons between the landscape and character traits of the Scott's personages. During a scene in Canto Two where Ellen discusses Roderick Dhu's qualities with a minstrel, a landscape abruptly divides her description (**Fig. 16**). Ellen begins by noting Roderick is "But what I own? — I grant him brave, But wild as Bracklinn's thundering wave ..."⁸⁸ Then the reader continues down the page to a vignette featuring a rapid waterfall cascading down stepped rock formations with a scant piece of shoreline offering a space for the viewer to enter. Ellen then continues, "... And generous, — save vindictive mood Or jealous transport to chase his blood: I grant him true to friendly band, As his claymore is to his hand..."⁸⁹ The hazardous landscape threatening to press the wayward traveller into the rapids embodies Dhu's precarious moods transported like humors through the blood and the rough water

⁸⁷ Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, Canto II, XX (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1882).

⁸⁸ Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, Canto II, XIV.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

through the landscape. The book illustrated with landscape becomes an ideal way to build on the established language of the picturesque and tourism.

Picturesque infrastructure depends on creating the illusion of a natural environment unaltered by contemporary infrastructure. By the 1880s, Scotland's landscape was radically different from the previous century. Enclosure was pervasive. Steamboats and trains were the most common way for tourists to get from England to Scotland, and most tourists rode trains from the central lowland cities of Edinburgh or Glasgow into the Highlands. Train schedules and disruptions appeared in daily papers. Tourists could not avoid contemporary transportation infrastructure.

Furthermore, newspapers regularly featured content regarding disputes between workers and railway companies from the 1850s into the next century. Engine operators, stokers, and other staff were not being paid for overtime and had concerns for other unsafe conditions. *The Scotsman* often reported that rail workers were spreading poisonous lies to the public, and other papers considered possible legislation or discussed potential travel disruptions that might be caused by adjustments to work shifts.⁹⁰ Disruptions to transit would hurt railway profits and negatively impact the extensive network of businesses that supported the tourism industry

Around the centenary of Scott's birth in 1871, writers commented on the monetary impacts of Scott and tourism to Scotland. Their comments included both

⁹⁰ For some examples of news related to railway labor disputes and strikes, see: *The Scotsman* 34, no. 3159 (Apr. 17, 1850): 3; *The Caledonian Mercury*, no. 22,564 (Jan. 22, 1862): 2; "Trade Disputes," *Glasgow Herald*, no. 9903 (Sept. 27, 1871): 5; "Trade and Wages," *Glasgow Herald*, no. 12,180 (Jan. 4, 1879): 4; "The Caledonian Railroad Strike," *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, no. 1838 (Jan. 25, 1883): 2.

positive and negative discussion of the money going into Scottish business because of Scott's popularity. Some journalists noted that Scott was worth at least half a million pounds per year in tourism spending that allowed Scotland to thrive. Others noted that Scottish hoteliers, pub-owners, and other service-providers took advantage of travelers to make a full year's income during the holiday season in summer and fall. They also mentioned that Scott's popularity brought too many people to Edinburgh and many desired viewing destinations.⁹¹ The city became so crowded that articles about travel began talking about going to routes out of the prescribed Highlands path to see many of the locations in Scott's oeuvre. Scott was intrinsically tied to ongoing changes to Scotland's landscape.

Yet out of hundreds of editions of *Lady of the Lake* published in Britain and the U.S., Osgood's 1882 edition is the only one that hints in a microscopic way at such changes. A.V.S. Anthony provided a design for the Canto Three title page including a train with smoke billowing across the landscape's lower third (**Fig. 1**). This edition was well-received by audiences and literary reviewers. In years following the edition's publication, reviewers expressed wishes that its plates were included in other editions.⁹² A minority of reviewers commented that the train was an error or a "slip of the pencil".⁹³

⁹¹ For selected examples of Scott's monetary value to Scotland and complaints about tourists, see: "The Centenary of Sir Walter Scott," *The London Journal, and Weekly Record of Literature, Science* 54, no. 1385 (Aug. 26, 1871): 136; "How We Celebrated Scott," *London Society: An Illustrated Magazine of Light and Amusing Literature for the Hours of Relaxation* 20, no. 117 (Sept. 18, 1871): 275 – 84; G. H. Allan, "A Month in Scotland," *Ballou's Monthly Magazine* 52, no. 6 506 – 507.

⁹² "Holiday Publications," *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* 16, no. 415 (Dec. 12, 1891): 332.

⁹³ "Lady of the Lake," *The Literary World; a Monthly Review of Current Literature* 13, no. 21 (Oct. 21, 1882): 348 – 49.

Such comments attacked Anthony's defiance of picturesque conventions. The variation in composition reinforced for readers that they were contemporaneous with Scottish landscape throughout all stages of Scotland's history. Landscape convention positioned Scotland as an atemporal or allochronic space as coined by Johannes Fabian. These pictorial conventions allow readers to selectively ignore ongoing changes to the landscape and the suffering of workers or disruptions to travel.⁹⁴ These circumstances are especially beneficial for audiences who used the book use as a substitute for directly traveling to Scotland.

Legacy of Scott's Landscape

The critical implication that Osgood's edition of *Lady of the Lake* facilitated familiarity with the land and familial connection took on further significance in a transatlantic context. From shortly after Scott's death in 1832 through the turn of the twentieth century, authors continued to write about Scott's value. Journalists, novelists, and anthropologists—among others—considered parallels between American and Scottish characteristics. These writers used pseudoscientific analysis of Scott's body to justify his ability to construct vivid descriptions of the Scottish landscape, and to prop up the author as an example of superior racial characteristics. Others drew on his descriptive writing techniques and idealized Scottish history to shape discussions about the parameters of ancestry, race, and nation. Tracing these intertextual connections

⁹⁴ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, reprint (New York: Columbia University Press), 68–69.

demonstrates that Scott's body and writing came to stand for Scotland on both sides of the Atlantic.

Physiognomic and phrenologic analyses used the anatomic structure of Scott's face and skull to question the limitations of Scott's writing. Studies by phrenologists, like Edinburgh's James P. Browne, indicated that a childhood illness caused his skull bone plates to prematurely fuse. Phrenologists noted that his temples were not as wide as other authors of great poetic skill like Wordsworth and Byron. However, the elongated, bulbous shape of Scott's head indicated a highly developed sense of idealism and location, which facilitated his ability to draw the best qualities of his country's landscape in his poetry and novels.⁹⁵ Scott's body literally became a template for Scotland's valued scenery.

Discussions in popular magazines for a more general audience further questioned the potential limitations and lost potential of Scott's injured body. In 1894, *Century Illustrated* posited that if Scott's bone malformation had progressed further, there might be no widespread tourism in Scotland, or as T.T. Munger noted, "no increase of horse-hire in the Trossachs, no Scotland of romance, and no Waverley for the World." Munger wondered if Scott could have been another William Shakespeare rather than a shadow of the English poet and playwright if not for the limitations imposed by non-optimal brain development.⁹⁶ Phrenological models chip away at Scott's celebrated achievements by

⁹⁵ James P. Browne, M.D., *Phrenology & its Application to Education, Insanity, & Prison Discipline* (London: Bickers & Son, 1869), 333–336.

⁹⁶ T.T. Munger, "The Head of Sir Walter Scott," *Century Illustrated* 47, no. 6 (Apr. 1894): 954; Munger's comments were also reprinted in Great Britain as "Sir Walter Scott's Skull," *The Review of Reviews* (Apr., 1894): 387.

suggesting that a more ideal body could have produced more greatness for the world beyond Scotland.

Journalists continued to comment on the applications of Scott's work. In August of 1865, *The London Review* commented that Scott's name had been watered down as a proper noun because countries with any notable novelists had qualified them as the national Walter Scott. Other journalists suggested that Scott's work was an achievement for all of the English-speaking world, and comments published in at least two magazines expanded the boundaries of Scott's identification to the United States and Western Europe. In August 1871, the author of "What Has Scott Done for Scotland?" commented:

But Scott, we repeat is more than Scotch, he is English, French, German, American— Anything. ... His genius has no provincialism, no localising accent, none of the mannerism which stamps the art that represents a particular era; it is simple, nature like life itself; it is intelligible to the meanest understanding, as well as flattering the highest. Jeanie Deans, Caleb Baldertson, the Antiquary, Cuddie Headrigg, and Balfour of Burley may all speak with a Scotch accent, but they express feelings common to all peoples and all generations. Therefore it is that Scott is more than Scotch, and that the festival of his centenary must not be degraded by the spirit of provincialism which remembers, before all things, the place that gave him birth and the land that he has illuminated by the splendour of his genius.⁹⁷

In other words, Scott's narrative and thematic content are so generally relatable across a network of countries that the localized or provincial elements such as accent and language are diminished as possible negative factors. The writing is a landscape template

⁹⁷ "What has Walter Scott Done for Scotland?," *Saturday Evening Post*, no. 2613 (Aug. 26, 1871): 7; "What has Walter Scott Done for Scotland?," *The Leisure Hour : A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation*, no. 1023 (Aug. 5, 1871): 491–92.

for readers to layer with their own experiences and make the landscape literally their own rather than just imagining Scott's characters acting in the space.

Americans particularly perceived Scott and his body of work as a medium of communication with Scotland. Shortly after the centenary of Scott's birth, the Caledonian Club for Scottish residents in New York City commissioned Edinburgh sculptor John Steell to produce a copy of his monumental portrait of Scott for display in Central Park, and the sculpture's base was engraved with the phrase, "Presented to the City of New York by the resident Scotsmen and their sons..." At the statue's unveiling, city planner Andrew H. Green commented:

We feel...that our hero is one of us as well as one of you, and we are glad to receive this statue as public property into the public care and guardianship—glad as we are to receive his countrymen, with their sterling virtues—perseverance, industry, and uprightness, which have done so much towards the development of this great cosmopolitan city...⁹⁸

Green claims the city's affinity with Scott and equates the portrait with the character of the Scots and their descendants who live in the city and have contributed to its structure.

Other speakers at the sculpture's unveiling presented the sculpture and the design for Central Park, which would soon also include Steell's portrait of Robert Burns as a

⁹⁸ "Current Events: Statue of Sir Walter Scott," *New York Evangelist* 43, no. 45 (Nov. 7, 1872): 8.

mate for the Scott copy, as a place of building history and memories.⁹⁹ The journalist and editor William Cullen Bryant remarked:

...now as the statue of Scott is set up in this beautiful park, which a few years since, possessed no human associations, historical or poetic, connected with its shades, its lawns, its rocks and waters, these grounds become peopled with new memories. Henceforth the silent earth at this spot will be eloquent of old traditions; the airs that stir the branches of the trees will whisper of feats of chivalry to the visitor. All the vast crowd of ideal personages created by the imagination will enter with his sculptured effigy, and remain.¹⁰⁰

Bryant's comments present the idea that Central Park was a long-empty space newly being animated by Scott and the host of characters imagined throughout the pages of every edition of his work. The land previously housed Seneca Village, which housed the city's largest community of free Black residents and a small percentage of Irish residents from 1825 to 1857. The city's wealthy white residents complained that the village was occupied by dirty squatters who were at risk of replicating the impoverished, crowded Five-Points neighborhood that housed a large population of central and southern Europeans. So, city officials used eminent domain laws to displace the village's property-owners¹⁰¹ For Bryant to say that the park held "no human associations" imbues the land

⁹⁹ "Central Park Burns Statue," *New York Times* 8, no. 1857 (Aug. 26, 1873), 8. Steell was commissioned again in 1873 to produce an original portrait of Robert Burns to pair with the Scott copy. Press about plans for Burns portrait, emphasized that it was an American expression and object even as it was produced by a Scottish artist. On this sculpture the *New York Times* commented: "It is no wonder that America should desire some tangible expression of the 'Scot of Scotchmen.' Guided by a true instinct the American commission was offered to Mr. Steell...He is to have 2,000 guineas [2,100 pounds sterling] for this statue, and America is to have the best Mr. Steell's studio can produce...It was a happy thought which suggested the idea of having the greatest of Scottish poets and the greatest of Scottish novelists within easy distance of each other."

¹⁰⁰ Quoted by Walter S. Wilson, "The Statues and Monuments of New-York," *The Memorial History of the City of New-York from its First Settlement to the Year 1892*, volume IV, ed. James Grant Wilson (New York: New-York History Company, 1893), 223–224.

¹⁰¹ Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People : A History of Central Park* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 77–79; 329–330.

with the idealized, Scottian conception of Scotland entirely at the expense of populations marginalized on the basis of class and race.

Periodicals deployed Scott as an example of the markers for racial superiority through the turn of the twentieth century. Phrenologist and anthropologists used his skull shape to determine that Scott, as an example of the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon type, was more intelligent than exemplar skulls from China and the African continent.¹⁰² Joseph H. Choate, the American ambassador to the United Kingdom, noted during an 1899 banquet in Edinburgh that Scott's work facilitated the welfare of the Anglo-Saxon race.¹⁰³ Other newspapers noted that Scott's ideal images of the Scottish Highlands elicited enough interest and sympathy from the English upper class to prevent the Highland races from fully assimilating with Anglo-Saxon characteristics.¹⁰⁴ Scott is thus framed as an intermediary or guide between the English and the remote Highland areas through his affiliation with the Anglo-Saxon taxonomy.

Lowland Scots, in fact, had a large hand in creating the racialized divisions between Highlanders and Lowlands. During the early nineteenth century, antiquarian John Pinkerton likened the Celts to the Indigenous people of Siberia and North America and noted that Celts would retain a lazy and dishonest character without assimilation with Anglo-Saxons. In the 1850s, the anatomist Robert Knox considered the Highland Scots to be more like the Khoi Khoi of South Africa than Anglo-Saxon Lowlanders or English

¹⁰² *The Critic* 10, no. 233 (June 16, 1888): 296.

¹⁰³ "Anglo-American Unity," *Dundee Courier*, no. 14, 471 (Nov. 11, 1899): 5.

¹⁰⁴ "Race-Fusion Between England and Wales," *Glasgow Evening Post*, no. 4,593 (Sept. 20, 1884): 4.

people. The historian and essayist Thomas Carlyle noted in the 1840s that Scotland needed to check its unproductive nature and figure out how to manage the overflowing workhouse and alleys filled with unhoused poor if it didn't want to end up like the more pervasively Celtic Ireland.¹⁰⁵ These observations position Scotland in an antagonistic relationship with itself and other geographic locations.

A Scottian literary model also helped transmit the Scottish binary across the Atlantic during the early national and antebellum periods in the United States. Beginning in the 1820s, American literary reviews began to refer to James Fenimore Cooper as the “American Walter Scott” for his effusive descriptions of character and landscape.¹⁰⁶ A few years before President Andrew Jackson signed the 1830 Indian Removal Act into law, Fenimore Cooper conflated the character of Scots with Native Americans. Throughout the *Leatherstocking Tales* (1823–1841), several Scots characters assumed the qualities of Native American characters who often died by the end of Fenimore Cooper's tales. The binary relationship used to oppress Highlanders emphasized that Scots were essential actors in the genocide of Indigenous people.

The Scottish transformation happens through regulating the Scottish relationship to nature in a manner similar to Rousseau's concept of the “noble savage.” Fenimore

¹⁰⁵ Nell Painter Irvin, “The First Alien Wave,” *The History of White People* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 170–172; Thomas Carlyle, “Midas,” in “Book I, Proem” from *Past and Present* in *Thomas Carlyle's Collected Works VOL XIII* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1843; Project Gutenberg), <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13534>. For more on the construction of gender and race via analysis of the Khoi Khoi, see: Zine Magubane, “Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Poststructuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Odyssey of the ‘Hottentot Venus,’” *Gender and Society* 15, no. 6 (December 1, 2001): 816–34.

¹⁰⁶ “The American Walter Scott,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (May 4, 1895): 12.

Cooper's Scots in *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and *Pathfinder* (1840), which are staged during the British colonial period, are previously impoverished men who gained a fortune through enslavement of Africans in Caribbean and Virginia plantations. However, they maintained the tendencies for wildness described by Daniel Defoe and others. They can shed their undesirable hot temper through temporarily leaving their places in British settlements, going into the frontier and adopting the practical and cautious character traits of Cooper's Native American characters. They do so without appropriating their manner of dress or other cultural habits like Nathaniel Bumpo. Through this process, Scots are better able to navigate the frontier and successfully return to their lives in British settlements.¹⁰⁷ In *Pathfinder*, Fenimore Cooper even declared Scots to be the moral center of the British empire. In American literary discourse, Scotland represented the backbone—the core structure— of national character.

Responses to changing immigration patterns in the United States around the 1830s and 40s further highlight the integration of Scots into American society. Until around 1815, most Irish immigrants to the U.S. were from Ulster in Northern Ireland and of Scottish Protestant ancestry dating to the seventeenth century Scottish colony established under James I. The collapse of Irish textile manufacturing in the early nineteenth century and famine caused by low crop diversity and expensive rent in the 1840s led to a steep increase of Catholic Irish immigration. Establishment of large Irish Catholic communities boosted Protestant ire for impoverished immigrants and led to a

¹⁰⁷ Juliet Shields, "Savage and Scott-Ish Masculinity in The Last of the Mohicans and The Prairie: James Fenimore Cooper and the Diasporic Origins of American Identity," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 64, no. 2 (2009): 137–139; Colin G. Calloway, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 247– 249.

series of riots from the early 1840s into the late 1850s after members of the rising Nativist party attacked Irish homes and Catholic churches. Irish Protestants began calling themselves Scotch-Irish and Ulster Scots during this period to distinguish themselves from Catholic Irish.¹⁰⁸ Scots also worked to present the language of the Celt, Gael, and Highlander as entirely separate from the Irish in publications for Scottish Americans and more general periodicals like *Harper's Magazine*.¹⁰⁹ Ancestry and religion allowed Scots and Scottish Americans to create a protective division for themselves.

Authors and editorial cartoonists created further divisions of the Irish through racialized language. Beginning in the late 1820s, essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson compared Irish Gaels to the African and Chinese races, which he considered inferior to the Anglo-Saxon race.¹¹⁰ Walt Whitman followed Emerson's ideas with similar comments while working as an editor for newspapers in New York during the 1840s.¹¹¹ Thomas Nast also published caricatures comparing Irish physiognomy to that of Africans. From the mid-century onward, published comparisons between Africans and Scots or Scots-Irish people became increasingly rare in American publications. Scots became entrenched as white and American through changing linguistic frameworks around class, religion, and race.

¹⁰⁸ Painter, 167–171.

¹⁰⁹ Michael Newton, "How Scottish Highlanders Became White: the Introduction of Racialism to Gaelic Literature and Culture," *Celts in the Americas*, ed. Michael Newton. (Nova Scotia: Cape Breton University Press, 2013), 426–431.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 174–175.

¹¹¹ Matt Cohen, Ed Folsom, Kenneth M. Price, eds., "Editorials and Journal Articles," *Walt Whitman Archive*, 2007, <https://whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/journalism/index.html>.

Scots continued to shape ideas and policy around U.S. land management throughout the century. Mountaineer and land conservationist John Muir began publishing his observations on the American landscape in the 1870s. His recollections of a childhood in Wisconsin frequently label Native Americans as beggars, thieves, and frightful. An extended passage about his father insinuates that divine will could surely not have intended for the land's original occupants to keep it when Scottish and Irish farmers would use it more productively. In accounts of his adulthood, Muir comments that the Indigenous people of the Sierra Mountains—including Plains and Sierra Miwok and Mono—are unattractive, dirty, and have no appropriate place in the landscape.¹¹² He mentions very few direct interactions with Indigenous people, but in one instance he remarks on a group of Miwok seeking his expertise about geologic phenomena.¹¹³ Muir's ideas on the productivity and hygiene of the American landscape that mirror much of the language around a picturesque and enclosed Scotland directly impacted the appearance of large swaths of the United States.¹¹⁴ And just as Fenimore Cooper's Scots assume the character traits of Indigenous people, Muir positions himself as an authority of the landscape over people who had lived in the Sierra Mountains for generations.

Muir maintained an active interest in the management of American land throughout his adult life, but he continued to view Scotland as his home. In 1893, he traveled to visit Edinburgh and Dunbar, his hometown in East Lothian about thirty miles

¹¹² Muir, "The Passes," *The Mountains of California* (New York: The Century Co, 1894; Sierra Club), https://vault.sierraclub.org/john_muir_exhibit/writings/the_mountains_of_california/

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As Long As Grass Grows : The Indigenous Fight for Environmental Justice, from Colonization to Standing Rock* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019), 103 – 107.

outside of Edinburgh. David Douglass, a publisher who knew Walter Scott, "...and indeed all the literary men," hosted Muir during the early days of his stay. Douglass showed his guest all the local sites associated with Scott. Muir noted the following in a letter to his spouse Louie Muir:

...Tuesday morning he [David Douglass] took me in hand, and led me over Edinburgh, took me to all the famous places celebrated in Scott's novels, went around the Calton Hill and the Castle, into the old churches so full of associations, to Queen Mary's Palace Museum, and I don't know how many other places. In the evening I dined with him, and had a glorious time. He showed me his literary treasures and curiosities, told endless anecdotes of John Brown, Walter Scott, Hugh Miller, etc., while I, of course, told my icy tales until very late--or early--the most wonderful night as far as humanity is concerned I ever had in the world. Yesterday forenoon he took me out for another walk and filled me with more wonders. His kindness and warmth of heart, once his confidence is gained, are boundless. From feeling lonely and a stranger in my own native land, he brought me back into quick and living contact with it, and now I am a Scotchman and at home again.¹¹⁵

Douglass's affable character and energetic storytelling probably contributed much to Muir's feelings of being at home again in his "native land," but the degree to which Scott filters through this letter and others from his travels suggests the expansive way that the deceased author continued to impact perceptions of Scotland.

Contemporary Scotland was also a means of building connections between Scotland and North America. On July 12, 1893, he remarked in a letter to Louie Muir on the weather in Scotland reminding him of Alaska.¹¹⁶ In a letter addressed to his daughter

¹¹⁵ John Muir to Louie Muir, July 6, 1893, "Trees and Travel 1891–1897," *The Life and Letters of John Muir* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924; Sierra Club, 1999) https://vault.sierraclub.org/john_muir_exhibit/life/life_and_letters/chapter_16.aspx.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, July 12, 1893.

Wanda on the following day, Muir claimed that thinking of his children reminded him of California, but walking through Scotland ensconced him thoroughly in childhood memories. He went on to write:

The waves made a grand show breaking in sheets and sheaves of foam, and grand songs, the same old songs they sang to me in my childhood, and I seemed a boy again and all the long eventful years in America were forgotten while I was filled with that glorious ocean psalm.¹¹⁷

Muir located a number of cousins during other parts of his trip including at least two that he had previously never heard of. In a letter written during his journey back to the U.S., he penned a letter commenting that he hoped they would periodically think of their “...lonely kinsman, whether in my bright home in the Golden State or plodding after God’s glorious glaciers in the Storm-beaten mountains of the North.”¹¹⁸ Muir’s conception of family, home, and history conflated people in both locations with his experience and memories of the land on either continent. In doing so, Muir reveals some of his process for building a sense of self and nationality similar to the way that Fenimore Cooper rebuilds Scottish character.

Kate Douglas Wiggin demonstrates one way such a template might operate in the novel *Penelope’s Progress* (1898), a novel popular in the U.S. and Britain. Early in the novel, the titular character envisions Edinburgh’s New Town layered with the apparitions of Scott’s literary figures and other historical Scottish figures. In a subsequent scene,

¹¹⁷ John Muir to Wanda Muir, July 13, 1893, “Trees and Travel 1891–1897,” *The Life and Letters of John Muir* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924; Sierra Club, 1999) https://vault.sierraclub.org/john_muir_exhibit/life/life_and_letters/chapter_16.aspx.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

Penelope endeavors to construct Scottish lineages for herself and her travelling companions. She remarks:

I am going to select some distinguished ancestors this very minute, before I go to my first Edinburgh dinner...It seems hard that ancestors should have everything to do with settling our nationality and our position in life, and we not have a word to say. How nice it would be to select one's own after one had arrived at years of discretion, or to adopt different ones according to the country one chanced to be visiting! I am going to do it; it is unusual, but there must be a pioneer in every good movement. Let me think: do help me, Salemina! I am a Hamilton to begin with; I might be descended from the logical Sir William himself, and thus become the idol of the university set.¹¹⁹

Penelope uses her surname as a starting point to select a relative with a hint of plausibility. She then goes on to help Salemina select an arbitrary ancestor based on an aunt who married into the Lindsay family. Penelope supports her choice by exclaiming that she can pick nearly anyone as long as they assert a determined and honorable effort into assembling their fictitious lineage to try to better assume a position in Edinburgh society.¹²⁰

Francesca, the third member of the travel party, ardently objects to the whole process of being wedged into a Scottish template. She vehemently responds to Penelope's demands:

I am American to the backbone...I do not desire any foreign ancestors...If you goad me to desperation...I will wear an American flag in my hair, declare my father is a [Native American], or a pork-packer, and talk about the superiority of our checking system and hotels all the evening. I don't want to go, any way. It is sure to be stiff and ceremonious, and the man who takes me in will ask me the

¹¹⁹ Wiggin, 50– 51.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

population of Chicago and the amount of wheat we exported last year,— he always does.¹²¹

Francesca denies Scottishness by threatening to say she descends from Native Americans or workers in a meatpacking plant. Neither of these options match any details about Francesca in this novel or its predecessor. The scene emphasizes the way race and class operate to exclude certain groups from what a tourist identifies as suitable levels of Scottishness.

Beyond Fenimore Cooper, Douglass Wiggin, and Muir, recent scholarship has underscored Scott's connections to racialized violence targeting Black Americans. Building on the work of Laura Doyle, Peter Schmidt has traced parallels between impoverished Southerners during Reconstruction in Thomas Dixon's *The Leopard's Spots* (1902) and *The Clansman* (1905) and the Anglo-Saxons after the 1066 Norman conquest of England.¹²² In relation to *Lady of the Lake*, scholars like Ann Rigney and Diane Roberts have connected Scott to the Ku Klux Klan's (KKK) resurgence in the early twentieth century. Dixon and later director D.W. Griffith adapted Scott's reference to a burning cross as a call to battle for Clan Dhu in *Lady of the Lake* in the *Clansman* and its cinematic interpretation *Birth of a Nation* (1915) as an action to terrorize Black people. Stemming from the literary and cinematic media, the KKK then began to widely apply

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Laura Doyle, *Bordering on the Body: Racial Matrices of Modern Fiction and Culture* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1994), 40–42; Peter Schmidt, "Walter Scott, Postcolonial Theory, and New South Literature," *Mississippi Quarterly* 56.4 (Fall 2003): 545–54.

the practice.¹²³ Scott's mention of the subject represents a small number of lines. Dixon and Griffith exhibited a high degree of adaptation in the matter, but the ongoing connections between Scott and white supremacy continues to underscore the ways Scott is used to conceptually shape Scotland and the United States.

Dixon also embedded references to Scotland throughout the Appalachian landscape described in his novels. Scholars have generally overlooked this connection when tracing threads between the work of Scott and Dixon. Dixon's prose is awkward, stilted, and generally less technically skillful and descriptive than Scott's poetry and prose, which is perhaps why scholars may have not veered down this avenue of inquiry.¹²⁴ Regardless of perceived skill, Dixon applies concepts of Scottish blood, land, and history to build relationships between characters. When writing of the KKK's origins, Dixon comments, "The simple truth is, it was a spontaneous and resistless racial uprising of clansmen of highland origin living along the Appalachian mountains and foothills of the South."¹²⁵ People living in the foothills of the Blue Ridge are "the sons of the men who had first declared independence of Great Britain in America..."¹²⁶ And in the second novel, he further details the importance of Scottish and Scots-Irish Presbyterian connections:

¹²³ Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 123 – 126; Diane Roberts, "The Great-Granddaddy of White Nationalism," *Southern Cultures* 25, no. 3 (2019): 133–155, [doi:10.1353/scu.2019.0037](https://doi.org/10.1353/scu.2019.0037).

¹²⁴ Schmidt: 549.

¹²⁵ Thomas Dixon, "Chapter XIX—The Rally of the Clansmen," *The Leopard's Spots: A Romance of The White Man's Burden—1865–1900* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1902; Project Gutenberg), n.p., <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/54765/54765-h/54765-h.htm#link2HCH0023>.

¹²⁶ Ibid, "Chapter 1—A Hero Returns," n.p.

The old club-footed Puritan...had overlooked the Covenanter [Presbyterian], the backbone of the South. This man had just begun to fight! His race had defied the Crown of Great Britain a hundred years from the caves and wilds of Scotland and Ireland, taught the English people how to slay a king and build a commonwealth, and, driven into exile into the wilderness of America, led our Revolution, peopled the hills of the South, and conquered the West.¹²⁷

Dixon's Scots and Scots-Irish types originate in the wilds of Scotland and Ireland.

Through their defiance of the British crown, they developed and passed along the skills, fortitude, and intellect to overthrow and build a government, and contain America's wilderness. Scots are a malleable entity that also decisively act to transform the land.

Where Fenimore Cooper and John Muir often used more metaphoric and effusive language to discuss the removal and eradication of Indigenous people, Dixon clearly notes that the Scottish backbone of the country conquered the land.

Dixon invokes landscape again when a character is perceived as a traitor to the KKK and the South. Allan McCleod delivered the names of Klan members to the U.S. Marshalls in exchange for his release from jail, and he was made a Deputy Marshall for North Carolina before returning home to suspicions and rumors circulating about his loyalty. Some people spoke in his defense, but in a rage, the town's preacher bellowed:

The curse of God upon you — the God of your fathers! Your fathers in far-off Scotland's hills, who would have suffered their tongues torn from their heads and their skin stripped inch by inch from their flesh sooner than betray one of their clan in distress. You have betrayed a thousand of your own men, and you, their sworn chieftain! Hell was made to consume such leper trash!¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Thomas Dixon, "The Reign of the Klan," *The Clansman* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1905; Project Gutenberg, 2008), 342, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/26240/26240-h/26240-h.htm#V_THE_REIGN_OF_THE_KLAN.

¹²⁸ Thomas Dixon, "Chapter XXIII — The Birth of a Scalawag," *The Leopard's Spots*.

The preacher identifies Scotland as a place of origins and loyalty. Scotland is spatially distant and also temporally removed by at least one generation since these characters' families immigrated to North America. Still the character of the land and paternal ancestors are held up as the standard of loyalty tested by torture. McLeod's betrayal of the KKK and whiteness represents the denial of Scotland and ultimately Walter Scott's place in the structural organization of the United States.

Conclusion

Walter Scott's picturesque poetry and prose—with detailed descriptions guiding readers through the Scottish landscape—mirrored changes to the landscape beginning in the eighteenth century. As the language of enclosure, landscape gardening, and the picturesque spread through news, literature, portraiture, maps, and travel prints, the newly reorganized landscape framed discourse around the containment and improvement of Scottish character for the benefit of the British state. Scott's publication of *Lady of the Lake*, after decades of enclosure, predisposed audiences to favorable attitudes about Scotland, and the poetic descriptions drew crowds of visitors to the Scottish Highlands. The rise in tourism spurred the publication of numerous prints, travel guides, maps, and illustrated editions. Through the medium of the travel print and illustration book, publishers began to encourage readers to use publications to virtually travel to Scotland, and American authors like Washington Irving, Henry James, and Kate Douglas Wiggin commented on the ways they layered Scottish history and Scott's narratives onto the

contemporary Scottish landscape. It is difficult to understate Scott's impact on the visual construction of the Scottish landscape.

Scholars have recently contributed much effort to the cataloging of illustrated British editions of Scott and the ways these editions correlate with Scottish tourism and travel ephemera. However, when we slightly expand the scope of the analysis to include the work of illustrators like A.V.S. Anthony, along with literary and political discourse around Scotland's connections to the United States, we find that Scott's template for a picturesque Scotland indelibly shaped American concepts of landscape, history, whiteness, and belonging.

Chapter 2

Scotland, India, and Burma: National and Imperial Networks in the *Glasgow Looking Glass* (1825–26)

In 1825, Glaswegian lithographer John Watson published the first issue of the *Glasgow Looking Glass*. Each number of the lithographic magazine presents four, multi-frame pages of caricatures designed by Watson. Beginning in issue ten,, the English illustrator and panorama painter William Heath (1795–1840) joined the venture.¹²⁹ The publication considers a range of topics relating to Glasgow and Edinburgh including fashion, entertainments like circulating libraries and panoramas, Scottish banking and wealth, the horrors of medical education, pollution, and renovations of the city. The aggregate seventeen folio issues printed from July 1825 to June 1826 provide a rich description of urban Scotland.

The small body of scholarship on the publication's narrative content reinforces that assertion. A blog article written by the University of Glasgow's Special Collections Library highlights selected examples of the magazine's depiction of contemporary events, entertainment, and fashion in Scotland.¹³⁰ *The Glasgow Story* digital humanities project from 2004 led by scholars at the University of Glasgow and Glasgow City Archives

¹²⁹ John Macshane, "Through a Glass Darkly: The Revisionist History of Comics," *The Drouth*, no. 23 (2007): 62–64.

¹³⁰ University of Glasgow Library Special Collections Department, "Glasgow/Northern Looking Glass," *Special Collections*, June 2005, <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/library/files/special/exhibns/month/june2005.html>.

outlines within a larger set of documents about Glaswegian history.¹³¹ There is still much room to analyze the magazine's information, but these recent efforts suggest that the *Glasgow Looking Glass*'s content is localized to events unfolding locally in Scotland.

The content in the short-lived publication expanded well beyond local or domestic affairs. The full publication run includes several references to Scotland's connections to Burma (now Myanmar) and India during the first Burma War from 1824 to 1826. Caricature printed in London from the 1740s into the first decade of the nineteenth century regularly depicted Scotland's connections to England and India in the form of transportation by foot, wagon, and carriage, in addition to more ephemeral paths of dirt and disease. However, by the 1820s, caricature for Anglo-British audiences excluded references to the connections between Scotland and India or the East India Company. By surveying the *Glasgow Looking Glass*' content alongside printed images directed at London audiences, I aim to extend understanding of the ways a Scottish printmaker and publisher visually communicated Scotland's contributions to the British Empire's growth.

Reading the *Glasgow Looking Glass* as Document, Comic, and Caricature

Scotland's central band spanning Glasgow to Edinburgh was a relatively small print market in the early nineteenth century, with Glasgow approaching around 200,000

¹³¹ *The Glasgow Story*, ed. Iain Russell, 2004, accessed November 10, 2020, <https://www.theglasgowstory.com>. The project even carefully mapped several of the magazine's scenes within the city streets. This allows us to position historic content within *The Glasgow Story*'s aims of tracing changes to the city's population and geography into the early twentieth century

residents and Edinburgh approaching 150,000 residents in 1820. Edinburgh's John Kay produced around 900 etched caricatures from the late eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century. Kay's prints feature both identified and unidentified Edinburgh residents and visitors to the city positioned against a background of plain paper. They inform us about some of Edinburgh's population, but not necessarily about the city or Scotland as a destination.¹³² London was the largest print market in Britain and the central location for the production and sale of caricatures before and after the *Glasgow Looking Glass*' publication. Prints from London were sent to print and book sellers in other cities like Glasgow and Edinburgh, but production of caricatures was largely associated with England and especially London.¹³³

The *Glasgow Looking Glass* had high circulation numbers estimated in the tens of thousands of impressions over the course of seventeen issues and a year's time.¹³⁴ These numbers represent a certain amount of speculation based on the archived records for John Watson & Co., but as currently understood, this is one of the most heavily circulated set of caricatures in Scotland during the 1820s. Caricatures circulated through print shops, public houses, and the portfolios of collectors for study and entertainment at home. The *Glasgow Looking Glass* cost between one shilling and one shilling, six pence per issue,

¹³² Ian Gordon Brown, "Caricature: The Individual Contribution of John Kay," *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2 : Enlightenment and Expansion 1707–1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 249–257.

¹³³ Mark Hallet, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 1–2.

¹³⁴ Laurence Grove at Glasgow University cited by Russell Leadbetter, "Glasgow's world-first comic is gifted to university," *The Herald* (Jul. 5, 2013), <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13112483.glasgows-world-first-comic-gifted-university/>.

which is on par with single-sheet intaglio caricatures of the period. There was some opportunity to see caricatures in public houses or coffee houses and some establishments leased caricatures to clients, but the average prices of caricatures represented a significant portion of income for journeymen and other kinds of workers.¹³⁵ Thus, the average readers for the *Glasgow Looking Glass* were likely upper-middle and upper class. Glasgow's population numbers in the 1820s and the estimated circulation numbers of this magazine indicate Glasgow's immense wealth.

Critics, curators, and librarians have categorized the *Glasgow Looking Glass* in a few ways to emphasize this publication's importance. This taxonomy ranges from encyclopedic document, comic or sequential narrative, satire, and caricature. Each of these terms possesses its own histories and definitions, but overviewing how these terms are applied in the analysis of the publication provides guidance for how one might approach such a dense collection of material.

Extant nineteenth-century criticism provides a wide range of possibilities for the publication. On January 30, 1826 *The Glasgow Herald* reprinted an article from the *Scots Times* noting:

It is a production formed evidently upon the model of some of the finest works of the great Hogarth, and frequently abound not only with well-directed satire, but even with moral lessons in a graver form; thus presenting a fund of entertainment suited to almost every taste. It may be deemed no less valuable as a repository of the manners, customs, and dresses of a particular part of the country, at a particular time Mr. Heath's happy talent in expressing any humorous oddity, is

¹³⁵ James Baker, "The Physical Marketplace," *The Business of Satirical Prints in Late-Georgian England*, Palgrave Studies in the History of the Media (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 125–130.

equally remarkable; and he frequently makes some astonishing hits by his attention to minutiae, although a little study is no doubt very essential to the right perception of all that is meant...Mr. Heath, however, has talents which will yet advance him high on the list of Hogarth's followers—and so that he brings his satirical humour to bear with effect upon the manners, the vices, and even the blunders, of the honest citizens of Glasgow we shall ever be disposed to regard him as a rich acquisition to the mass of our public instructors ... We have not reserved more space but we may observe that Mr. Heath seems just to take up the subjects of his satire at random from the passing events of the day, and he certainly does not fail to lash with unsparing hand some of the most glaring of our local abuses.

... We shall conclude our remarks by noticing an etching bearing title, "The Progress of Cant," which was lately published in London, and which it is said, has already attracted very considerable attention on account of its singular and happy humour of design, and felicity of execution. The design and execution appear to be much like those of Mr. Heath, and it is not improbable that the work was first suggested by the appearance of the Looking-Glass. Whether we be right or not in this conjecture is a matter of indifference; but we are pleased to find that this happy method of putting down Tom-foolery is gaining ground in high places. Few, we believe, have studied Mr. J.P. Malcom's Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing without becoming enthusiasts in the art themselves, or very ardent admirers of this most effective of almost every description of satire.¹³⁶

The Glasgow Herald's critic variably casts a wide net for the magazine's content. The author identifies the magazine as both caricature and satire. He further asserts that the magazine exists within the context of other images. *The Glasgow Herald* presents William Heath as part of a continuum extending William Hogarth's satire on the follies of human character by highlighting the pitfalls of life in Glasgow. In turn, Heath's work with the magazine impacts the work of other contemporary artists.¹³⁷ This suggests that

¹³⁶ "Northern Looking-glass, "Glasgow *Herald* (Jan. 30, 1826): 3.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

the reader has a broad familiarity with numerous historic and contemporaneous images to be able to judge the quality of each in relationship to one another.

Curatorship and archival practice of the past two decades reinforces the concept of a continuum of objects. In *Comic Invention* (2016), co-curators Laurence Grove and Peter Black emphasized that the *Glasgow Looking Glass* was the first example of a comic book as a multi-frame or sequential illustration printed in a portable or—as Grove noted—a “take-home” format, alongside earlier narrative objects including Hieroglyphic Steles, illuminated manuscripts, and Rembrandt’s etchings. The exhibition also included later printed comics including Rudolphe Töpffer’s *M. Jabot* (c. 1835), and a range of work from contemporary Glaswegian comic illustrator Frank Quietly from examples of contemporary comic books such as *Batman* and *The Sandman*.¹³⁸ Brian Maidement in *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2017) adds that the *Glasgow Looking Glass* provided a model for later nineteenth-century caricature magazines in London like Thomas McLean’s *Looking Glass* (1830 – 1836) and *Punch or the London Charivari* (1841 – 2002) as well as later comics, graphic novels, or sequential illustration.¹³⁹ Comparison of a range of visual objects and narrative techniques positions the *Glasgow Looking Glass* as part of a lineage of the multi-frame narrative format while also underscoring it as an innovative point in publishing history as a caricature magazine.

¹³⁸ “Comic Invention,” *The Hunterian*, 2016, accessed Feb. 10, 2020, <https://www.gla.ac.uk/hunterian/visit/exhibitions/exhibitionarchive/comicinvention/#acknowledgements>.

¹³⁹ Brian Maidement, “Graphic Satire, Caricature, Comic Illustration and the Radical Press, 1820–1845,” *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 84–88.

The term caricature has a wide range of applications. In *Caricature Unmasked* (2008), Amelia Rauser, in summarizing the work of Ernst Gombrich, notes that caricature depends on the physiognomic exaggeration of a familiar figure while still retaining enough likeness to facilitate the viewer's recognition¹⁴⁰ Constance McPhee and Nadine Orenstein confirm in *Infinite Jest* (2011) that this definition represents the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century origins of caricature with Leonardo's drawings of character types and later artist's exaggerated portrait drawings that circulated among elite and intimate social circles. However, audiences use the term to cast a wide net over a range of content with exaggerated bodies, gestures, fantastical forms. The term's meaning fluctuates based on the understanding of audiences and authors.

The *Glasgow Looking Glass* presents generalized and exaggerated character types in a range of interior and outdoor spaces along with occasional references to local politicians. As such, the publication does not strictly fit the seventeenth-century definition of caricature. However, Judith Wechsler and James Sherry proposed the terms "social caricature" and "satiric caricature" to encompass the ironic or disparate combination of visual and textual elements to ridicule or reveal the folly of certain types of people or to sway the audience to a particular moral, ethical, or political position.¹⁴¹ Either satiric or social caricature are more complete terms. However, for the sake of brevity, I will use the broader term caricature throughout this chapter.

¹⁴⁰ Amelia Rauser, *Caricature Unmasked : Irony, Authenticity, and Individualism in Eighteenth-Century English Prints* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), 15

¹⁴¹ Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: Physiognomy and Caricature in 19th Century Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 14–15; James Sherry, "Four Modes of Caricature: Reflections Upon a Genre," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 87, no. 1: 36–42.

Returning to the *Glasgow Herald*'s review can provide specific parameters for caricature's meaning in this context. The author presumes that William Heath's subject — Glasgow — is inherently honest. Through intense study of Glasgow, Heath draws out the complexities of that honesty to reveal a biting and instructive critique of the "manners, the vices, and even the blunders, of the honest citizens of Glasgow." Further, Heath's satire affects a poignant sting through "attention to minutiae" that alludes to local details that require contextual understanding of contemporary Glasgow and Scotland in order to fully engage with the content. The resulting set of images encapsulates the contemporary character and experience of Scotland, and draws on readers' familiarity with the city and its occupants to direct them towards a particular view about the subject.

The magazine also encouraged the cultivation of observation. The colophon at the end of most issues notes: "Hints taken, ideas illustrated, and Fancies illuminated," and many issues also contain a "To Correspondents" section with critiques and praise of submissions, upcoming content, and occasional expanded explanations of included content. For example, issue number three concludes with responses to readers and a notice that, "want of room prevents the insertion of several former communications, and the notice of later ones."¹⁴² The publication format encourages reader observation and interaction.

Historic caricature presents limits for scholars examining the ways in which the printed image presents a subject or functions within a nexus of information. Librarians

¹⁴² "Northern Looking-glass" *Glasgow Herald* (Jan. 30, 1826): 3.

and archivists especially emphasize the difficulties of examining the *Glasgow Looking Glass*. Glaswegian institutions have gone to great lengths to expose the magazine to audience attention, and to preserve it in open-source digital formats. The University of Glasgow Library Special Collections published a blog analyzing several individual caricatures from the magazine and their relationship to Scotland in the 1820s, but the article further acknowledges that current readers may find much of the content “somewhat obscure” without a visceral understanding of early nineteenth-century Scotland. Historical distance increases misunderstanding and obscurity.

The Glasgow Story digital humanities project from 2004 led by scholars at the University of Glasgow and Glasgow City Archives has worked to lessen some of the publication’s obscurity, and the project includes much of the magazine’s content related to Glaswegian history.¹⁴³ The website features around seventy-five individually-cropped frames from *The Glasgow Looking Glass* as part of the documents intended to demonstrate the scope of industrial expansion and population growth in Glasgow and movement into the city from rural Scotland and other areas of the United Kingdom from the 1770s to 1830s.¹⁴⁴ *The Glasgow Story* associates the images in its collections with a known location like a street, neighborhood, or business in order to offer historical context for obscure images. This allows the website’s readers to position part of the historic content from *The Glasgow Looking Glass* within an historical map of the city.

¹⁴³ *The Glasgow Story*.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Moss, “Industrial Revolution: 1770s to 1830s,” *The Glasgow Story*, 2004, accessed November 11, 2020, <https://www.theglasgowstory.com/story/?id=TGSC0>.

Readers develop the familiarity to understand caricature through repetition of iconography and concepts. particularly demands familiarity with contemporary social and political contents. Succeeding in this area requires repeated exposure to material such as character types, events, objects, scenery, motifs, and themes - across multiple prints, books, and periodicals.¹⁴⁵ Each image in the *Glasgow Looking Glass* sits within a network of other content about Scotland, and those further intersect with content about the histories of Britain, the British Empire, and publishing history. As caricature that communicates, “the manners, the vices, and even the blunders, of the honest citizens of Glasgow”—analyzing the *Glasgow Looking Glass* requires us to think about how the content fits within the framework of other caricature, along with contemporaneous news, and literature.

Paths Throughout and Out of Scotland in the *Glasgow Looking Glass*

The Glasgow Looking Glass presents many details regarding the navigation and experience of Glasgow and Scotland. The dense multi-frame format includes views of activities and places not normally discussed in travel narratives or represented in travel prints as visitors moved through the city on the way to their Highland literary destinations. The magazine’s content also extends to interpretations of transportation between Scotland and England and comparisons of Scottish and Irish transportation. The

¹⁴⁵ David Francis Taylor calls this intertextual, networked reading experience the “literariness of graphic satire” See: David Francis Taylor, *The Politics of Parody: A Literary History of Caricature, 1760–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 4–5.

focus on minute local details presents both the city and Scotland from the perspective of a resident.

Many of the image frames in each issue present minutiae of locals and visitors navigating Scotland. “The Bath Coach Going Down to a Watering Place” (**Fig. 2.1**) portrays a carriage from England taking the downhill turn off a bridge too quickly and dumping the travelers and their luggage into a river. Similarly, in “Going Home in a Noddy”, a carriage for hire drives off the edge of a cliff (**Fig. 2.2**). In “Edinburgh High School” (**Fig. 2.3**), approximately two dozen boys attempt to scale a sheer cliff face to get to the Grammar School above while three men use rope and a crane with a basket to assist the children. And the “Aberdeen Races” (**Fig. 2.4**) reveals an audience watching a group of men and four massive cheese wheels tumbling downhill towards a vertical drop. The magazine exudes a strong sense of the way that landscape creates challenges for the residents.

These images of landscape missteps are placed within a network of contemporary interests, institutions, and events. Fashion and entertainment are the most prominent topics within the magazine’s pages. Several couples and a trio walk through the Royal Botanic Garden opened only in the previous decade in “Fashionable Promenade” (**Fig. 2.5**). In other places, the exaggerated qualities of women’s and men’s dress are more closely emphasized, and “Awfu’ weather” (**Fig. 2.6**) demonstrates the effects of blustery weather with billowing cloaks and outturned umbrellas. Some accessories are exaggerated throughout, but these people are fully prepared for the weather, and they

efficiently navigate the city's pattern of excessively damp and often unpredictable weather.

The sheer quantity of content emphasizes Glasgow's constant busyness. The frames immediately below "Fashionable Promenade" feature advertisements for Griffin's Public Library with books at half price, a crowd waiting to enter a panorama of the Battle of Waterloo, and a wanted ad for "A Situation for a young man of sober habits" (**Fig. 2.5**). Instead of modeling behaviors from employment advertisements requesting employees with good character, a young man in a frock coat and top hat is being directed to the frame below with three women laughing and drinking in a messy room. On its own, the ad for a "young man of sober habits" mirrors some of the negative criticisms of Scots found in other caricatures. More importantly, the page displays Glasgow as a lively and populated environment rather than figures and groups isolated within a distant view of the landscape.

The narratives employ transit to reveal connections to England. The collected issues include a series of seven frames about steamboat travel from Glasgow to Liverpool from the boarding process, views on deck, inside the cabin, and the exchange of passengers. In "Shipping News: Embarkation, Scene 1" (**Fig. 2. 7**), a crowd of people rush towards one of the steamships that travel from Glasgow to Liverpool each week. A man in the center foreground has tripped over a trunk. To the right, a man helps a woman out of a carriage. Near the lighthouse a porter or dock worker has tipped over a cart of unidentifiable goods and caused a woman to slip backwards. A factory sits in the

background. This scene demonstrates the multiple ways that coal fires and steam powers the city as well as the barely contained chaos of boarding the ship.

Readers are also treated to several ephemeral details of the travel process. In “Passing the Clock, a pleasant breeze” (**Fig. 2.8**), the wind carries away one passenger’s hat while several of the others wear dour, anxious expressions. Three passengers vomit over the side. In the penultimate scene (**Fig. 2.9**), passengers sleep awkwardly around the cabin’s table and two passengers in bunks vomit from the edge of the upper bunks onto the lower bunk and floor. Travel is an uncomfortable, social process, and a series of maps or landscape views as outlined in chapter one are unable to encompass the experience.

The series offers no insight into the purposes of going to Liverpool. The boat and ports are undeniably crowded. “Scene 7, arrival at Liverpool” (**Fig. 2.10**) features a deluge of people struggling to navigate the dock. Two smokestacks and steam are the only evidence of the mode of transport and the page presents the reader with a narrow view of Liverpool. The focus is on the process of travel and the connection between Glasgow and Liverpool rather than the potential impacts of travel.

The magazine also presents imagined but never realized travel solutions. Watson supplied an image of a monumental pneumatic tube spanning the distance from Edinburgh to London in 1825 (**Fig. 2.11**). Passengers funnel into the tube on the Edinburgh end. Hair flies and the riders’ mouths contort into screams as a cart speeds through the tube. The passengers stumble and slide out of the tube upon arrival in London. The first rail lines and trains appeared in Britain in 1825, but these were only

used for transport of resources from mines. Travelers of all classes planned for travel between Edinburgh and London to occupy most of a day. On January 29, 1825, *The Mechanics Register* announced that the London and Edinburgh Vacuum Tunnel Company was seeking financial backing along with a description detailing the required infrastructure developments and a statement noting that this mode of transport would shorten the trip between the two cities to four or five hours. This mode of travel would be a significant improvement in travel time if not comfort. The announcement closes with a suggestion that no one should take this investment seriously.¹⁴⁶ Watson's disheveled and terrified passengers suggest the device's vast impracticality for human transportation. Regardless of the tube's functionality, development of the concept suggests investment in more efficient transport between the Scottish and English capitals.

The *Glasgow Looking Glass* considers many of the peculiarities of navigating Scotland's spaces, landscapes, and weather. The rich minutiae printed in the publication draws on readers' familiarity with the frustrations, dangers, discomfort, and even humor stemming from navigating urban infrastructure. The images are not wholly positive or without bias, but when taken as a cohesive set, the magazine presents a broader view of middle- and upper-class Glaswegian and Scottish life and mobility that expands well beyond the pervasive presence of rural landscape in travel prints.

¹⁴⁶ "London and Edinburgh Vacuum Tunnel Company, Capital 20,000 Sterling," *The London Mechanics Register* 1 (January 29, 1825): 205–207; Mark Abrahams, "Vacuum Travel," *This is Improbable: Cheese String Theory, Magnetic Chickens and Other WTF Research* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2012), np. This vacuum technology would never be used to transport people. This project would never be realized in spite of months of advertising for capital. A few experimental structures were attempted in the 1830s, and vacuum tube technology would be adapted for mail transport at the 1851 Great Exhibition.

Imperial Networks in the *Glasgow Looking Glass*

The *Glasgow Looking Glass* also dedicates at least five images across multiple issues to India and Burma (now Myanmar) during the first Burma War (1824–26). During the war, Scottish print and news covered the topic widely while English periodicals and prints dedicated much less space to the topic, particularly in regard to negative financial ramifications. Examining the frames concerning India and Burma alongside the magazine's wider content offers an opportunity to consider the economic and political complexities of Scotland's position in the United Kingdom and the British Empire.

The first Burma War began over the British East India Company's (BEIC) desire to expand its market resources and curtail French influence at the court at Ava. By 1822, the Burmese army had claimed the regions of Arakan, Manipur, and Assam along the Eastern border of India and Bangladesh that the BEIC had previously claimed as protectorates. This area was important for several reasons. It included key shipping ports, prized routes for smuggling and trading goods with China, and contained valuable forestry resources.¹⁴⁷ The region was of great commercial value, and the BEIC and British Parliament were prepared to invest heavily in securing those resources for the United Kingdom.

Thus, with much hubris, the Scottish-born and English educated General Archibald Campbell led more than ten thousand British and Indian Sepoy soldiers over the course of two years to take the Shwedagon Pagoda Complex in Rangoon (now

¹⁴⁷ Raymond L. Bryant, *The Political Ecology of Forestry in Burma, 1824–1994* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 24–27.

Yangon) and move up the Irrawaddy Delta region. The commanders and soldiers were wholly unprepared for the Burmese terrain or military tactics. These circumstances resulted in a drawn out, expensive, and incredibly deadly campaign for everyone involved.¹⁴⁸

News of the war traveled to Britain from India and Burma with a delay of approximately three to six months depending on the weather. Nearly every mention printed in a newspaper began with an apology for the slow information due to weather. With the delays, the British public remained ignorant of growing costs and death rates. Papers like the *Glasgow Herald* had speculated that the war would end quickly and profitably. By 1825, however, Scottish papers began commenting on the ballooning costs of the war along with a steep decline in the East India Company's stock prices.¹⁴⁹ The *Perthshire Courier* questioned whether or not the British Empire possessed sufficient administrative capacity to manage new territory given the poor fiscal outcomes. And *The Scots Magazine* lamented on July 1, 1825, that:

Such are the prospects of this expensive war, with but little chance, if we ever succeed, of being in the slightest manner remunerated. The Burmese have no trade that could compensate us; and as for wealth, they have not sufficient to clothe their nakedness.

¹⁴⁸ Thant Myint-U, *The River of Lost Footsteps: Histories of Burma* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 118–122.

¹⁴⁹ For a discussion of the financial consequences of the Burma War, see: Anthony Webster, *Gentlemen Capitalists: British Imperialism in South East Asia, 1770-1890* (I.B.Tauris, 1998), 142–145.

We are all enraged to find so little said in England about this war; it makes good the saying of Lord Hastings, “that the people of England know nothing about the East Indies, or its affairs.”¹⁵⁰

Before this war with Britain, Burma was among the wealthiest regions of the world.¹⁵¹

Here, news underscores the perceived poverty and value of the Burmese, the perceived harm to Scottish business interests, and the fact the English had little knowledge of those circumstances.

It is within this context that John Watson began producing images about Burma for the summer 1825 issues of *The Glasgow Looking Glass*. On July 9, 1825, the magazine included a caricature entitled *Politics, Affairs of India or How to Astonish the Natives* (**Fig. 2.12**). This caricature references the battle of Danubyu and features an elephant launching cannonballs at a stumbling group largely composed of Sepoy soldiers, indicated by the geometric patterns of diamond and triangles on their shorts. In the background, a group of soldiers coming from Lahore and Cashmere in Assam sit atop a hill labeled Ten Thousand horses. The text below the image further illuminates the content, noting:

The Native rebel troops refusing to lay down their arms, a signal was made, the artillery opened in their rear with such effect that they were immediately thrown into confusion. 480 it is said were left dead on the field, 80 or 100 taken prisoner,

¹⁵⁰ “Monthly Register: Foreign Intelligence,” *The Scots Magazine* (July 1, 1825): 104. British Newspaper Archive, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000547/18250701/016/0103?browse=False>.

¹⁵¹ Richard Cockett, *Blood, Dreams and Gold: The Changing Face of Burma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 12–13; Thant Myint-U, *The Hidden History of Burma: Race, Capitalism, and Democracy in the 21st Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2019).

some which were hung in chains, and the rest sent to work on the roads in chains for fourteen years.¹⁵²

These elements suggest the might of the Burmese army and also the severity of the consequences for the Burmese soldiers when they were eventually overpowered by the British.

Some small details indicate a more complex narrative. During the battle of Danabyu, the Burmese military employed a troop of seventeen elephants.¹⁵³ The elephant in the image, however, wears a harness labeled “COMPANY JUGGERNAUT.” The Elephant representing the East India Company fires cannonballs labeled with the phrases “conciliation balls”, “Allowance for Past Service”, “Advanced Pay”, and “Pay”. A trio of gallows labeled “Marching Orders” stand uphill from the elephant. This is not an image of the Burmese attacking the Sepoy as suggested by the approaching army. Rather it is an image of the BEIC attacking its own soldiers.

Large numbers of Indian soldiers deserted the BEIC during the Burma War after they were deprived of pack animals and were forced to march thousands of miles without rest. Due to the mismanaged budget, the soldiers were also denied compensation. Bengal was ultimately forced to take out two loans to make up the budget shortfall.¹⁵⁴ The caricature uses the syntax of the Burma War to speak to the overextension of the East

¹⁵² John Watson, “Politics, Affairs of India or How to Astonish the Natives,” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 3 (Jul. 9, 1825).

¹⁵³ Myint-U, 118–122.

¹⁵⁴ Anthony Webster, “Building Intra-Asian and Transcontinental Mercantile Networks in the Age of British East India Company: The Rise and Fall of the House of John Palmer,” *Commodities, Ports and Asian Maritime Trade Since 1750*, eds. Ulbe Bosme and Anthony Webster (New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 2015); 148–150.

India Company's administrative capacity in close proximity to news about England and Parliament ignoring the financial ramifications for Scotland.

As the BEIC gained more territory in Burma, the *Glasgow Looking Glass* subsequently published images copied from London news sources. This included content such as a Burmese state carriage (**Fig. 2.13**) and a Buddhist icon (**Fig. 2.14**) from the Shwedagon pagoda.¹⁵⁵ In the autumn of 1825, London displayed a state carriage and other artifacts looted from Rangoon. Periodicals emphasized that the treasure was precious because of the hefty price of blood, the bravery of the Burmese soldiers, and the fact that the soldiers destroyed as much as possible before retreating. Reprinting these images served as a reminder of the ongoing war.

The *Glasgow Looking Glass* also slightly altered some of London's narratives about the war. In late 1825, Heath provided an image entitled *Burmese Foundling* (**Fig. 2.15**). In this frame, a distressed child waves its arms and cries, deserted in a boat while four adult figures swim away and another boat with British soldiers rows towards it with a cannon pointed at the child. The scene suggests a horrific outcome for both the child and the fleeing adults. The content of this image refers to an episode of the war that other periodicals also highlighted.¹⁵⁶ Many articles mention that the adults callously abandoned the child, but it now thrived under the care of the ship's captain and crew — who are

¹⁵⁵ See one example of the carriage printed in London press at: "The Rath, or Burmese State Carriage." *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* 6, no. 172: 385–88.

¹⁵⁶ "General Archibald Campbell," *London Packet and New Lloyd's Evening Post* (Dec. 7, 1825): 4; "Madras Gazettes, and Letters from the Presidency...", *Morning Advertiser* (Dec. 8, 1825): 2; *Morning Post* (Dec. 9, 1825): 4.

alternately referred to as nurses. The reportedly thriving child is referred to as a prize who the captain intends to transport back to England for an education. This child is not unlike the state carriage or Buddha icon.

Scottish papers regularly reprinted news from London, and London publications moved readily through Scottish cities. In Scotland, news of the orphaned child was printed directly following news of fluctuating prices on indigo from India and comment on hopes for better success in the next crop. Most readers of the *Glasgow Looking Glass* would have been familiar with the basics of the Burma War and possibly this often reprinted story. Yet this print shows nothing of a thriving child or an orphaned Burmese child in proximity to the other objects looted by the BEIC. Heath reminds the reader not necessarily of the atrocities inflicted on the Burmese, but of the BEIC's financial mismanagement of the war and the BEIC's wider project of expanding control of Southeast Asia.

The first Burma War resulted in limited immediate profit for Scotland. Indeed, the *Glasgow Looking Glass* points to the city's overall increase in wealth. An image of Glasgow's newly proposed for-profit cemetery sits immediately below the image of the battle of Danyubu (**Fig 2.12**). Many of the cemetery's initial subscribers were textile manufacturers and investors in the BEIC. Textiles and particularly cotton manufacturers were the most prominent employers in Glasgow in 1825. About eighty percent of the raw

cotton fiber was imported from plantations in the Southern United States.¹⁵⁷ Popularity of cotton permitted comfortable ongoing investment in India and Burma, while the BEIC's stocks and success of cash crops invariably fluctuated. Glaswegian wealth grew even as investors were concerned about the impacts of war in Burma.

Formal similarities between the representation of the Battle of Danyubyu and the view of the cemetery further reinforce their connection. The mound of mangled and dismembered bodies in the battle mimics the shape of the hill forming the Necropolis. Examining the full page's composition visually points to the networks that financed the changing Scottish infrastructure.

The *Glasgow Looking Glass* emphasizes the impacts of textile manufacturing on the city. On September 17, 1825, Watson published a pair of images entitled *Consumption of Smoke: Present, Future* (**Fig. 2.16**) printed alongside one another. Both images feature an image of the same textile factory in different states. "Present" features heavy clouds of smoke billowing from a columnar chimney with a simple Doric capital. The column is adorned with a sign reading: "Mem. Pos. Jacob Watt", a reference to James Watt who developed an early version of the steam engine around 1776. Amid the smoke, people struggle to navigate the street. One figure in the foreground reaches through the smoke towards another figure dressed similarly in a top hat, jacket, and trousers, who has paused mid-step to avoid a collision. To the left, a woman in dress and

¹⁵⁷ Anthony Cooke, "The Expansion of the Industry, 1778–1830," *The Rise and Fall of the Scottish Cotton Industry, 1778–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 28–63.

cape shields her eyes and nose with a hand as another figure flails its arms. Toward the center, a figure in a top hat reaches out his arm as he struggles to navigate the street. A dog next to the tree in the lower right appears to cough as it struggles to breathe. Factory pollution, like the growing wealth from manufacturing, impacts the navigation and experience of the Glaswegian landscape.

“Future” presents a correction of the factory’s pollution. A bird nests atop the chimney blocking the flue cap that no longer vents smoke. The same individuals previously struggling to navigate the smoke-filled street mostly stop to look towards the factory which is now nearly concealed by plants growing across the lawn and up the chimney. A dog catcher with a catch pole to the right looks towards the leaping dog with its gaze turned up to the flock of birds in the sky, and another man in the center turns to look back at the dog while the companion whose hand he grasps waves his hand at someone or something in the distance. The hygienic, picturesque trappings included in the view render the factory and its ability to produce wealth ineffective. In the 1820s, this future is decidedly impossible for a location so invested in manufacturing.

The magazine points also more broadly to the economic implications of Scottish textile manufacturing on the United Kingdom. On November 14, 1825, Heath and Watson presented an image of a cell in Glasgow’s recently renovated prison (**Fig. 2.17**). A well-dressed man works behind a hand loom in a scene entitled *Glasgow Bridewell: No. 1. Dandy Loom*. The bars on the small window to the left are the only major indicator of

the weaver's imprisoned status. The manner of dress and overall hygiene of the space suggest the prisoner is of some means.

In 1824, the Glasgow Bridewell was renovated to expand inmate capacity in the increasingly wealthy city. News regarding the prison focused on the ways the facility was designed to reduce crowding and increase inmate hygiene.¹⁵⁸ The press also emphasized that inmates received instruction to encourage industrious character through tasks such as weaving, and this work allowed the inmate to save a small income for life after release from prison.¹⁵⁹ The news doesn't expressly indicate the social class of inmates, but the composition here further emphasizes the potential for prosperity for the inmates even if they are not currently wealthy.

Concurrently, many Glaswegian textile manufacturers employed impoverished Irish workers. In the early nineteenth century, British exports to Ireland—including a high percentage of product from Scottish ports—collapsed the market for Irish textiles.¹⁶⁰ Irish papers particularly noted that the trade bounties paid upon the export of Irish linens from both Ireland and Britain were only around a third of the bounties paid for the export of

¹⁵⁸ Anthony Cooke, "The Expansion of the Industry, 1778-1830," *The Rise and Fall of the Scottish Cotton Industry, 1778-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 28–63.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ciarán McCabe, *Begging, Charity and Religion in Pre-famine Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), 4 – 5. On one occasion, *The Glasgow Looking Glass* uses the labor in the landscape to point to Ireland's financial state. In "Traveling: in Ireland, in the Highlands" *Northern Looking Glass* 2, no. 2 (new series, 1826): 5, William Heath created a diptych with two scenes of passengers and a driver in a horse drawn cart. The left frame labeled "in Ireland features an emaciated horse with scraggly mane and driver in rags. To the cart's rear, a small pig struggles to push the cart across a very slight incline. The Highlands image features a well-dressed driver and a muscular horse with a full mane pulling the cart up a steep incline.

Scottish textiles exported out of Britain.¹⁶¹ The wealth represented by the factory, prison system, and the subscription cemetery excludes a cascade of injured bodies as seen in the image of Danuybu, but they are no less a monument to the work and finances of Scotland's place in the British Empire.

Scotland and India in the London Print Market

London caricature considers the work of Scottish politicians with British policy regarding India and the British East India Company (BEIC). Scots participated at many levels of the BEIC since the seventeenth century. However, Scots and Scotland occupy a relatively small portion of caricature about the BEIC. The British Museum collections dated from the 1780s to the 1830s indicate that around ten to twelve percent of total caricatures about the BEIC reference Scotland. The bulk of those referring to Scotland concern Henry Dundas' presence within the company's management structure from the 1780s to the turn of the nineteenth century. The prints feature Dundas — a Scottish advocate, Secretary of State, and eventually President of the BEIC's board of control—in a variety of circumstances. The scenes include Dundas in the guise of a Colossus spanning the distance from London to the Bay of Bengal, leading Scots to work in the BEIC, propping up miniature versions of the BEIC's London headquarters, and dancing for the company's directors. Focus on Dundas establishes a pictorial vocabulary that reduces Scotland to the appearance, character, and behaviors of a single individual.

¹⁶¹ "Linen Trade," *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier* 17 (Apr. 14, 1825): 1. British Newspaper Archive. <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000876/18250414/001/0001>.

The BEIC depended on Parliament for its charter and monopoly on trade in India, but its finances, management, army, and diplomatic negotiations with foreign entities were largely unregulated. The Seven Years' War and the decline of Mughal rule in India allowed the BEIC to secure more territory in India, including its wealthiest province, Bengal. During the 1760s, the BEIC increased production of cash crops—tea, indigo, and opium—at the expense of food crops. Exploitive agricultural practices reduced water levels to drought conditions, and by 1770, famine spread through much of India. Crop failure—in addition to deaths of a large percentage of taxpayers—led to a steep decline in the BEIC's revenue. Financial shortfalls were further compounded by goods waiting to be exported to London yet stagnating in warehouses. The fiscal mismanagement led to a series of regulating acts in 1773, 1784, and a declaratory act in 1788 clarifying the earlier laws that placed the BEIC under the purview of Parliament. In 1782, Dundas led a secret parliamentary committee to inquire into the BEIC's management, and in 1784, he was appointed to the six-member board of control.¹⁶² Over the next two decades Dundas was essential in reshaping the company to be part of Britain's government.

Caricatures began to reference Parliament's continued support of both the BEIC and Dundas's work for the company after the formal establishment of the BEIC's board of control in 1784. *When Charley but an India House had laid upon his back...* (1786) presents one example (**Fig. 2.18**). Here, printer Alexander McKenzie shows a series of male figures carrying models of Edinburgh, York, Bristol, London, and Westminster, each

¹⁶² Janam Mukherjee, *Hungry Bengal: War, Famine and the End of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2015), 27–30; Anna Winterbottom, *The East India Company and the Natural World*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

represented by the cathedral, abbey, or parish church comprising the most prominent landmark in each city's landscape. Dundas stands to the front of the queue next to a fallen building labeled India House. Dundas requests that Charles Jenkinson - head of Parliament's board of trade and privy councilor - assist him with the toppled building, noting: "Jenky do help me up with this India business." Jenkinson responds that he "cannot stay Dundass [sic] I have not yet stopped up all my windows." The sarcasm-laden exchange set against the backdrop of upright buildings suggests that the BEIC's board of control and the board of trade are struggling even with the resources represented by the line of cities.

Parliament was indeed beleaguered by budget concerns. In the Spring of 1785, Parliament introduced a shop tax based on the rent paid by retail shops to service the national debt and the American Revolution. This was on top of continually growing taxes on residential windows and bricks.¹⁶³ Wholesale dealers like the poorly managed BEIC were exempt from the law. Around the same time, periodicals emphasized that businesses in the larger British cities like London, Bristol, and Edinburgh carried the heaviest burden in taxes.¹⁶⁴ The BEIC was exempt from the tax. However, in McKenzie's caricature, the BEIC's London headquarters, India House still sits precariously toppled, unable to stand neither on its own, nor through the support of Dundas' body as with the buildings lined up behind him.

¹⁶³ Pamela Horn, *Behind the Counter: Shop Lives from Market Stall to Supermarket* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2015), 110–113.

¹⁶⁴ David Jennings, "Account of Proceedings of the SHOP-KEEPERS of the METROPOLIS on the Subject of the Repeal of the SHOP-TAX," *The Gentleman's Magazine: And Historical Chronicle*, 57, no. 1 (Jul., 1787): 599 – 600; "House of Commons," *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 10,055 (Feb. 20, 1786): 2; "London, Feb. 4," *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 10,050 (Feb., 8, 1786): 2.

Jenkinson's response to Dundas marks him as culpable in the shopkeeper's burden. He holds a bundle of wood, and comments that he, "cannot stay Dundass [sic] I have not yet stopped up all my windows." The lines representing the wood pieces match those surrounding the partially concealed statement in a rectangle to the right. Jenkinson appears to be boarding up a window with text describing the Prime Minister and minister of the treasury as shoplifters. Jenkinson infamously boarded up the windows of his estate to avoid paying the window tax on the full quantity while continuing to support increased taxes and extending further capital stocks and loans for the BEIC.¹⁶⁵ Jenkinson and Dundas point to the way Parliament and the BEIC are deeply entangled beyond laws that regulate the company's management.

Opposition to the shop tax further points to the larger structural issues in the British government. Public complaints filtered in from around Great Britain describing the massive burden the tax placed on shopkeepers and the cities they lived in. These included an essay published in *The English Review*, which commented that the, "late American war, and the changes which have followed it, have broke this charm, and laid open the secret of statesmen and politicians to the public eye." As a result, the new taxes receive great public outcry following years of languishing and stupor.¹⁶⁶ Letters and petitions signed by shopkeepers traveled to Parliament and newspapers published copies

¹⁶⁵ "A Congratulatory Ode, Addressed to the Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson," *The Rolliad... Probationary Odes... and Political Miscellanies* (Dublin: Printed for J. Milliken, 1803), 390; "Parliamentary Debate," *The Political Magazine and Parliamentary, Naval, Military, and Literary Journal* 10 (1785): 101.

¹⁶⁶ "National Affairs," *English Review, Or, An Abstract of English and Foreign Literature* 6 (Apr. 1786): 314–20.

of letters and minutes from meetings.¹⁶⁷ Tax payers and business owners increasingly called for no confidence in the administration as the financial burden escalated. The burden represented by the buildings threatens to crush McKenzie's dour figures.

Caricatures increasingly emphasized Dundas' manipulation of government. In *Board of Controul...* (1787), James Gillray composed a scene with Henry Dundas, William Pitt, and Thomas Townshend, Viscount Sydney conducting business in a shadowy room (**Fig. 2.19**). Papers cover half of the table and overflow onto the floor. Pitt and Sydney sit towards the right idly chatting with one another in the shadows. On the left, Dundas speaks with a trio of emaciated Scots in ragged tartan. The figure at the group's front scratches his thigh, which recalls incidents of the Scotch Fiddle in other caricatures. The figure holds out a letter requesting positions as directors or governors in the India department. Dundas in turn rolls up a letter in his left hand with a list of Scots including Sawney who are suitable for the role of directors under the board. Here, Dundas, and not Pitt, controls the whole trajectory of the India Department tracking dirt and disease from Scotland to England.¹⁶⁸

Dundas' presence as figurehead of BEIC's board of control and support of Pitt, the younger led to associations of dishonesty and thievery. In *East India Stocks* (1788),

¹⁶⁷ "London," Derby Mercury 55, no. 2803 (January 19, 1786): 2; "News," *Morning Chronicle*, no. 5208 (Jan. 23, 1786): 3.

¹⁶⁸ *We are all a coming or Scotch coal forever* is also part of a much longer pattern of London-based printers depicting Scots as traipsing dirt, excrement, and disease from Scotland to London. Charles Mosely's *Sawney in the Bog-House* is most commonly discussed in this capacity of hygiene and London's observation of Scottish behavior and character. See: Mark Jenner, "Sawney's Seat: The Social Imaginary of the London Bog-House c. 1660-c.1800," *Bellies, Bowels and Entrails in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Rebecca Anne Barr, Sylvie Kleiman-Lafonand, Sophie Vasset (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

William Dent portrays the board of control as a wooden stockade topped by a tattered liberty cap that imprisons a personification of the East India Company (**Fig. 2.21**). A masked Pitt rifles through the BEIC's pockets for dividends and Dundas holds a sack labeled with "India Budget" along with a thistle and a tag with "Dictator's wallet." Pitt and Dundas appear to be stealing from the company.

The company, however, is secured by more than the board of control. Three locks labeled "India Bonds" and "security" hang at the base of the vertical pole and on the device's base. As P.J. Marshall has noted, Parliament had been approving loans to the company and permissions for the company to increase the amount of capital stocks in circulation during the Seven Years' War and the Anglo-Mysore wars to secure southern India.¹⁶⁹ The company and Parliament were tightly enmeshed before the introduction of the board of control.

The etching aligns with an extended debate between Parliament and the BEIC regarding the powers legally allotted to each entity by the company's charter and British law. In March of 1788, Pitt introduced a Declaratory Bill in Parliament to clarify the powers of the Board of Control in the company's financial and diplomatic management introduced by the 1784 regulation.¹⁷⁰ The need for such explanation stemmed from an incident in which the board sent British Army soldiers to work with the BEIC's army and

¹⁶⁹ P.J. Marshall, *Making and Unmaking of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 208–212.

¹⁷⁰ Edward Ingram, *In Defence of British India: Great Britain in the Middle East, 1775–1842* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 60–62.

billed it to the company without approval of the directors.¹⁷¹ Newspapers commented that Parliament spent long hours debating the minutiae and detractors asserted that Extended debate arose in Parliament and the BEIC's directors about whether the 1784 law violated the company's charter and the liberty of British people.¹⁷² Dundas's sack is a receptacle for money along with Britain's character and liberty. Dent's depiction of Dundas filling the bag emblazoned with a thistle once again demonstrates how Scotland tangibly connects to the character of Britain.

DUN-SHAW (1788) further summarizes the political debate surrounding the BEIC's London-based management structure (**Fig. 2.22**). Dundas, in the stance of the colossal statue of Helios at Rhodes, bypasses the trail of other politicians and petitioners. Wearing a kilt, turban, and crown, Dundas' massive body forms a bridge spanning the ocean from London's East India House to the Bay of Bengal. Shah is usually a title associated with the imperial Mughal rulers of India and the text on the turban reads: "Charged Mr F-----with a design to shift the Crown from the Monarch's to his own head." Dundas is presented as a dictator who aims to control the monarchy.

Dundas' body visually shapes the course for the military's movement. A series of ships sail the condensed ocean flowing between Dundas' legs. The nearest ship's stern is

¹⁷¹ "Statement of the Proceedings between the Board of Controul, and the Directors of the East-India Company, Respecting the Four Regiments of His Majesty's Troops Intended to Serve in India at the Expense of the Company." *The Scots Magazine*, 1739-1803; *Edinburgh* 50 (Mar. 1788): 113-18; "Dispute Between the Board of Controul and India Company," *Morning Herald*, no. 2292 (Feb. 26, 1788): 6; "To the Proprietors of East India Stock," *Morning Chronicle*, no. 5869 (Mar. 1, 1788): 2; "Thurs. Feb 5," *Morning Herald*, no. 2274: 3; "East India Company," *Morning Herald*, no. 2302 (Mar. 8, 1788).

¹⁷² "National Affairs for March 1788," *English Review, Or, An Abstract of English and Foreign Literature* 11 (Mar. 1788): 239-240.

labeled “troops.” He’s not expressing favoritism to Scots or acting as Pitt’s sidekick while picking the BEIC’s pockets. Dundas’ body forms a monumental bridge that explicitly connects England to India, and his stance directs the British Army as it takes over BEIC resources.

While debates continued in London, the BEIC’s army along with troops from the British army worked to secure Mysore in South India from Sultan Fateh Ali Sahab Tipu during the third Mysore War. The BEIC had been working to secure Mysore from Sultan Tipu’s predecessors and allied French troops since the 1760s. Upon Tipu’s Ascension to the throne in 1782, the Mysoreans continued to have superior resources and knowledge of the topography to prevent British advances. In 1788, the company secured the alliance with the Nizan (administrative ruler) of Hyderabad and territory in the Sarkar of Guntar north of Mysore. This gave the British better strategic location to plan future attacks on Mysore. Within two years, Charles Cornwallis, Commander-in-Chief of the British India Army, secured Bangalore to the south of Mysore. It took Cornwallis another two years and two failed advances before successfully laying siege to Seringapatam, the Mysorean capital, in February of 1792.¹⁷³ Britain’s success in India depended on vast financial resources and Cornwallis’s strategic expertise to offset heavy losses earlier in the war.

Yet Dundas’ malicious character continued to fill the news and caricature. In January of 1792, London newspapers reported that Dundas informed King George and Queen Charlotte that the Mysorean capital city had fallen. This incident occurred several

¹⁷³ Franklin and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis: The Imperial Years* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 160–162; 170–173.

weeks before treaty negotiations, and BEIC stock prices rapidly increased. By the time news of the treaty traveled to London, Dundas's lies were exposed, but in statements reporting on Parliamentary procedure, Dundas noted that peace was a certain outcome and the only beneficial one for the company and Britain.¹⁷⁴ The minister's behavior and appearance are a continual performance masking and unmasking information to support his political status.

William Dent emphasizes that facade in *Flying News; or, Seringapatam taken by Strategem* (1792). Here, Dundas carries a model of Seringapatam suspended in a bubble to ease its weight (**Fig. 2.23**). A gust of wind labeled "STOCK EXCHANGE" propels Dundas down a path towards the diminutive King and Queen at the right. The stock wind and bubble ease the city's immense weight and Dundas is able to quickly run with high knees, unlike the scene of hunched figures and toppled model buildings in the earlier *When Charley but on India House...* (**Fig. 2.18**). The upright position of the building here suggests success for Dundas.

However, this is a success visually separated from the language of the East India Company and from iterations of the East India House and Leadenhall Street referenced in other prints. Dundas carries Seringapatam rather than a miniature East India House. Dundas' work and lies were heavily criticized, but the selection of a different building marks military action in India during the Third Mysore War as the product of the British government rather than strictly the BEIC.

¹⁷⁴ "Postscript," *General Evening Post*, no. 9098 (Jan. 19, 1792): 5; David Worral, *Harlequin Empire: Race, Ethnicity and the Drama of the Popular Enlightenment* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2015), 97–100.

Scotland in relation to India appears less in caricature after Dundas' appearance in *Flying News* even as the BEIC continued to wage war to secure more of India. Instead, caricatures raise concern for the impact of Dundas and the BEIC on London. In 1794 Dundas was appointed to the position of Secretary of State for War while maintaining his position as Treasurer for the Navy and President of the Board of control. Periodically, caricatures still appeared mirroring the earlier iconography of Bute's path into London.

In the 1790s Richard Newton produced two etchings depicting Dundas in relation to the growing tax burdens from earlier and current wars: *William the Conqueror's Triumphant Entry!!!* (1796) and *Tria Junto in Uno, or a ministerial mode of paying triple taxes* (1797). In the former, Dundas leads William Pitt astride a large stack of budget items including two million pounds for the BEIC and John Bull—a representation of Britain (**Fig. 2.24**). The latter print presents Dundas riding in the compartment of a carriage weighed down by his trio of political appointments (**Fig. 2.25**). Pitt sits in the driver's seat. An ass labeled as John Bull laden with packets of taxes pulls the immense weight of taxes. Dundas, who sits inside the carriage, is part of the immense burden placed on John Bull and all of Britain.

Subtracting Scotland from India

By 1825 and the start of the Burma War, Scotland's correlation to India and the BEIC was divorced from London caricature. The British presence in Burma was in fact most prominent in travel prints rather than caricature. Richard Gilson Reeve created a series of etchings from drawings by Lieutenant Joseph Moor (**Fig. 2.26**). Each view in

the series frames the soldiers and landscape in a formulaic and picturesque manner. In “The Attack of the Stockades at Pagoda Point, on the Rangoon River”, boats decorated with Britain’s naval ensign row out of the deep perspectival space towards shallow water and the shore. There is some minor crowding with the high number of vessels, but this scene and its companions are orderly in comparison to John Watson’s image of Danyubyu. No severed limbs or tangled masses of bodies exist in these landscapes, and they align with London’s general focus on the war’s successes rather than the financial uncertainties that concerned Scots.

London publishers continued to highlight Scottish character as stingy and manipulative. For example, *Characteristics* (1825) compares three men representing England, Ireland, and Scotland (**Fig. 2.27**). The three figures dressed in similar suits and top hats, and the image contains no thistle or other insignia indicating the figures’ national origins. Instead, the trio of stanzas below the image defines the differences between the three masculine figures. Each verse concerns the way the men would try to gain the affections of a shop girl. England will go in and chat, Ireland suggests going in to buy something, and Scotland proclaims that Ireland shouldn’t throw away the money. Instead, Scotland proposes to go into the shop and ask to exchange two and six for a half-crown, which is the same sum. The Scot’s advice to forgo purchase and merely exchange coins without the affectation of conversation suggests an ineffable and miserly character.

Characteristics contains no apparent connections to Burma or the publication of the *Glasgow Looking Glass*. The elevated dress of the trio of men gives the appearance of

national wealth. Scotland's critique of his wasteful companions, and the performative exchange of coins suggests a discord between English and Scottish character, and a concern for financial management communicated in more detail through Scottish news. Yet, this example of Scottish character is separate from the government, military, or the East India Company. This specific image has no identifiable connections to Burma, but it suggests a similar concern for financial management and discord between English and Scottish character.

News and images of King George IV's Royal Progress to Scotland were some of the most prominent content in London during the early 1820s. The periodical press reported a variety of details about the royal progress to Edinburgh including travel route, itinerary, quality and quantity of court dress ordered from shops in advance of the festivities.¹⁷⁵ Newspapers also emphasized that George was distantly related to James II and the Jacobite tradition, and was fully able to rule over all of Great Britain.¹⁷⁶ The press indicated that George IV desired to have the appearance of Scotland's full assimilation into British social and political infrastructure. Caricatures of George's progress continued to present Scotland as an entity in opposition to England. In *The First Laird in Aw Scotia or a View at Edinburgh in August, 1822* (**Fig. 2.28**), a group comprising mostly women surround a stage at Holyrood House with Edinburgh Castle in the background. George IV and his retinue including William Curtis, former Lord Mayor of London, stand on the platform. George wears a kilt with a short hem falling high on his thigh and much shorter

¹⁷⁵ "The King's Visit to Scotland," *Morning Herald*, no. 13.102 (August 9, 1822): 3.

¹⁷⁶ "Genealogy of George IV," *Morning Post* (Aug. 21, 1822): 1.

than the three other men. Many of the people looking up at the stage are smiling or laughing. Towards the right, one woman covers her face with a hand and peaks through the fingers. Women in the middle of the crowd and in the lower right corner wave or reach upwards towards the king's bare legs. The crowd's actions suggest varying degrees of ridicule, curiosity, and admiration.

The men's body language differs significantly from that of the women. George IV stands with chest pushed out and outstretched arm to display himself to the audience. Curtis's eyes are closed, and he holds down his kilt. The two other men on stage stare blankly into the distance and cover a cough. George's retinue appears to be largely disinterested in the show or audience below. In the crowd, the top-hatted man ignores the show while chastising the woman next to him. Toward the back of the crowd, the only other masculine figure in the audience has no visible mouth or hands to display expressions. The men's behavior is dismissive of the royal presentation and judgmental of the perceived slight in feminine behavior and character. The King's poor performance and the Scottish response to that performance point to some of the ideologic and cultural differences between England and Scotland.

Landing of the old amorous dandy!!! (**Fig. 2.29**) displays another group, and emphasizes the way women function as disease vectors in Scotland. George announced in the text over his head that he “had for a long time an Itching to see you but hope I shall not have an Itching when I leave you.” Responding to the King's presence, the woman in yellow and green tartan with partially exposed breasts notes: “I shall na be surprised if he

sees me it will be a' over wi' my Lady Cunning-one, he's a muckle bonnie lad," and her companion retorts, "Show yoursel' my Lady E--- ye'r Fat, Fair, and Forty, and that's his favourite." In spite of the implication that the King has an itch or that he may gain one from an affair in Scotland, the woman wants the attention and her companion offers support by noting that she possesses the King's favorite qualities. The scenario implies that the King is currently louse free, and is hoping that his associations with favored Scottish women won't result in infestation.

Lady E--- [Lady Janet Elphinstone] appears in at least two other caricatures related to the 1822 royal progress: George Cruikshank's *The Doves and Turtle Soup! Or A Try-O between Geordie, A Northern Lassie, and Sir Wiley O!!!* and *The Benefits of a Northern Excursion* (**Fig. 2.30–31**). In the first image, the rotund George IV kneels before Lady E as she opens her arms in the manner of welcome or invitation of his amorous attentions, and *The Benefits of a Northern Excursion* highlights flaws. Here, the King's mistress, Lady Elizabeth Conyngham scratches her posterior and ponders whether she has gotten the "King's Evil" as Lady Elphinstone responds that the infection is of so little consequence that everyone passes it back and forth. Toward the print's left side, the Home Secretary, Henry Addington, 1st Viscount Sidmouth, suggests that the King's ailment stems from the close association with Lady E and the King also announces "[Damn] the Scotch fiddle I say I never had such an Itching after Lady Cunning-one." The caricatures' narrative thread implies that Lady E's immoral behavior and disease infect English women by way of the King rather than traveling directly to London. The King's status reflects the status of the women he consorts with. The diseased Scottish

body mars the King and, by proxy, all of Britain, as morally corrupt. Scots are an oblique or hidden threat to a unified Britain.

However, the British Empire's network doesn't overall highlight this threat of diseased character as the nineteenth century progresses. William Heath later adapted the image of the gigantic pneumatic tube from *Glasgow Looking Glass* (**Fig. 2.11**). In *March of Intellect* (1829), Heath composed a tube for transportation between Greenwich Hill, a park in Southeast London, and Bengal (**Fig. 2.32**). Upon exit from the tube, the traveler can walk to a suspension bridge for a leisurely stroll to Cape Town in South Africa, which was the port that ships used to resupply on journeys between Britain and India. In the background, a soldier launches a group of Irish people from a cannon labeled "Quick conveyance for Irish Emigration". We see references to branches of the British Empire along with Irish emigration from the United Kingdom to the United States. There is no hint of Scottish presence. Heath referenced none of Scotland's contributions to the empire's infrastructure or the way Scottish difference could poison Anglo-British character. The landscape of empire visually unified Britain and conceals much of Scotland's unique contributions to building or financing the infrastructure.

Conclusion

The *Glasgow Looking Glass* was a short-lived publication. Its seventeen issues printed throughout a single year represent a small percentage of total caricature produced in Britain.. Since the nineteenth century, critics and scholars have consistently recognized the magazine for its deft encapsulation of Glaswegian life in spite of its brief term of

publication. Critical focus on the representation of life in Glasgow positions the magazine as an encyclopedic document about Scottish life and affluence from 1825 to 1826.

Caricature is, however, a genre entangled with use of the printed surface of the image and connecting other printed media to reveal unseen details. To discern Glasgow's folly and blunders as noted by the *Glasgow Herald* in 1826, we must examine magazine's content within a broader scope of caricature and printed media. Doing so places the content within a collection of motifs about travel and reveals connections between Scotland, England, and India. London caricatures primarily map a trail of dirt, disease, greed, and manipulation across thousands of miles of the British Empire. The paths printed in the *Glasgow Looking Glass* are laden with less dirt and infection than many earlier caricatures about Scotland, and the high volume of images about Burma stand out because they were printed during a period when London caricatures divorced Scotland from the visual representation of India and the East India Company. This pattern indicates at least some concern for the country's relationship to Scotland.

Tracing Burma through contemporary news underscores that Burma and India threaded through Glasgow's infrastructure in several ways. Scottish business people were especially concerned about the East India Company's fiscal management of the First Burma War and fluctuating stock prices. Cotton imports and growth of the textile market supported Glasgow's new infrastructure during the fluctuating economic circumstances of war in India. The ability to enjoy the opulence outlined in the *Glasgow Looking Glass's* pages—or to even afford the magazine—came for many of Glasgow's residents at

the expense of the people of Ireland, India, Burma, and enslaved Africans in the United States. Glasgow's blunders are not the collection of excessively large women's hats, occasional drunkenness, seasickness, or imaginative-if-impractical ways to navigate Scotland's terrain. The folly is the expression of concern for the mismanagement of wealth and empire while failing to demonstrate restraint.

Chapter 3

Binding Truths: Publisher Editions and the Representation of Scottish Character in the Long Nineteenth Century

In 1913, New York publisher Charles Scribner's Sons released an edition of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886) with cover design and interior illustrations composed by N.C. Wyeth (1882-1945, **Fig 3.1**). The fictional memoir follows the journey of David Balfour, a Scottish supporter of King George II. During the years following the 1745 Jacobite uprising, Balfour and condemned Jacobite Alan Breck travel through the carefully described landscape. They move from the Hebrides, into the Highlands, and end in the capital city of Edinburgh where Belfour gains a fortune and helps his Jacobite companion evade execution.

Of this edition, Wyeth commented:

As in 'Treasure Island', I am trying to carry the movement of the story...making each one stand not for an illustrated incident so much as an interpretation of the great outdoors in Scotland — building a background of characteristic surroundings and movement which will supply to the reader ground to stand on.¹⁷⁷

Here, Wyeth proposes to not only describe the narrative, but that his work comprising the book's structural layers — binding and interior decoration — establish a vocabulary of scenery and actions to provide an understanding of the setting, but also the means to

¹⁷⁷ "N.C. Wyeth's Full-page Colored Pictured Make a Striking Holiday Book of Stevenson's *Kidnapped*," *The Independent ...Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* 77, no. 3392 (Dec 04, 1913): 423.

virtually immerse oneself into Scotland as outlined in the book.¹⁷⁸ The novel's narrative — in conjunction with Wyeth's statement—suggests that the material composition of the book will transform the reader. Through this adaptive process, the reader becomes like Christian in John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*,¹⁷⁹ in which the changing landscape reflects Christian's character and moral status, just as Balfour's character changes as his journey through the Scottish landscape progresses.

Wyeth's statement on the book providing "ground" for the reader points to broader changes in the manufacture of books during the previous century and changing discourse surrounding book design. Development of sized bookcloth in Great Britain during the 1830s enabled binderies to create decorative book covers in the same design

¹⁷⁸ N.C. Wyeth, "On Illustrations: Suggestions and Comment on Illustrating Fiction," *New York Times* LXII, no. 19,986 (October 13, 1912): 574. In this 1912 essay published before *Kidnapped* was advertised in trade publications, Wyeth further commented on the role of illustration in a book, noting that it is important for an artist to learn what in parts of a narrative to portray to avoid repetition of specific actions and details expanded by the text. He says, "It is paradoxical, perhaps, to say that by restricting one's self in the choice of subject one gains more freedom by it; but it is undeniably so. By avoiding the shackles of explicit action and detail described and insisted upon by the text, the illustrator attains a field of far greater range upon which to exercise his powers, emotional and technical, and is given a better chance to produce something of real merit. And, after all, if the talent of writing and painting are to be coupled into a harmonious whole, is it not just as important that the illustrator's horizon's be broadened as it is that the writer alone should be given perfect freedom?" For Wyeth the illustration and text should form a cohesive whole, but he also acknowledges that the publisher has a different purpose for illustration. Wyeth writes: "A picture to the publisher, is essentially a commercial asset. Its principal function is to attract attention. It is in short, a form of advertisement. It is the briefest method known to communicate an idea to the human mind. And so, to be practical for the publisher, the true function of a picture is distorted and becomes merely the vehicle of an idea. Consequently, his initial demand of the illustrator is to strike at the very heart of a story; to paint in vivid colors and masses, bold statements of the important characters, and thus the illustrator is immediately precipitated into the "fatal blunder."" The publisher's goal as outlined here is to sell books. And the artist must navigate both needs. Wyeth expands on this by providing a narrative from his own career in which the author and publisher thought him to have selected an inappropriate moment to illustrate while letters from readers were positive. He noted: I was convinced from that moment of the importance to readers of subject selection.

¹⁷⁹ Refer to chapter one for more detail on the relationship between character and landscape in *Pilgrim's Progress*. John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress: An Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*. A Norton Critical Edition. (W.W. Norton & Company, 2009).

for a publisher's entire edition. These cloth publisher trade bindings—or edition bindings—enabled more of the middle class to purchase decorative books for their homes. By the 1850s, British edition binding held a prominent place in publisher trade advertising and international exhibitions. The new technology provided artists and publishers new opportunities to re-edition older works like those of Sir Walter Scott alongside bindings for new works about Scotland or referencing Scotland, including William Mackepeace Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* (1852), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886) and *David Balfour* (1893), H.C. Adams' *In the Fifteen* (1893) and *James or George* (1886), Venetia Hohler's *Bravest of Them All* (1899), and H.E. Marshall's *Scotland's Story* (1906). With increased circulation, critics, authors, artists, and audiences began highlighting the relationship between book bindings and the character of readers and the nation. After *Kidnapped*'s publication, Stevenson was even likened to both his books and the landscape the book represented. Contextualizing N.C. Wyeth's designs within this broader collection of books and the material culture of books helps facilitate understanding of how Scottish identities were constructed on an individual and national level.

Interpreting Books since the Late Eighteenth Century

Illustrated books sold with decorative edition bindings are complex structures that represent the combined efforts of author, illustrator, binder, and publisher, and are filtered through the paratextual experiences of advertisers, booksellers, readers, literary critics, librarians, and curators. Multiple layers of material lend themselves to a variety of interpretive methods. Overviewing these methods highlights a history of scholarship and

curatorial practice from the eighteenth century to our current decade that privileges the artisan hand-binding and the relationships between illustration and text.

In recent decades, curatorial focus has emphasized the visual properties of books and their relationship to nineteenth-century British design. Betty Bright, a book artist and historian of book art, has cited the late nineteenth century Private Press Movement as one of the origins of the use of books as a tactile and visual object for the means of artistic expression.¹⁸⁰ The participants of the Private Press movement — an offshoot of the Arts and Crafts movement — focused on the hand printing of small editions of books with high quality materials to support a comfortable and aesthetically pleasing reading experience in lieu of contracting with an established fine or commercial printing firm. Private presses include those like Henry Daniel’s The Daniel Press (established in 1845) along with those more-commonly associated with the Private Press movement like William Morris’s Kelmscott Press (1890 – 96), Elbert Hubbard’s Roycroft Press (1894 – 1938), and T.J. Cobden-Sanderson’s Dove’s Press (1900 – 1915). Each of these presses produced books with slightly different approaches to design. For example, Morris touted the idea of the “book beautiful,” which entailed using a range of quality materials for each component of the book and arranging them into a cohesive composition, and Cobden-Sanderson championed the “book typographic” which emphasized the visual properties and legibility of the type with minimal pictorial illustration. These presses underscored the visual and material experience of books.

¹⁸⁰ Betty Bright, *No Longer Innocent: Book Art in America, 1960–1980* (New York City: Granary Books, 2005), 19–32.

Twentieth-century designers continued to tout Morris and his medievalist, hand-printed texts as one of the points of origin for contemporary book design in which all elements in a two-page spread are composed in relation to one another, rather than treating each page as its own unit.¹⁸¹ Subsequent designers like Eric Gill, Jan Tschichold, and Stanley Morison all intensely focused on the interior of books in extensive commentary on typography and page composition. Stanley Morison specifically cited Morris as a key source for his interest in the typography of earlier eras and unified design of the page.¹⁸² These principles continue to be cited by designers and design educators today as solid foundations for publication designs.

Prominent institutions have exhibited the nineteenth-century book as art since the development of the Private Press movement. The Grolier Club has consistently displayed antiquarian manuscripts and books alongside work from fine and private presses since 1884. In 1988, the University of Chicago Library hosted one of the earliest exhibits of artist books as an historic and contemporary medium of expression, and in 1994 the Museum of Modern Art displayed *A Century of Artist Books*, which focused on the engagement of artists with the illustration and design of fine press books to expand the emotional and sensorial experience of reading from the nineteenth century to the late twentieth century. In October of 2006, the National Museum of Women in the Arts

¹⁸¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, "Theories of Art from Morris to Gropius," *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 12 – 35.

¹⁸² Eric Gill, *An Essay on Typography*. 1931. Reprint (Boston: D.R. Godine, 1993); Stanley Morison, *The Typographic Book, 1450 – 1935: A Study of Fine Typography through Five Centuries, Exhibited in Upwards of Three Hundred and Fifty Title and Text Pages Drawn from Presses Working in the European Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); Jan Tschichold, *The New Typography: A Handbook for Modern Designers*, trans. Ruari McLean (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

exhibited *The Book as Art* which continues as a series of evolving virtual exhibits concerning the varied thematic content and form of artist books. More recently, the Yale Center for British Art organized *Contemporary Designer Bindings* (2020), which considers how the tradition of custom bound books and personalized libraries continues into the current century. These exhibitions particularly demonstrate an ongoing interest in the visual qualities of books and the ways in which historic book production has influenced contemporary artistic production.

Other authors, bibliographers, and design historians further considered the ontological state of books. Object narratives in the eighteenth century like “The Adventure of a Quire of Paper” (1779) describe the development of a publication. In this example, a quire — a quartet of collated paper sheets folded to form a signature or booklet with eight leaves — narrates the process of being purchased by a poor author, who writes an essay on the pages, and then the quire full of text is sent to a magazine.¹⁸³ Victorian historians like John Hannett positioned early cloth edition binding and hand-bound books of the nineteenth century within the trajectory of clay tablets, papyrus scrolls, and parchment codices.¹⁸⁴ Contemporary bibliographers and artists like Amaranth Borusk, Johanna Drucker, and Scott McCloud consider how digital formats and distribution methods extend the historical definitions of books as portable communication

¹⁸³ “The Adventure of a Quire of Paper,” *The Weekly Magazine or Edinburgh Amusement* 45 (1779): 78, 103, 128, 152.

¹⁸⁴ John Hannett, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Form of the Books of the Ancients; with a History of the Art of Bookbinding, from the Times of the Greeks and Romans to the Present Day Interspersed with Bibliographical References to Men and Books of All Ages and Countries* (London: R. Groombridge, 1837), iv, 212.

devices.¹⁸⁵ My arguments here will not extend to the digital replication and display of nineteenth-century books. However, the extended timeline and multiple formats acknowledged by such historiographies emphasize the long presence of books and their continued adaptation and relevance to audiences.

For all the fascination directed at the handcrafted books of the nineteenth century, little art historical or bibliographic scholarship has focused on the iconographic, thematic, or stylistic content imprinted on publisher edition or trade edition binding. In 2003, Edmund King published *Victorian Decorated Trade Bindings: 1830 – 1880*, which is limited to bindings produced by approximately thirteen identified binders and a smattering of examples with unidentified designers from the British Library's collections. From 2006 – 2010, Richard Minsky published three catalogs with bibliographic descriptions of American decorated trade bindings with a focus on the work of fifty designers.¹⁸⁶ There continues to be a dearth of extended analysis of edition binding. Bibliographers include select examples in studies of genres such as children's books. Even Ruari McLean's often-cited overview *Victorian Book Design and Color Printing* (1972) dedicated little time to the aesthetics or content displayed of binding and focuses chiefly on the technical aspects of binding production while providing extensive overviews of the visual and technical properties of illustration and typography.

¹⁸⁵ Amaranth Borusk, *The Book*, The MIT Press Essential Knowledge Series (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2018); Johanna Drucker, *What Is?: Nine Epistemological Essays* (Victoria: Cuneiform Press, 2013); McCloud, Scott. *Reinventing Comics* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000).

¹⁸⁶ Richard Minsky, *American Decorated Publishers' Bindings, 1872–1929* (Stockport, N.Y.: R. Minsky, 2006); Richard Minsky, *Catalog of the Second Collection of American Decorated Publishers' Bindings, 1872–1929* (2009); Richard Minsky, *Catalog of the Third Exhibition of American Decorated Publishers' Bindings, 1872–1929* (2010).

Other bibliographic studies highlight the work of single designers or bookbinders.¹⁸⁷ Truncation of collections by date ranges, genre, materials, or designer provide methods for efficiently cataloging and navigating information. But for all its benefits, truncation of large numbers of collection items in bibliographies or exhibits by artists or small sets of decades or centuries creates challenges. Take for example the 1913 Scribner edition of *Kidnapped*: the large-scale oil paintings that served as designs for both the cover and interior illustration have been featured in recent scholarship on Wyeth,¹⁸⁸ and the cover design has been featured in at least one monograph on cover design for children's books. Such categorization isolates the 1913 publication from Scribner's earlier editions of the *Kidnapped* with decorated bindings from the 1880s in addition to other books from earlier in the nineteenth century. This curatorial method limits the ability to trace thematic commonalities, such as landscape elements or Scottish motifs in binding decoration for books across multiple publishers, designers, and eras.

Printing, Book Design, and Character

New developments in printing and publishing beginning in the late eighteenth century led to discourse about the format of books and periodicals. The advent of wood engraving in the 1790s and steel engraving in the 1820s and new innovations in cloth and paper manufacture made it possible to produce larger edition numbers while still

¹⁸⁷ Mindell Dubansky, *The Proper Decoration of Book Covers: The Life and Work of Alice C. Morse* (New York: The Grolier Club, 2008). See also: Charles Gullans and John Espey, *Margaret Armstrong and American Trade Bindings* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1991).

¹⁸⁸ Brandywine River Museum of Art, *N.C. Wyeth Catalogue Raisonné*, accessed Dec. 15, 2019, <http://collections.brandywine.org/newcr>. The digitized catalogue raisonné provides a current exhibition history for Wyeth's body of work.

maintaining the integrity of the image plate or block.¹⁸⁹ From the early nineteenth century, authors expressed concern about the potential for illustration to impact the intellect or character of readers. Walter Scott advocated for the use of landscape, architecture, or artifacts in illustration of fiction rather than scenes with figures that directly narrated a story's plot in order to enforce an imaginative connection between image, text, and non-literary space.¹⁹⁰ William Wordsworth proclaimed that illustration would return readers to an uncivilized state. In "Illustrated Books and Newspapers" (1850) he noted:

Discourse was deemed Man's noblest attribute,
And written words the glory of his hand;
Then following Printing with enlarged command
For thought—dominion vast and absolute
For spreading truth, and making love expand.
Now prose and verse sunk into disrepute
Must lackey a dumb Art that best can suit
The taste of this once-intellectual Land.
A Backward movement surely have we here,
From manhood, —back to childhood; for the age —
Back towards covered life's first rude career.
Avaunt this vile abuse of pictured page!
Must eyes be all in all, the tongue and ear
Nothing? Heaven keep us from a lower stage!¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Margaret D. Stet, "Publishing Industries and Practices," *The Cambridge Companion to the Fin de Siècle*, edited by Gail Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 113–130.

¹⁹⁰ Richard Maxwell, "Introduction," *The Victorian Illustrated Book*, ed. Richard Maxwell (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002), 1–51.

¹⁹¹ William Wordsworth, "Illustrated Books and Newspapers," *The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth*. Edited by Andrew Jackson George. Grassmere, vol. 2. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), 246.

Wordsworth saw printing as a technology that allowed humans an increased capacity for communication or to spread truth and discourse. Meanwhile, profusion of illustration might return Britain to the pictographs on cave walls perceived as a less advanced stage of human communication. Images in texts created new possibilities to engage the intellect, but if abused or overused in books or periodicals impacted the intellectual capabilities of readers. Decreased mental capacity would thus impact the character of the entire nation.

Contemporary with Wordsworth, certain artists began encouraging an equitable relationship between words and images. Some of the painter and poet associates of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were at the vanguard of this development. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ford Maddox Brown, and William Holman Hunt often adorned the frames of their paintings to allow viewers to use their literary knowledge to expand the meaning of the painted composition. Likewise, several of the Pre-Raphaelites participated in the illustration of Edward Moxon's substantial edition of Alfred Tennyson's *Poems* (1857).¹⁹² The designer William Morris further encouraged artists, authors, and publishers to establish a unified relationship between image and text in the composition of a page to demonstrate the stalwart character of the book and publisher.¹⁹³ Artists and authors asserted that image and text were a fully integrated unit that expanded the reader's

¹⁹² Joel M. Hoffman, "What Is Pre-Raphaelitism, Really? In Pursuit of Identity Through the Germ and Moxon's Tennyson," *Pocket Cathedrals: Pre-Raphaelite Book Illustration*, edited by Susan Casteras (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1991), 44 – 45.

¹⁹³ William S. Peterson, "Introduction," *The Kelmscott Press: A History of William Morris's Typographical Adventure* (University of California Press, 1991), 3 – 8.

understanding of a work when combined. These sources highlight a concern for the relationship between image and text that often formulate the interior of a book.

However, they overlook a chief component of a book's structure: binding.

Alongside developments that allowed more illustrations, new developments in cloth and paper manufacture allowed publishers to more efficiently and affordably produce editions of books bound in paper and cloth rather than the late Georgian market that focused on unbound text blocks. The content and composition of binding design is an under-studied feature of book design in the long nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, books were available to expanded audiences in British and American cities. Members of the working class could now afford paperback reprints of works such as Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* (1810), Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), and Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist* (1837). New and old literature was also serialized in periodicals.¹⁹⁴ Simple ownership of any books and knowledge of text was no longer a sign of great intellectual capabilities or wealth.

Elite book culture adapted to make books less about the textual content and more about the monetary, material, and social implications of owning books. Affluent households focused on making books a part of the structure of homes, not unlike the furnishings.¹⁹⁵ Emphasizing this point, bibliophile Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote in 1893,

¹⁹⁴ Kate Flint, "The Victorian Novel and Its Readers," *The Cambridge Companion to the Victorian Novel*, 2nd ed., ed. Deidre David, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 13 – 35; George Sampson, *English for the English: A Chapter on National Education* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 76 – 77.

¹⁹⁵ Gerard Curtis, *The Visual Word: Art and the Material Book in Victorian England* (Brookfield: Ashgate, 2002), 206–207.

“of course you know there are many fine houses where the library is part of the upholstery, so to speak. Books in handsome bindings, kept under plate-glass...are as important to stylish establishments as servants in livery.” In other words, the books or library were an important sign of the household’s status, much like the servants who helped take care of it. Through books, one could convey taste through physical presence rather than literary or academic interests. Even if one could not afford a full library, a carefully placed decoratively-bound parlor book could be used to create an impression about the owner or household.¹⁹⁶

Changes in binding production from the 1820s and 1830s enabled more of the middle class to engage with decorative books. Around 1823 Archibald Leighton collaborated with a dyer to introduce pigmented and sized bookcloth, or bookbinder’s cloth, to be used for book covers. Following Leighton’s efforts, several smaller textile workshops began processing bookcloth, but its manufacture was decentralized from London publishers until J.L. Wilson established a factory in the capital city during 1847. Wilson became the largest British manufacturer of bookcloth and remained one of the largest exporters of the cloth to the United States.¹⁹⁷ Much of the bookcloth used by Edinburgh publishers was purchased from either Manchester or London. This new material was cheaper than leather and relatively simple to decorate. The manufacture of

¹⁹⁶ Oliver Wendel Holmes, *The Poet at the Breakfast Table* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1896), 188; see also: Amy Cruse, *The Englishman and His Books in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowel, 1930), 278–80, for a discussion regarding new design techniques for gift books and the desire for new editions for display.

¹⁹⁷ Andrea Krupp, "Bookcloth in England and America, 1823–50." *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 100, no. 1 (2006): 25–87, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24293830>.

bookcloth that was dyed, and sized, and new embossing techniques developed in the 1830s supported the industrial manufacture of books that mimicked the texture of leather, sculpted surfaces, or gold-leaf inlay and lettering. Before these developments, such elaborate results could only be achieved through the efforts of handcraft to produce a single, unique binding, which made complex decorations on book bindings out of reach for most individuals.¹⁹⁸

Printers and critics like Joseph Cundall concerned themselves with the historical development of bound books in Europe and the construction or assembly of all parts of the binding, including the kinds of cloth or leather, pigments of materials, and ornament applied to the substrate. In *Ornamental Art* (1848), Cundall expresses that the color of the binding should complement the content of the book. Volumes dedicated to poetry and fine art should be bound in bright tones of red, green, and blue and include as much ornamentation as desired. John Hannett in *Bibliopegia* (1848) breaks down the use of specific color palettes further by genres, assigning the sturdy Russian or bark tanned leather to History, and the pliable sheepskin frequently dyed in intense colors to an array of genres and languages. Discourse conferred context to all parts of the binding including the substrate upon which any title or decorative ornament might be added.

Meaning extends also to any ornament subsequently applied to the chosen leather or cloth. Hannett particularly argues that nineteenth-century readers owe much to eighteenth-century collectors and book sellers for the development of large libraries for

¹⁹⁸ Edmund B. King, *Victorian Decorated Trade Bindings, 1830–1880: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: British Library, 2003), xi–xii.

study by contemporary scholars. Still, eighteenth-century binding here serves as an example of faulty or ineffectual composition. Hannett questions the taste of earlier binders, noting that:

The art may be said to have progressed more in the forwarding, or early stages, than in the finishing, for it must be confessed, that the selection of their tools for gilding were not often chosen with the best taste; birds, trees, ships, &c., being indiscriminately applied to the backs of books, whose contents were frequently diametrically opposite to what the ornament selected would lead any one to imply.¹⁹⁹

Good taste in book coverings then must be defined by the binder choosing a stamp or tool that complements or does not otherwise oppose the text's theme.

We can turn to painting of the period to demonstrate these new books in use. William Holman Hunt's *Awakening Conscience* (1854) deploys a tabletop display of a decoratively bound book. Two books with raised arabesque patterns adorn the table to the left of the figures. The design of the books mirrors the carvings in the piano, and even the wrap around the young woman's waist. Hunt incorporated these florid volumes into the busy decoration of the space.

Viewers of Hunt's composition — which was exhibited in 1854 at the Royal Academy in London — commented on the relationship between the decoration and the character of the pictured couple. Susan Casteras and Tim Barringer, among other Art Historians, have referenced critic John Ruskin's correlation between the furniture's lack

¹⁹⁹ John Hannett, *Bibliopegia; Or, Bookbinding: In Two Parts. Part 1, The Books of the Ancients, and History of the Art of Bookbinding. Part 2, The Practical Art of Bookbinding. The Sixth Edition, Illustrated with Numerous Engravings* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1848), 149.

of use and a rented apartment for the keeping of the man's mistress.²⁰⁰ Ruskin's critique of the books is typically overlooked. He refers to them as, "Those embossed books, vain and useless — they are also new, — marked with no happy wearing of beloved leaves."²⁰¹ Ruskin finds no fault with the technical details of Hunt's painting. From the wood surfaces to the wallpaper and books, he praises the artist's skill. He suggests conversely that nothing moral or tasteful can be gleaned from Hunt's chosen content, and the display of such decorative books expunged the purchaser or decorator of the room or home from the realms of good taste and good character.

For Ruskin, decorative books represented a tension between classes and social values. While Ruskin abhorred the publisher bindings for new book editions, he advocated for literacy and the ownership of books across a spectrum of classes. He even opposed public or circulating libraries because borrowing a book failed to encourage the same careful handling of the object as owning a book.²⁰² He believed that young men of all classes should begin building:

A series of books for use through life; making his little library, of all the furniture in his room, the most studied and decorative piece; every volume having its assigned place, like a little statue in its niche, and one of the earliest and strictest lessons to children of the house being how to turn the pages of their own literary

²⁰⁰ Susan P. Casteras, "'The Utmost Possible Variety in Our Combination': an Overview of the Pre-Raphaelite Circle as Book Illustrators", *Pocket Cathedrals: Pre-Raphaelite Book Illustration*, ed. Susan Casteras (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1991), 12.

²⁰¹ John Ruskin, "The Awakening Conscience by Holman Hunt, From The Times, May 25, 1854," *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 12, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904), 333–335.

²⁰² John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, vol. 18, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1905), 87–89.

possessions with no chance of tearing or dog's ears. Rather, the library is orderly and the books remain in pristine condition even after years of use in a home.²⁰³

The library's condition represents a concentrated effort to care for possessions. As such, a clean and organized library is a sign of elevated character. Ruskin assigns a decorative function to the new industrial book because it lacks any signs of the owner reading it over an extended time. The pristine decorative book marks the woman's fallen character because she demonstrates no immediate interest or capability in caring for the object. The book market and discourse surrounding the book in Victorian Britain frames the ownership and possession of books as something intensely linked to the character of the book's owner or recipient.

Bindings also came to stand for national character. By the mid-nineteenth century, decorated book cloth and edition binding held prominent places in publishers' repertoire. Exhibition reviews further highlighted the importance of bookbinding. In 1851, journalists for national and regional periodicals excitedly covered bookbinding for the Great Exhibition of Works of Industry of All Nations. The *London Illustrated News* among others made note that London bookbinders presented mediocre work particularly in comparison to the French and Austrian efforts. By the 1862 International Exhibit in London, the *Daily News* declared England to be unrivaled in the field of bookbinding, particularly in the realm of cloth edition binding—and *The Western Daily Press* from April 15, 1862, notes that:

²⁰³ *ibid.*, X.

In publishers' works, in the neat cloth binding which is so peculiarly our own that it is known abroad under the title of *toile Anglaise* [English cloth], we shall stand unrivalled. Both for design and execution of this work Bone, Leighton, Hodge, and Westleys will hold their own against all comers... The designs of Owen Jones, "Luke Limner," and others have within a few short years worked a complete revolution in this branch of art manufacture...

Over the course of a decade, the medium that elicited claims of mediocrity became a mark of national celebration of English binderies and cover designers.

In the most immediate sense, 'toile Anglaise' refers to work made by English binderies and cover designers, and French publishers used the term in that manner. However, the review above also suggests that Englishness is a matter of the place of manufacture as much as an incomparable style of both composition and manufacture. Neither John Leighton (pseudonym Luke Limner) and his family's bindery Leighton, Son, & Hodge, or their many peers worked in a monolithic manner of form or composition. Patterns arise upon examining large numbers of covers in the Scottish National Library, British Library, and New York Public Library. Cloth edition binding from the latter half of the century contains many examples of script or text adapted from historic manuscripts and fonts such as blackletter and Roman or Old Style and historic architectural elements as framing devices. Blackletter scripts are particularly prominent on the covers for poetry, histories, and several exhibition catalogs and travel guides. The application of historical lettering lends the levity of valued historical documents to these objects produced with the latest technologies.

In the early 1860s, trade publications such as *The Bookseller* began highlighting the sale of volumes with ornamental bindings. Greenings; Leighton, Hodge, & Son; and Morris & Co. had been regularly posting adverts containing lists of their services, including the production of embossed covers from stock and new stencils, and A.W. Bennett was one of the earliest publishers to advertise ornamental bindings produced in cloth. Leighton, Hodge, & Son particularly emphasized their capabilities to handle wholesale orders and how the efficiency of steam expedited their efforts early in the century. Within a decade, binders scaled up their advertising to include lists or even images of bindings produced for publishers.²⁰⁴

These new technologies impacted the publications of Walter Scott at a variety of publishing firms. In the early 1860s two publishers — A.W. Bennet in London and Adam & Charles Black in Edinburgh— produced decoratively bound copies of Scott’s works. Bennet would focus primarily on editions of Scott’s series of narrative poetry—including *Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion*, and *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (**Fig. 3.2, 3.3, 3.4**) — as uniformly bound volumes while Black worked through a range of his poetry and the *Waverly* novels in multiple editions and formats. Both publishers used the bulk of their advertisement space to describe the illustrations, but Bennet particularly emphasized the use of the new binding techniques. An October 1862 advertisement in *The Bookseller*

²⁰⁴ Joseph Vernon Whitaker, and George Herbert Whitaker, eds., *The Bookseller*. Leighton published primarily the same advertisement in the *Bookseller* from 1858 through the end of bindery in the 1880s and a similar ad without reference to steam in *Bent’s list* which preceded the *Bookseller* prior to 1858. Over the same period, Greenings, another prominent bindery, expanded from small eighth- or sixteenth-page adverts to double-page spreads.

mentioned that an edition of *Lady of the Lake* newly out of press that it would include an “ornamental binding”. Through advertising, binding became an integral part of getting books to retailers and readers.

More than trade-specific advertising, reviews of books began to highlight the importance of binding and cover designers. A January 1864 review on the new cloth bindings highlighted that first and foremost the binding should suit the book’s content. “A Few Words On Modern Cloth Book Bindings,” notes:

That purely intellectual age has not yet arrived when the cold and calculating reading public shall examine simply the title-page and contents of a new work before purchasing it. At present the binding has very much more to do with the sale than many learned people will be apt to imagine; the majority of us are still children, pleased with colour and attracted by glitter...Printers and engravers made a delightful interior, and the binder had, of necessity, to do his duty, and thus came the radiant cloth, the embossed sides, and the exquisite figures of gold. For the latter, the artist had to be called into the workshop; and John Leighton (the prince of book decorators, and inventor of a new style of letter which always points out the cunning of his pencil), Noel Humphry, and even Digby Wayatt, now move amongst glue-pots and work-benches, assisting the workmen, whose ideas formerly never arose beyond stitching and pasting....²⁰⁵

Binding must then serve two purposes: to appeal to the buyer’s aesthetic interests or unhampered feeling through color and glitter and to mirror the magnificence of the well-illustrated and printed book block.

Designers continued to comment on the advertising capabilities of book covers.

Isabel M’Dougall who published in Britain and the United States remarked:

²⁰⁵ “A Few Words on Modern Cloth Book Bindings,” *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 8, no. 184 (January 4, 1864): 17.

Americans have certain qualities, good or bad, generally charged by their censors and admitted by their eulogists; they are quick, intelligent, imitative, inventive, fond of novelty, deft-handed, inquisitive, emotional. All of which, with ripening time, should make them the most artistic nation the world has seen. In the meantime, quite naturally, we have developed first along the lines of art most nearly allied to commerce and manufactures. And the book cover is one of them.”²⁰⁶

Decorative books represent both public fashion, personal appearance, and the commerce of fashionable appearance reflects national character.

Book sales and purchasing are intimately entwined with visual presentation, place, and people. People working in publishing commented on how books moved through the landscape. Bookbinder William.G. Bowdoin remarked:

The traveller is starting on a long journey and well knowing from experience that the finest scenery palls at last on the sight when too long observed, he resolves to take refuge in a book. The railway stall spreads out “the latest books” and so placards them. Here we have a book polychromatic in color and with a lurid picture on the cover. What is the title? Who is it by? Don’t Know. “The cover sells the book” and away goes the traveller with it, he knows not why, except that the cover is adorned with a design stamped thereon which catches the eye and then the person to whom the eye belongs.²⁰⁷

The buyer’s selection of a volume results from a near-instantaneous decision based on the cover. Then the book travels onto the train to be seen by other travelers while the buyer reads it in transit.

Bowdoin goes on to discuss the great quantity of readers and the changing relationship to books. He noted:

²⁰⁶ Isabel M’Dougall, “American Book Covers.” *The Interior* 29, no. 1487 (December 8, 1898): 1527.

²⁰⁷ W.G. Bowdoin, “Book-Cover Designing and Decoration.” *Self Culture* 8, no. 4 (December 1, 1898): 398.

More people read books now than was ever before the case in the world's history. It has become a fashion or a fad, and those to whom reading is no attraction must have books because other people have them, and those to who the inside of a book does not appeal are led captive by a dash of gold on a field of red...The publisher is wise in his day and generation, and hence the commercial bookbindings as we now have them."²⁰⁸

Others working in publishing and book sales noted alongside Bowdoin that a pleasing counter or window display and beautiful furnishings drew in customers and lead to the purchase and circulation of books.²⁰⁹ The emphasis on visual appeal and fashion point to a fundamental change in the use of books that differs from Ruskin's association of the decorative book with fallen character. Readers were plentiful and books so visible in many settings that even people entirely uninterested in reading wanted the appearance of being a reader to meet the status quo of being a reader. Books, particularly ones with decorative covers, visually identified people as readers whether they used the book for any other purpose or the pages and binding ever started to wear from hand thumbing through the pages.

Literary reviews also highlight the moral implications of bindings. The "Books of the Week" segment from the November 25, 1865 issue of *The Examiner* including Bennett's edition of *Marmion* opened with the following quote from the novelist Samuel Butler: "There is a kind of physiognomy in the title of books no less than in the faces of men, by which a skillful observer will as well know what to expect from one as the

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ John H. Dingman "American Bookselling and Booksellers," *The Dial; a Semi - Monthly Journal of Literary Criticism, Discussion, and Information* (May 01, 1900): 344; Algernon Tassin, "The Story of Modern Book Advertising: In Three Parts--Part III," *The Bookman; a Review of Books and Life* 33, no. 4 (June 1911): 405.

other.” The full review of *Marmion* also included in the same issue points further to the reader. *The Examiner* noted that Bennett printed and bound his texts with ‘luxurious good taste’, and ‘The book is richly bound in gold and scarlet, has initial letters to each canto illustrated in woodcut, and is as dainty edition of ‘Marmion’ as any lady can desire. It’s images of the scenery that lay in Scott’s own mind as that of the poem suggests the right background of the reader.’ The critic suggested that the book and not only the text or illustrations are dainty, and the poem provided a link to the author’s mind and the context of the reader, and therefore, appropriate for the perceived character of a particular audience — ladies.

The *Examiner’s* comments contradict Ruskin’s comments on edition binding from his 1854 review. This edition of Scott’s *Marmion* is dainty and entirely appropriate for ladies possessing good taste. “Dainty” refers especially here to the appearance of the decoration and the qualities of the targeted audience of ladies. The volume in question is a common octavo signature size, and measures twenty centimeters at the spine. It has some heft and weight, and it is large enough for the decoration to be legible at a moderate distance from a shelf or table display. The intensely pigmented cloth was in fact visible from across the reading room when a librarian at the National Library of Scotland delivered it to my study table. Still the review noted that the book and its contents are dainty like any lady who would want it. Ruskin found the decorative book to be an indicator of the irredeemable feminine character in Hunt’s *Awakening Conscience* in the previous decade. Here, the desire for and acquisition of such a volume shifted to feminine goodness.

The review targeting women draws attention to the gender as readers, purchasers, and consumers of books. Margaret Beetham cautions researchers to be mindful that audiences targeted by reviews and advertising do not necessarily wholly correspond to the actual readership, ownership, or display destination of publications. The most common trade publication advertising to appeal to book sellers did not specifically suggest a woman-centered audience. The appearance of Bennet's edition of *Marmion* coincided with a wider pattern in publishing instructional books and periodicals outlining skills required of middle-class women.²¹⁰ The proliferation of Scott's work additionally overlapped with a rise in novels written by women addressing the ways women's labor shapes national character as outlined in chapter one. Thus, the reviewer's comments on the feminine daintiness of this specific edition converges with ideas on nation to suggest that displaying this object in a home would model ideal character for a family and ultimately a nation. The *toile anglais*, the English (book)cloth is a microcosm for the ideal British state.

Scotland Bound in Gothic Cloth

In a context in which English cloth represents national British character, we must consider what that categorization means for the decoration of Scottish literature. Decorated publisher bindings of Scott's literature were imbued with medieval-esque flourishes. Leighton produced covers for editions of Scott for both A.W. Bennet and Adam and Charles Black during the 1860s and 70s. Bennet would focus primarily on

²¹⁰ Margaret Beetham, "Women and the Consumption of Print," *Women and Literature in Britain 1800–1900*, ed. Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2001), 61 – 64.

editions of Scott's series of narrative poems as uniformly bound volumes. These included *Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion*, and *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (Fig. 3.2, 3.3, 3.4). Black also worked through a range of his poetry in multiple editions and formats throughout the 1850s and 1860s (Fig. 3.5, 3.6, 3.7). These covers are notable for their unified gilt patterns of floral and vegetal motifs, pointed or Gothic architectural frames, animal and human figures, and blackletter script. An earlier Black edition with binding repeated in 1851 – 53 features the Edinburgh's Gothic-style memorial to Walter Scott completed in 1844 (Fig. 3.8). Repetition of historic motifs from a monument on public display to book binding creates iconographic continuity.

Publishers' advertising further emphasizes the visual content of these books. Advertising for Scott's works in trade journals like *The Bookseller*, *The Bookbuyer*, and *American Bookseller* regularly featured bold blackletter font faces and illuminated capitals. Bennett's advertising employs the format both in the title of books, but also as part of heading categories like "Gift Books Illustrated by Photography", and A&C Black included blackletter as part of descriptions of volumes and illuminated capitals as part of advertising for the *Waverly* novels. These typographic components visually highlight the advertisement on a printed page, but the repetition of design motifs between book design and advertising also emphasizes the continuity of Scott's historical narratives and the historical associations with the Scottish landscape described therein.²¹¹

²¹¹ A.W. Bennet, "List of Books Illustrated by Photography," *The Bookseller* (March 31, 1865): 175; "The Waverly Novels," *The Christmas Bookseller* (December 1872): 87. Skim through issues of *The Bookseller* from the 1860s through 1880s for additional examples.

The discourse surrounding bookbinding reinforced a correlation between a book's cover and interior content. A closer look at both the Bennet and Black bindings reveals another function of the relationship between the Gothic and Scotland. Scott is of course writing a certain interpretation of Scottish history in his texts, but the editions from the 1860s and 70s contain contemporary photographic views of the Highland landscapes with few or no pictorial references to the architecture alluded to by the covers. The 1851 Black volume (**Fig. 3.8**) contains no interior illustration and only a nineteenth-century structure adorns the cover. The medieval decorative structures emphasize a relationship to Scotland as an entity framed by the past.

In 1836, a committee of aristocrats in Edinburgh opened a competition seeking designs for a memorial dedicated to Walter Scott, who died in 1832. The call for designs dictated that the monument should contain sculpture and be in a Gothic style.²¹² George Kemp won the commission, and the design was formally presented to Edinburgh's city council in 1838. The £16,154 budget was funded by public subscription in Edinburgh and London. News sources in both cities highlighted the monument's Gothic qualities. William Burn, for whom Kemp worked as a draughtsman, wrote the following in his report to the monument committee:

Its purity as a Gothic composition, and more particularly the constructive skill exhibited throughout in the combination of graceful features of that style of

²¹² James Colston, *History of the Scott Monument, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Magistrates and Town Council, 1881); City of Edinburgh Council, "The Scott Monument," *The Scott Monument Virtual Tour*, accessed January 10, 2020, https://sites.scran.ac.uk/scottmon/pages/the_monument.htm.

architecture in such a manner as to satisfy any professional man in the correctness of its principle, and in the perfect solidity which it would possess when built.²¹³

In further comments, *The Examiner* on February 17, 1844, noted:

The building itself, so far as it has made progress, has everything about it to command admiration. It will redeem Edinburgh from the reproach of not possessing one fine specimen of Gothic architecture. The other buildings professing to be Gothic are too much in the Strawberry hill style — thin and cheap. It is no longer, as in Walpole's day, admitted that certain outlines, though traced in a thin moulding of plaster, make a Gothic building--to carry our associations to the best days of Gothic architecture we must have the three qualities which the buildings of that age possessed — strength, size, and richness. In a modern building we are not to expect the inexhaustible richness which characterises the cathedral of Strasburg or Henry the Seventh's chapel — the ostentatious spirit of the age would not countenance so much expenditure of work on ornaments only partially seen. But unless in a few, alas! mutilated fragments of the ecclesiastical architecture of the fourteenth century, Scotland can produce nothing that can rival the portion of the Scott monument already built.²¹⁴

These comments praise the proficiency, grace, and stability of the design. However, as seen in the passage from *The Examiner*, this monument represents a corrective measure for earlier examples of Gothic-revival architecture, and the limited availability of examples of medieval architecture in Scotland due to border wars between England and Scotland and the Protestant Reformation. The decision to construct a Gothic-style monument in a central location suggests strong associations between contemporary Scotland and the historical conflict between England and Scotland.

²¹³ Thomas Bonnar, *Biographical Sketch of George Meikle Kemp: Architect of the Scott Monument, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1892), 110.

²¹⁴ "Sir Walter Scott's Monument," *Examiner* no. 1881 (Feb 17, 1844): 106. <http://libproxy.unm.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.libproxy.unm.edu/docview/8895190?accountid=14613>.

John Ruskin further clarifies the interpretive function of the medieval motif. The critic traveled to Edinburgh to deliver a series of lectures during November of 1853. In these lectures, Ruskin examined Edinburgh's renovations and addition of the New Town through the idealized lens of Northern English, French, and Venetian Gothic architecture described in his *Stones of Venice* (1851–53) and *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). Ruskin uses architecture as a marker of human virtue, with the Gothic designs elevated as the height of human character. Cycles of classical design mark social decay throughout Europe. Ruskin makes only a few references to Scotland throughout these essays. In one instance, he praises the ways mountain cottages are integrated into the landscape, and in another he uses Scotland as an example of poorly organized design.²¹⁵ Scotland fails to fit

²¹⁵ John Ruskin, "Lamp of Power," *Seven Lamps of Architecture, The Works of John Ruskin* Vol. 8, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen, 1904), 113; John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice, The Works of John Ruskin*, Vol 9 (London: George Allen, 1904), 307–308. In the "Lamp of Power," John Ruskin notes, "But it may be often in our power to give it a certain nobility by building it of mossy stones, or, at all events, introducing such into its make. Thus it is impossible that there should ever be majesty in a cottage built of brick; but there is a marked element of sublimity in the rude and irregular piling of the rocky walls of the mountain cottages of Wales, Cumberland, and Scotland. 1 Their size is not one whit diminished, though four or five stones reach at their angles from the ground to the eaves, or though a native rock happen to project conveniently, and to be built into the framework of the wall." In *Stones of Venice*, Ruskin presents a few vague examples of unnamed "Old Scotch Castles" demonstrating positive examples of architectural elements like cornices and doors. In the only specifically named Scottish examples, Melrose Abbey, he harshly criticizes the organization of its decoration. He states: "The evil is when, without system, and without preference of the nobler members, the ornament alternates between sickly luxuriance and sudden blankness. In many of our Scotch and English Abbeys, especially Melrose, this is painfully felt..." Melrose is only outshone by an unsightly window and wavy decoration in the monument to Duke Wellington in London's Hyde Park. The monument is hardly the only English example he criticizes through the course of a long career. However, Melrose Abbey is a particularly damning example. In 1544, Henry VIII's army burned the abbey, and it was bombarded by Oliver Cromwell's army throughout the English Civil War (1642 – 51). Ruskin's choice of Melrose highlights the fact that many of Scotland's examples of Gothic architecture were destroyed during border wars between England and Scotland and during the progression of the Protestant Reformation. For Ruskin to attack specific Medieval ruins while praising vague notions of cottages and then later contrasting Edinburgh's New Town against Venice emphasizes that Scotland is a conceptually malleable substrate for Ruskin. For discussion of the destruction of Melrose Abbey during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see: John Sadler, *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War, 1296-1568* (London: Routledge, 2013), 482 – 486.

neatly into Ruskin's analysis informed by selected examples of architecture from continental Europe.

Ruskin compares New Town and Old Town at length. In describing the city, he enumerated the number of rectangular windows and Corinthian and Doric columns found on only one street he walked through and the innumerable replication of that same Greek model throughout the whole of New Town. For Ruskin, the unrelenting onslaught of geometry with slight variation had no spirit and created no interest. It failed to mirror the growth and subtle variations of ecological phenomenon. Meanwhile, he conceives of Old Town's irregular buildings and haphazard organization along the coast and within Edinburgh's hills as a point of pride that mirrored ecological structures and processes surrounding the city without hindering the ability of people to function in the space. New Town is only interesting in the locations that frame views of the surrounding land.²¹⁶ He noted:

As you walk up or down George Street, for instance, do you not look eagerly for every opening to the north and south, which lets in the lustre of the Firth of Forth, or the rugged outline of the Castle Rock? Take away the sea-waves, and the dark basalt, and I fear you would find little to interest you in George Street by itself.²¹⁷

In other words, at the point Bennett and Black were publishing these volumes, Ruskin did not view Edinburgh as a place that demonstrated particularly Gothic attributes.

²¹⁶ John Ruskin, "Lecture 1: Architecture," *The Complete Works of John Ruskin* Vol. 12, *Lectures on Architecture and Painting*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen , 1904), 13–14.

²¹⁷ Ruskin, "Lecture 1: Architecture," 15.

The placement of Gothic elements must be handled with consideration for the general surroundings. For example, in the Edinburgh lectures, Ruskin draws on a line from the first canto of *Lady of the Lake* to emphasize Walter Scott's application of the Gothic. He noted:

The finest example I know of this kind of tower, is that on the north-west angle of Rouen Cathedral; but they occur in multitudes in the older towns of Germany to them a great part of their interest: all these great and magnificent masses of architecture being repeated on a smaller scale by the little turret roofs and pinnacles of every house in the town; and the whole system of them being expressive, not by any means of religious feeling,* but merely of joyfulness and exhilaration of spirit in the inhabitants of such cities, leading them to throw their roofs high into the sky, and therefore giving to the style of architecture with which these grotesque roofs are associated, a certain charm like that of cheerfulness in a human face;... besides a power of interesting the beholder, which is testified, not only by the artist in his constant search after such forms as the elements of his landscape, but by every phrase of our language and literature bearing on such topics. Have not these words Pinnacle, Turret, Belfry, Spire, Tower, a pleasant sound in all your ears? I do not speak of your scenery, I do not ask you how much you that it owes to the grey battlements that frown through the woods of Craigmillar, to the pointed turrets that flank the front of Holyrood, or to the massy keeps of your Crichtoun and Borthwick and other border towns. But look merely through your poetry and romances; take away out of your border ballads the word *tower* wherever it occurs, and the ideas connected with it, and what will become of the ballads? ... Suppose, Sir Walter Scott, instead of writing, "Each purple peak, each flinty spire," had written "Each purple peak, each flinty pediment," — would you have thought the poem improved?... These pediments and stylobates, and architraves never excited a single pleasurable feeling in you — never will to the end of time...²¹⁸

Yet in his later series of letters to the workers of Britain, he referred to Scott's monument as 'a small vulgar Gothic steeple on the ground.' The monument is vulgar due to its poor

²¹⁸ Ruskin, "Lecture 1: Architecture," 44–48.

placement in the city rather than the landscape outside of the city that he designated as more suitable to the contents of Scott's literature.²¹⁹ Ruskin does not directly attack the skill of the architect. However, since the structure does not suit his prescriptive ideas for how the Gothic should be applied, the monument becomes inappropriate and unattractive.

Reviews of published versions of the talk circulated throughout Great Britain and the United States. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* argued that Ruskin offered numerous layers of insult to Edinburgh. He insulted the intelligence and varied production of local architects and craftsmen, ignored the fact that the residents of New Town along with the numerous foreign visitors admire the city, and suggested a goal only achievable in a wealthier city. The *Edinburgh Review* likened Ruskin to an overseer of enslaved people in Israel.²²⁰ London publications like *New Monthly Magazine* commented on the outcry of Edinburgh and Scottish architects against Ruskin, noting in August of 1854:

It has commonly been thought that we were paying Edinburgh a high compliment when speaking of her as the MODERN Athens. The only doubt was, whether the compliment was not misplaced and extravagant. But, by Mr. Ruskin's philosophy, so far as architecture is concerned, it is no honour, but the reverse, to be thus Hellenised. Greek he cannot away with. The Modern Athens invites him to come and lecture to the Modern Athenians. He goes; accurately counts six hundred and seventy-eight windows of Greek type in one of her streets; and tells her she ought to be ashamed of herself...And then he proceeds to enforce the claims of Gothic, with a fervor and an exclusiveness that, to prejudiced Modern Athenians, must have made him seem a Goth with a vengeance.²²¹

²¹⁹ John Ruskin, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin* Vol. 27, *Fors Clavigera: Letters to the Workmen and Laborers of Great Britain*, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: George Allen 156 Charing Cross Road, 1904), 565.

²²⁰ "Ruskinism," *The Edinburgh Review* 103, no. 210 (April 1856), 535 – 536.

²²¹ "Ruskin's Edinburgh Lectures," *The New Monthly Magazine* 101, no. 404 (August 1854): 414.

In less aggressive terms, *The Albion* further holds up Ruskin's words as examples of the "wonders of Southern genius," and the "ingenious employment of English nature."²²² The Gothic and its many permutations are seen as a quintessentially English form.

Not all statements on the Gothic are quite so stringently against classical architectural vocabulary. Architect R.P. Pullan recounted that:

The Greek and the Goth have no cause to despise and revile one another, seeing that the principles of their style are identical. They have learned to look on both sides of the shield, and to own that each has excellences peculiarly its own, and they are united by a common basis. But my object is chiefly to point out certain qualities which are often denied to Greek architecture, but which it shares equally with the Gothic, and which no one who has studied its monuments *in situ* will deny that it possesses. These are grandeur, refinement, picturesque beauty with regard to its surrounding, and ingenious construction.²²³

While the *Athenaeum* posed:

First, for the Gothic. — Its first and greatest merit seems to me to be, that it is in a great degree an indigenous style — home bred. English; a style naturalized, many more wise centuries than the exotic Greek; it came among us strangers, too, at a very early age, so that, like a young wife, or a child adopted in infancy, it has learnt our ways, adapted itself to our wants and wishes, studied, as it were, to humour, not merely our noble qualities — honest pride, endurance, hatred of oppression, love of home, and so on, but even to flatter our very faults, our cold unsociability, our defiant and sometimes rude independence, our inventive sham heraldry...²²⁴

Even Owen Jones in *Grammar of Ornament* declared:

Early English ornament is the most perfect, both in principle and in executions, of the Gothic period. There is much elegance and refinement in modulations of form

²²² *The Albion, a journal of News, Politics, and Literature* 24, no. 24 (June 17, 1854): 285.

²²³ R.P. Pullan, "On Greek Art as Illustrated by Its Monuments," *British Architect* (June 23, 1876): 334.

²²⁴ W. T. "Gothic Versus Greek, and Greek Versus Gothic," *The Athenaeum*, no. 1677 (Dec. 17, 1859): 818.

as there is in the ornament of the Greeks. It is always in perfect harmony with the structural features, and always grows naturally from them.²²⁵

There is more variation in the similarities between the Gothic and Greek or the teleological transition from one into the other, but still the Gothic is strongly affiliated with Englishness and the stalwart character and ingenuity of the English.

This is not to say that Scottish artists and authors rejected Gothic models. Robert Louis Stevenson celebrated Edinburgh for its Gothic qualities. In “Notes on Edinburgh,” much like Ruskin, he compares Edinburgh to Venice. He recounts:

Venice, it has been said, differs from all other cities in the sentiment which she inspires, the rest may have admirers; she only, a famous fair one, counts lovers in her train. And indeed, even by her kindest friends, Edinburgh is not considered in a similar sense. These like her for many reasons, not any one of which is satisfactory in itself. They like her whimsically, if you will, and somewhat as a virtuoso dotes upon his cabinet. Her attraction is romantic in the narrowest meaning of the term. She is not so much beautiful as interesting. She is pre-eminently Gothic, and all the more so since she has set herself off with some Greek airs, and erected classic temples on her crags. In a word, and above all, she is a curiosity. But the same curiosity may offer many successive points of interest... It is not merely that this dagger is handsomely mounted, nor that it belonged to Caesar Borgia; but that you bought it yourself among the Appenines from an Italian bandit: one interest centering with another, and the personal episode putting a point upon the rest. And so it is not merely in the past that the Edinburgh voluptuary finds the flavor characteristic of the place, and that intellectual atmosphere which a man breathes in from his surroundings and assimilates into the constitution of his soul. It is not merely that association has grown upon association in a congenial theatre; it is something deeper and more lively that catches our affections in the city of St. Giles; for over the ashes, and among the monuments of the picturesque and turbulent Past, the Present still parades with something of a family resemblance.²²⁶

²²⁵ Owen Jones, “Medieval Ornament,” *The Grammar of Ornament*, reprint (Paris: L’Aventurine, 2006), 101.

²²⁶ Robert Louis Stevenson. “Notes on Edinburgh, I,” *The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical* (Jan. 1878): 83.

Edinburgh stands eminently different than Venice and lacks a retinue of lovers to sing its praises. Unlike Ruskin, Stevenson places Edinburgh's value in the present rather than the constructions and labor of the past. The addition of the classic facades in New Town enhanced Edinburgh's Gothic qualities. The city's character must be appreciated as whole arrangement as if it were a set of curios displayed in a cabinet.

The way one views or composes Edinburgh has great impact on the interpretation of the city, well beyond a mere failure to meet an English standard. Failing to consider Edinburgh as a unit has additional consequences. In the second installment of his "Notes on Edinburgh" series, Stevenson claims that if you were to remodel New Town to match Old Town, a visitor would not be able to tell the difference between Edinburgh and Stirling.²²⁷ To undertake rebuilding Edinburgh to the extent of the Ruskinian Gothic model would be to remake the city like a die or stamp used to impress designs onto book cloth.

Carol Margaret Davidson in *Scottish Gothic: an Edinburgh Companion* (2017) further reminds us that Scottish authors negotiated the Gothic not as accepting the limitation of an English Gothic, but to set a stage for the darkest atrocities of English

²²⁷ Robert Louis Stevenson. "Notes on Edinburgh: II. Old Town—The Lands," *The Portfolio: an artistic periodical* (Jan 1878), 104. Here Stevenson proclaims: "The Old Town, it is pretended, is the chief characteristic, and, from a picturesque point of view, the liver-wing of Edinburgh. It is one of the most common forms of depreciation to throw cold water on the whole by adroit over-commendation of a part, since everything worth judging, whether it be a man, a work of art, or only a fine city, must be judged upon its merits as a whole. The Old Town depends for much of its effect on the new quarters that lie around it, on the sufficiency of its situation, and on the hills that back it up. If you were to set it somewhere else by itself, it would look remarkably like Stirling in a bolder and loftier edition. The point is to see this embellished Stirling planted in the midst of a large, active, and fantastic modern city; for there the two re-act in a picturesque sense, and the one is the making of the other."

history and the complexities of Scotland's own national and unionist history. The Gothic is immensely malleable to fit a variety of media from books and architecture to the landscape. For Ruskin to stamp the Scott monument as inappropriate and for publishers to continue enrobing text blocks with the monument when using blocking suggestive of Gothic architectural elements suggests that these books are the most Scottish of entities, with the parallel of past and present running through the entirety of the publications.

However, when Scottish architects produced artwork referencing the Gothic structures to suit the functions and needs of Scotland — as in the design of the Scott monument — harsh criticism arose from London regarding incorrect execution of ideas. To be thoroughly national and of the national (book)cloth, critics demanded that Scotland drop the visual markers of its intellectual badge of “the Modern Athens” for an English Gothic heavily invested in architectural forms from Italy and France.

Examining the content and design references of the Black and Bennett covers further articulates the malleability of the Gothic. The 1851 cover is again drawn from an 1844 monument of the recently deceased Walter Scott. For the remainder of the covers, the reader may be hard pressed to find a direct relationship between the parts of Leighton's designs and specific examples of historic design. We can turn to the model book *Suggestions in Design* (first published in 1852) to locate templates for the foliage on *Lady of the Lake* and for the thistle, roses, and corner pieces forming a rectangular border along each cover.²²⁸ Further, similar examples can be located in J.K. Colling's texts

²²⁸ For discussions of earlier uses of pattern books or models for scribes, see: Christopher De Hamel, *The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 60 – 62.

Medieval English Foliage and Gothic Ornament and Owen Jones's *Grammar of Ornament* (1856). Leighton's application of illustration plates and J.K. Colling's brief historical descriptions of each model in *Suggestions* underscore that the pattern plates from this volume are intended to be adapted or incorporated according to the needs of the artist.

Reviews of the text and statements from Leighton provide further framework for how these "suggestions in design" function. An 1882 notice from the *Saturday review of politics, literature, science and art* criticizes Leighton for drawing each of the exemplar styles incorporated into the text — ranging from Assyrian, Egyptian and Roman to Japanese, Gothic, and English Renaissance designs — as being drawn in precisely the same linear style and suggesting that the, " 'Gothic' pages show that Mr. Leighton has not yet grasped a single principle of...Christian medieval ornamentation," with only one plate referencing the pointed arch being deemed moderately accurate, which further emphasizes that Leighton repeatedly goes against the descriptions written by J.K. Colling.²²⁹ Others note that this work is ideal for students and workmen as aids or references, and rather than suggesting there is very little laudable content instead suggests that the reader should only be wary not to copy directly to avoid plagiarizing the concepts of another.²³⁰ Leighton's introduction to the plates as part of the 1852 and 1853 editions and the prefatory comments to the 1881 edition both acknowledge that none of the

²²⁹ "Suggestions in Design," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 53, no. 1380 (Apr. 8, 1882): 437–38.

²³⁰ "Books in 1881.-II," *British Architect* 17, no. 2 (January 13, 1882): 19; *The Journal of the Society of Arts* 29, no. 1497 (1881): 710.

examples are a portrait likeness or drawn directly from specific examples, but rather drawn from extended accumulated study of many objects and intended to suggest the spirit or concept of each ethnic, national, or historic category with possibility to adapt in form, content, or medium.²³¹ The Gothic and medieval then become a compositional template like the picturesque or a tool like a burin or brayer.

Other editions of Scott's work drew on similar iconography. Edinburgh's Adam and Charles Black published ornament trade bound editions of *Lady of the Lake* 1853, 1869, and 1871. These volumes are not direct copies of Leighton's compositions for Bennet's bindings, but they include the stag on the bottom edge of the 1853 and center of the 1869 editions, and the medallions featuring young women rowing along with adaptations of the thistle and rose on the 1871 volume. Many of the human and animal figures draw on the narrative content. Advertising and reviews often refer to this type of design as emblematic due to the relationship between the literary text and cover ornament. Publishers also produced new Emblem Books, which were influenced by books circulated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²³² This type of literature takes a variety of forms, but one of the most common forms involves an image paired with a poem or text offering an explanation of the moral, political, or religious values represented in the image, which helps reinforce that concept in the memory.²³³ Most of

²³¹ John Leighton, "Description of Plates," *Suggestions in Design*. (London: D. Bogue, 1853; 1881 edition), 1.

²³² For examples of advertisements during the late nineteenth century, skim through publications like *The Athenaeum*.

²³³ Heather McAlpine, "The Emblem and Its Victorian Contexts," *Emblematic Strategies in Pre-Raphaelite Literature*, (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 1–47.

Scott's work is connected through concepts of Scotland's land and history, and his detailed descriptive writing style provides explanations for many of the images adorning the cover. The broader memorial functions of emblems suggest that repetition of iconography from cover and illustration to text represents a continuity of associations between Scott's narrative and modern Scotland.

Decorating Scott for the United States

The popularity of Scott's poetry as gift books extended to American publishers and readers. Books exported to the U.S. transmitted design conventions across the Atlantic. James R. Osgood (Boston) and Thomas Y. Crowell (New York) published decoratively-bound editions of Scott's narrative poems beginning in 1882 (**Fig. 3.9, 3.10**). Much critical discussion focused on the illustrations in Osgood's edition, but the binding was not overlooked. According to "Illustrated Books for the Holiday" in *The American Bookseller*: "The copy at hand is in green cloth, with black side-stamp of appropriate and elegant design, — including buckler, claymore, horn, and harp." Likewise, *Literary World* from October 21, 1882 noted that:

A poem so long, so picturesque, so famous, so familiar, might put the taste of designers and engravers to the highest test. But the feat has been...handsomely accomplished, and a richly beautiful book is the result. It is...244 heavy pages, largely printed, tastefully bound, with decorations in gilt, showing the utmost care of typographic art...²³⁴

²³⁴ "Lady of the Lake," *The Literary World; a Monthly Review of Current Literature* 13, no. 21 (Oct. 21, 1882): 348–49.

Commentary on bindings continues in reference to Crowell's volumes. *The Literary*

World noted:

The new designs for the covers are especially attractive and in keeping with the superior quality of paper, presswork and binding, which combine to make the series so justly popular with the trade and general public, whose demands during the past year have severely taxed our ability to supply promptly.²³⁵

And in a comparison of the Crowell's and Osgood's versions of *Marmion* notes: "For the mere pleasing of the eye, then with outward embellishments of grace and beauty, Osgood's edition has the advantage over its rival; but for the uses of a thoughtful reader, who wishes to get the meat of his book and to see into it from the standpoint of the author, the advantages are as distinctly on the side of Crowell's."²³⁶ These examples establish a similar vocabulary of appropriate, tasteful, and graceful embellishment of books.

The critical language suggests that the application of common emblems in gilt is an appropriate and moderate way to present this literature to buyers and readers. In reviews of editions published by Macmillan & Co. and Estes & Lauriat, the language expands beyond appropriateness to describe the character of the book and literature. Of Macmillan's work, the August 29, 1891 edition of *The Literary World* commented: "It is

²³⁵ "Crowell's Red Line Poets." *The Literary World; a Monthly Review of Current Literature* 13, no. 11 (June 3, 1882): 172.

See also, "Lady of the Lake," *Maine Farmer* 51, no. 5 (Dec. 21, 1882): 3. Even regional publications commented on the exterior properties of this edition: "In all the making of holiday books nothing coming within the popular reach has been achieved this or in any past season so exquisite in form and character as the new holiday edition of Scott's "Lady of the Lake" just brought out by J.R. Osgood. & CO. It is not so large as to be cumbrous; not so overloaded with gilt and decoration as to frighten the possessor from its enjoyment and not so costly as to keep it beyond the means of the ordinary presentation book buyers. And yet it is elegantly bound, and appeals at once and strongly to the eye of the lover of beautiful books..."

²³⁶ "Scott's Marmion," *The Literary World; a Monthly Review of Current Literature* 15, no. 24 (Nov. 29, 1884): 410.

full of confident joy in the beauty and grandeur of nature, and in all that is generous, lovable, and admirable in man; full of a happy faith, an optimism, a buoyancy, an energy that sprung from the poet's own genial temper...,²³⁷ and a reviewer in the December 12, 1891 issue of *The Christian Union* recounted that:

“It is always a pleasure to record the appearance of a new edition of any of Walter Scott's long poems. No more sane, healthy, and thoroughly objective verse has been written. If ‘The Lady of the Lake,’ ‘The Lay of the Last Minstrel,’ and ‘Marmion’ do not rise to the highest altitudes of the imagination, they are eminently sound, wholesome, and attractive... The volume [Estes & Lauriat's *Lady of the Lake*] is bound in a tasteful and modest habit of gray, with silver and gilt stamping...”²³⁸

A reviewer in *Literary World* similarly iterated, “A volume to delight the heart of every cover of Sir Walter...Bound...with appropriate designs in blue on the front covers, volume has wide margins, and the clear typography of the University Press.” The physical properties of the book are again concretized as a conduit for the interior moral character of the content, author, and the reader while also reinforcing a network of vocabulary between Great Britain and the United States.

Beyond Scott

Interest in books and prints about Scotland extended beyond Walter Scott, and this pattern demonstrates further how ideas about Scottish character were associated with the ideas of books and printing. In the decades preceding Wyeth's illustration, writers for popular magazines began analyzing the character of Scots and historical Jacobite figures

²³⁷ “Literature,” *The Literary World; a Monthly Review of Current Literature* 22, no. 18 (Aug. 29, 1891): 291.

²³⁸ “Holiday Books Again,” *Christian Union* 44, no. 24 (Dec. 12, 1891): 1181.

Jacobitism emerged in the late seventeenth century after the overthrow of James VII of Scotland (James II of England) for the Protestant Mary II and William of Orange. The Jacobites aimed to restore James or his successors to the throne, and continued to fight for this cause into the eighteenth century. These efforts culminated in the armed uprisings against Georgian rule of Britain in 1715, 1719, and 1745–46. This is a simplistic outline of the history, but the timeline shows that the events are not an extremely distant point in the past and those events continued to be interpreted into the nineteenth century.

Prince Charles Edward Stuart — also known as Bonnie Prince Charlie, Young Chevalier, and Young Pretender — was one of the most frequently analyzed personages. The periodical press regularly analyzed his biography and the physiognomy of his portraits. Reviews of Charles' biography noted that his story and that of the rebellion were ideal for storytelling due to the “pathetic romance”.²³⁹ Others emphasized that he was a tragic and heroic figure due to the promise and vigor of his early life, but that his hardships and disappointment caused deformities of his mind, body, and character demonstrated by a diseased heart and brain observed during his post-mortem examination.²⁴⁰ In *The New Monthly Magazine*, Sir Nathaniel compares the character described by portraits from the prince's youth and later life. Of the earlier portrait, Nathaniel remarks that the oval shape of the face, large eyes and immaculate arch of the eyebrows indicate agility and health to support vigorous and regular exercise. Of the later portrait, Nathaniel suggests that exhaustion or excessive indulgence altered his

²³⁹ “The Life and Adventures of Prince Charles Edward Stuart,” *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 103, no. 2694 (Jun. 15, 1907): 756.

²⁴⁰ “The Young Pretender,” *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* XXII, no. 5 (Nov. 1886): 544.

appearance with the signs of premature aging and infirmity. For Nathaniel, Prince Charles stands as an icon for Scotland and the emphasis on the romance of the narrative and characters distances nineteenth-century readers from the political aftermath of the Jacobite Uprising while also providing a common narrative and icon to layer with character traits.

Short stories framed as legend or myth about Scotland in the later eighteenth century provide further examination of Scottish character. For example, in “An Incidence of the Forty-Five,” a child in the household of a Jacobite lord with servants who were Whigs (supporters of Georgian rule) was approached by a Captain D. to procure documents from a hiding spot in the estate if a messenger with the appropriate token returned to the estate in days following the battle of Culloden (1746). The messenger arrives and the girl must sneak down to a hidden compartment in the dungeon during a storm after midnight when the household was asleep. Despite her superstitions and fears, she bravely persevered and retrieved the documents.²⁴¹ Similarly, in “The Buried Treasure: In Two Chapters”, the reader observes the negative and positive changes on the mind and body of man who finds Jacobite treasure buried on the estate he works as he struggles with whether or not to turn it over to the estate’s owner. These narratives assign traits to Scottish characters without immediately calling attention to the executions for

²⁴¹ “An Incident of the ‘Forty-Five,” *The Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation*, no. 1204 (Jan. 23, 1875): 62–63.

treason and other legal ramifications for Jacobite affiliation after the suppression of the uprising.²⁴²

Further, novels and poetry concerning Scotland's history circulated at a high volume in Great Britain and the United States. These included works such as Walter Scott's narrative poems *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), *Marmion* (1808), and *Lady of the Lake* (1810), alongside William Mackepeace Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* (1852), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Kidnapped* (1886) and *David Balfour* (1893), H.C. Adams' *In the Fifteen* (1893) and *James or George* (1886) Venetia Hohler's *Bravest of Them All* (1899), and H.E. Marshall's *Scotland's Story* (1906). Publishers like Scribner, Macmillan and F.A. Stokes circulated these novels and other titles throughout cities such as London, New York, and Boston. Each of these texts varies in narrative content and cast of characters. Yet each text references Scottish history or activities during the period prior to the Acts of Union through the aftermath of Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Framing Scotland within these parameters through contemporary literature emphasizes the memorial qualities of the literary events and the landscape described within the text.

A New Landscape

Many commercial publishers stepped away from some prominent conventions of earlier edition binding like blackletter typefaces towards the turn of the twentieth century. Some publishers like Scribner would continue to draw on iconography established in earlier editions of Scottish literature. Scribner's twenty-seven volume Thistle edition of

²⁴² Chesterfield, Ruth. "The Buried Treasure.: In Two Chapters.--chap. I." *The Youth's Companion* 43, no. 32 (August 11, 1870): 249. See also: Murray Pittock, *Culloden (Cùil Lodair)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 123–131.

the works of Robert Louis Stevenson (**Fig. 3.11**) features thick bands of gilt thistle like the floral borders on some of Leighton's earlier work. Beyond brightly colored cloth and gilt decorations, many other volumes began to be bound in cloth covers featuring narrative compositions that often matched the style of any interior illustrations. This design technique first became prominent for new fiction but was applied to a variety of content. For example, the first London and New York cloth editions of *Kidnapped* both feature the active figure of David Balfour in outdoor settings. This approach is similarly followed by T.H. Robinson's cover for the Macmillan Company's 1896 edition of *The History of Henry Esmond* (**Fig. 3.12**), Joseph Fenimore's cover designs for H.C. Adam's *For James or George: A Schoolboy's Tale of 1745* (1885, **Fig. 3.13**) and *In The Fifteen: A Tale of the First Jacobite Insurrection* (1893, **Fig. 3.14**), and the designs J.R. Skelton for the covers of H.E. Marshall's *Scotland's Story: a Child's History of Scotland* (1906, **Fig. 3.15**). Pictorial bindings create an interactive space or stage to expand the book's environment.

Along with enthusiastic focus on display and circulation of books, designers and publishers began to place book cover design alongside discussion of the development of posters featuring pictorial narrative.²⁴³ Isabel M'Dougall emphasizes creating covers of the "poster order", with reductive shapes and colors pleasingly arranged in a legible and economic manner to reveal the landscape and scene from the book.²⁴⁴ Further, Mathews

²⁴³ Ruth Iskin, *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s–1900s* (Dartmouth College Press, 2014).

²⁴⁴ M'Dougall, 1527–529. M'Dougall notes here: "He reduces his landscape to the lowest terms, and by a wise choice of the color to print on and a judicious employment of the necessary black outline, he frequently scores telling hits with but one or two other colors..."

Brander and Augusto Jaccaci introduced their studies of poster design by praising new qualities of book cover design as an impetus for improved poster design for public advertising.²⁴⁵ In “The Pictorial Poster” (1892), Brander further asserted that:

British art is as lifeless as Teutonic; the triviality of most of it, and its dominant note of domesticity, are to be observed also in its posters which are devoted chiefly to things to eat, things to drink, and to things for household use. The brutal vulgarity of a London railway terminus, foul with smoke, is emphasized by the offensive harshness of the posters stuck upon its walls, with no sense of fitness and no attempt at arrangement... The poster [in Britain] is still outside the current of decorative endeavor which has given us the Morris wall-papers, the Doulton tiles, the Walter Crane book-covers...²⁴⁶

In other words, the print or design must necessarily correlate to the external environment, and the vulgarity of dirty London train terminals must mirror the tactless arrangement of poorly designed posters on the wall. Likewise, a book cover creates a space that mirrors the quality of the building it is placed in or even the country of manufacture.

Book covers and other decorative items like wallpapers and tiles are held up as paragons of design. Walter Crane’s conceits — and not Leighton’s historicist ideas — are held up as the new direction for design. Crane is not especially noted for his interpretation of Scottish themes, but his compositions and approach to design differ from Leighton’s emphasis on interpreting and disseminating historic models. Crane produced a variety of designs over the course of his career, and they are not uniform in composition. However, his work commonly featured linear human and animal figures arranged in reductive landscape or ground with contrasting areas of local color. His lectures on design

²⁴⁵ Augusto Floriano Jaccaci, H. C. Bunner, M. H. Spielmann, and Arsène Alexandre, *The Modern Poster* (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1895).

²⁴⁶ Matthew Brander, “The Pictorial Poster,” *Century Illustrated Magazine* (September 1892): 753–754.

emphasize the efficient use of line, shape, and color to impactfully and legibly portray nature and ideas. In *Line and Form* (1900), he praised the flat areas of color featured in Japanese relief prints. According to Crane, in making book covers or prints in this style, the artist approximates the untutored vision and early mark making of a child, and Brander's elevation of Crane's design references both pictorial qualities and the perception of honest or unmediated information.²⁴⁷ The properties of book binding move beyond a tool of enticement and visual engagement. The manner of composition suggests the character of the book relates to the ways education and life experience impact how audiences view and interpret visual information.

The manner of composition suggests the honest or dishonest nature of the book's information. Speaking of emblematic bindings featuring icons that allude to prominent narrative elements, Evelyn Hunter-Nordhoff noted that such composition creates cluttered confusion and a sense of artifice or dishonesty, whether through the clutter of too many icons or through icons that might only make sense to the designer.²⁴⁸ Binding is imbued with character traits of the designer and increased legibility suggests the honest conveyance of information. Under Hunter-Nordhoff's model John Leighton's florid, gilt patterns of the 1860s and 70s might be conceived of as dishonest.

Concepts of veracity and resemblance to life underscores the advertising for much of H.C. Adams' children's books featuring Jacobite themes. *For James or George* was

²⁴⁷ Walter Crane, *Line and Form*, reprint (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd, 1914), 2. See also: Walter Crane, *The Bases of Design* (London: Bell, 1898).

²⁴⁸ Evelyn Hunter-Nordhoff, "A Note on Bindings," *The Book Buyer* (Jan. 1, 1897): 964.

first published in monthly installments in volume 6 of *The Boy's Own Annual*, and the first edition book was published in 1885. A review in the November 1885 issue of *The Practical Teacher* notes:

This [*For James or George*] is a goodly volume of 407 pages, but we are sure its boy-readers will not wish one page curtailed. It gives us some curious glances of schoolboy life a hundred and forty years ago; and Mr. Adams...vouches for the accuracy of the portraits he has drawn.²⁴⁹

Further the anonymous reviewer entices readers to examine those portraits for themselves. The author goes on to pronounce:

The tale is founded on the melancholy history of Prince Charles Edward's invasion of England—Hugh de Clifford, the here siding with the Jacobites, and his rival, John Warn, with the Hanoverians. How they both fared in the struggle, and the happy issue...we leave our boys to find out for themselves.²⁵⁰

The reviewer points to an active relationship between the reader and text, and that action is again highlighted in the binding. All repositories I visited throughout my research had rebound the 1885 edition, but subsequent editions from 1892 and 1907 feature boys outfitted in eighteenth-century frocks in active stances, drawing comparisons between the life of earlier schoolboys and the ideal of active and curious alluded to by the advertisement.

Refrains of the book mirroring life and appealing to an audience of boys continued as a common thread for advertisements and reviews for much of Adams's fiction for children, including his second title concerning Jacobite conflict, *In the*

²⁴⁹ "Book Review," *The Practical Teacher* 5, no. 9 (Nov. 1885): 419.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

Fifteen.²⁵¹ Appeals for readers' observations joined directions to boys to actively investigate and engage with the content. Gone are the claims of the book being as dainty as any lady could desire to keep in her home. The reader here must stride actively like the boys preparing for the hunt in David Allan's conversation pieces highlighted in chapter one. These patterns establish the book as material conduit for historical narrative and the character of the presumed youthful and masculine reader.

The decoration of binding often emphasizes its three-dimensional nature and the active way books are handled and displayed. *In the Fifteen* features an image of two boys wearing red and yellow coats fighting in a landscape. The spine displays the boy in a red coat approaching a window while holding a torch. This decoration would be visible with the volume stored on a shelf. The front cover design would be visible only when removed from the shelf and displayed on a table or held up while reading. The binding shows multiple facets of the story, but one must tactilely engage with the object to view the full composition.

The ideal design must also allude to temporal engagement. Reviews of T.H. Robinson's composition for the Macmillan *Henry Esmond* expresses this relationship.

The *Outlook* from December 5, 1896, remarked:

²⁵¹ For examples, see: "Books for the Holidays," *The Dial; a Semi - Monthly Journal of Literary Criticism, Discussion, and Information* 7, no. 80 (Dec. 1886): 177.

This full-page advert for J.B. Lippincott in the December 1886 issue of *The Dial* declares that Adams's book is 'A story of school-days, true to life, and full of those humorous and exciting incidents, escapades, and adventures which will recommend it to every boy.'

See also: "Books of Adventure," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 60, no. 1566 (Oct. 31, 1885): 589–90, where the author notes 'For James or George...is, of course, a story of 1745. Mr. Adams has cleverly managed without too much use of the language of the eighteenth century to give what may be called a "minuet" flavour to his story, which is interesting and life-like.'

It is a pleasure to find among the latest additions *The History of Henry Esmond*, with illustrations by T.H. Robinson. Readers who care for “Henry Esmond” care so much for the story that doubtless very few of them would be satisfied with any attempt to give definite form and feature to Esmond or Beatrix; but, whatever criticism individual readers with individual tastes may make of Mr. Robinson’s work, it must be conceded that it is happily conceived in the spirit of the story and its time, and that it is, if not entirely satisfactory, very pleasantly decorative.

The decoration triangulates the relationship between the character of the reader, the story, and the era referenced by the narrative.

Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall’s *Scotland’s Story* was praised for its covers.²⁵² Upon its initial publication, the December 1, 1906 issue of *The Spectator* noted that the volume “is a handsome-looking book, both without and within, and in every way, we should say, well adapted for its purpose.”²⁵³ Here we also see reviewers associate the author with Scottish nationality. The December 8, 1906 issue of *The Speaker* proclaims:

Each incident is treated in a separate chapter, chronologically arranged, and the subjects range from the days of the Romans to the Jacobite risings. However satisfactory the book may be in some respects, we must enter a protest, all the more necessary, however ungracious it may seem, because the writer is presumably Scottish. The last chapter, in our opinion, would have been better left unwritten. The Scottish people took the Hanoverians with a bad grace and ultimately accepted the situation philosophically; but the reminder that George IV dressed in Stewart tartan as evidence of his Scottish Kingship is an incident too ludicrous for sober treatment. And with this incident the history of Scotland is brought to a close! ...it demonstrates a sycophancy which is too prevalent among certain types of Scotsmen.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Marshall published her books under the name H.E. Marshall. This is reflected on the examples of book covers and reviews featured in the chapter.

²⁵³ “Scotland’s Story: A Child’s History of Scotland, by H. E. Marshall (Book Review)” *Spectator* 97, no. 4092 (Dec. 1, 1906): 861.

²⁵⁴ “History for Children,” *The Speaker: the liberal review* (Dec. 8, 1906): 304.

The author's presumed Scottishness combined with the support of King George IV's rule of Scotland is read as the need for the Scottish people to continue ingratiating themselves with England.

H.E. Marshall's gender and nationality were not widely spread information until after the start of World War I. In reviews that gendered the author, Marshall was frequently labeled as masculine, and the label of her nationality or presumed location seemed to fluctuate based on the content of the text. For example, most reviews of *Scotland's Story* emphasize that the tale is presented from a Scottish perspective.²⁵⁵ Conversely, reviews of *An Island Story* and *A Child's English Literature* emphasize the author's location in Oxford or London.²⁵⁶ Observation of the book reflects the audience. Language and content provide identifying markers of nationality.

The cover designs for Marshall's histories of Britain and Scotland do not demonstrate this oscillation. The covers for both *Our Island Story*—which was published as *An Island Story* in the United States—and *Scotland's Story* are remarkably similar, with each featuring a knight wearing armor of dubiously medieval origins and mounted on a horse. Similar designs suggest a relative historic framework for the text.

However, each book contains divergent historical timelines. *Our Island Story* (**Fig. 3.16**) opens with a preface featuring two children (Spen and Veda) requesting that their father tell them a story, and continues with the mythological origins of Albion as the

²⁵⁵ "Children's Books." *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 102, no. 2667 (Dec. 8, 1906): 8–10.

²⁵⁶ "Review 2 -- No Title," *Outlook* 94, no. 9 (Feb. 26, 1910): 504.

child of Neptune, the Roman occupation of the island, and ends with ten chapters dedicated to the reign of Queen Victoria. Subsequent editions extended the text to include chapters concerning the reign of Edward VII, George V, a summary of World War I, and the foundation of the League of Nations. The published timeline relatively matching the publication date suggests that the cover design represents a starting point.

Scotland's Story opens with a conversation between the author and Caledonia — the personification of Scotland. Caledonia has just finished reading *Our Island Story* and inquires as to why the earlier story did not fully narrate Scotland's history for the "littler children" who were not yet able to understand the work of Walter Scott. Caledonia also requests that this new story should contain more battles than the earlier books, but notes that the author "must not say that the Scots were defeated. I don't like it at all when you say 'The Scots and the Picts were driven back.'" Marshall then goes on to say that she has written *Scotland's Story* because Caledonia asked, but that Caledonia will be disappointed because the author has mentioned the defeat of Scots more than twice. Marshall's denial of Caledonia's request suggests a certain degree of honesty in the author's character and by extension the character of the history to come.

The text begins with the descendants of the Athenian Galthelus sailing to a green island, which they named Hibernia. Galthelus' descendants sailed to Britannia from Hibernia, and they settled in the northern portion of the island. The narrative continues through the Roman occupation and early Christian period and proceeds through the

centuries until George IV's 1822 visit to Scotland. The author concludes with the following statement:

And here I think I must end, for Scotland has no more story of her own — her story is Britain's story. It was Highlandmen who withstood the enemy at Balaclava; it was the sound of the bagpipes that brought hope to the hopeless in dreadful Lucknow; it was Scotsmen who led the way up the Heights of Abraham; it was a Scotsman, David Livingstone, who first brought light into Darkest Africa, and it was another Scotsman, General Gordon, who there laid down his life for the Empire, so you must read the rest of the story of Scotland in the story of Empire. For Scotsmen did not do these things alone. They were able to do them because they stood shoulder to shoulder with their English brothers, and fought and labored, not for themselves, but for the Empire, and so Scotland shares in the glory of the Empire, and adds to it.²⁵⁷

These actions or any others relating to Scotland are described in neither the author's previous volume nor the subsequent *Our Empire Story* (1908). When examined in this context, the knights bedecking the covers become very much like the conversations surrounding the Gothic in the mid-nineteenth century and the cover designs for volumes of Walter Scott's work. This publication moves beyond Ruskin's mandate for every property owner in Edinburgh to begin chipping away at the insidious existence of New Town through the liberal application of pointed arches. Rather, H.E. Marshall introduced child characters to create figures that are relatable to child readers in Britain and the U.S.

The content of Marshall's books also models some of their uses. The introduction in each book models the experiences of children or families reading in the child's home or nursery. Centering a children's book on the idea of children requesting and reading the narrative evokes Crane's comments on the untutored honesty of children's vision.

²⁵⁷ H.E. Marshall, *Scotland's Story*, 417.

Marshall's further layering that information with the children clamoring for the stories of nation more explicitly defines the roles of books, children, and family in the structure of nation than the earlier comments on Bennett's "dainty" edition of *Marmion*.

Composing Robert Louis Stevenson as Scotland

Critical discussion further analyzed the ways authors visually presented themselves. Robert Louis Stevenson's popularity invited frequent discussion in news sources in Britain and the United States. In the years following publication of *Kidnapped*, Henry James noted in *Century Illustrated* that:

These words may be applied to Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson: in the language of that art which depends most on observation, character — character is what he has. He is essentially a model, in the sense of a sitter...And if the figures who have a life in literature may also be divided into two great classes, we may add that he is conspicuously one of the draped; he would never, if I may be allowed the expression, pose for the nude. There are writers who present themselves before the critic with just the amount of drapery that is necessary for decency, but Mr. Stevenson is not one of these; he makes his appearance in an amplitude of costume. His costume is part of the character of which I just now spoke; it never occurs to us to ask how he would look without it. Before all things he is a writer with a style — a model with a complexity of curious and picturesque garments. It is by the cut and the color of his rich and becoming frippery—I use the term endearingly, as a painter might—that he arrests the eye and solicits the brush.²⁵⁸

Stevenson was envisioned as a visual composition to be built up and reduced, dressed, and undressed. He, like the books with brilliant covers, could be sold from shop displays.

More than a work of art, Stevenson was held up as a character type that broadly represented the idea of Scotsmen. Obituaries and other posthumous accounts frequently

²⁵⁸ Henry James, "Robert Louis Stevenson," *Century Illustrated* 35, no. 6 (Apr. 1888): 869–870; M.G. Van Rensselaer, "Robert Louis Stevenson, and His Writing," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 51, no. 1 (Nov. 1895): 123–129.

identified Stevenson with Scotland and Edinburgh. For example, Francis Watt asserted in 1896 that:

Stevenson, like many Scotsmen, only more so, was both cosmopolitan and local; he roamed far and wide; he had a broad sympathy with every manifestation of human nature; and with it all there was a local tang not to be mistaken; he was Edinburgh to the very marrow of his bones. In no other Scots writers is the note more marked...In some remarkable last lines he has said that the last echo in his ears from this world would be that most characteristic of Edinburgh sounds, the voice, half-wail, half roar, of the wintry wind among the huge lands and tortuous ways of the old town. He long cherished the hope that with his last resting place would be Edinburgh...²⁵⁹

For Watt, the Scottish landscape deeply informs Stevenson's character. He does not connect Stevenson to the intellectual history of Edinburgh, enclosed estates, or the many Hellenic facades lining Edinburgh's avenues. Stevenson is likened to the wind and land and the oldest parts of the city, and the atmosphere of the city extends into his skeletal structure and in return informs what the reader observes in his books. The landscape, the book, and Stevenson's physiognomy are uniform entities.

Trade periodicals also contributed to this discourse. In the years following *Kidnapped's* publication, periodicals like *The Bookman* tied the locations in Stevenson's novel to key British travel destinations and Stevenson's own life.²⁶⁰ *The Book Buyer* commented on Stevenson's character, speech, and writing; noting:

His large, luminous eyes suggest the depth of experience and thought out of which his psychological romances and studies have issued....His thought is made more eloquent by this unconscious sympathy of the

²⁵⁹ Francis Watt, "Robert Louis Stevenson and Edinburgh," *Art Journal* (Feb. 1896): 50.

²⁶⁰ Clayton Hamilton, "On the Trail of Stevenson: II — Scotland," *The Bookman; a Review of Books and Life* 40 no. 3 (1914): 263.

whole person Mr. Stevenson's talk is very like his writing; it is fresh, racy, redolent of the soil out of which he has grown.²⁶¹

The narrative landscape is grounded as an external expression of Stevenson's life, personality, and body until more than a decade after his death in 1894.

Kidnapped was perceived in a similarly visual fashion. In 1886, a review in *The Critic* particularly denoted a relationship between Stevenson's writing and printmaking.

The reviewer commented:

There is skilful [sic] adventure skilfully told; hairbreadth escape; thrilling episode by fell and muir; and sharp delineative insight and eyesight in the bits of vivid landscape-drawing with which it abounds. Everything is as clear in this drawing as the work of the etcher's needle: no dim distances or indistinct Turnerian effects. The fertility of Mr. Stevenson invalid (for one hears continually of his illness) argues wonderfully for the fertility of Mr. Stevenson well. If these are the amber drops that come from the sick man, then all we devoutly pray is that his convalescence may be long, and his relapses frequent.²⁶²

Through Stevenson's text the reader receives a direct and precise view of the landscape, but it is not a view directly from the vicinity of the described landscape feature. It is the view of the inked etching plate or the print in hand, ink drawn from Stevenson's vitality and blood.

Furthermore, Stevenson's writing serves as a filter for the experience of the Scottish landscape. Era Blantyre Simpson describes the process of viewing the Highlands' landscape and Edinburgh's Old Town and wondering which features served as the stage for each event in *Kidnapped*. Beyond situating herself in the landscape of the

²⁶¹ H-, "The Author Of 'Dr. Jekyll,'" *The Book Buyer* 5, no. 2 (1888): 59.

²⁶² "Stevenson's 'Kidnapped.'" *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts*, no. 139 (Aug. 28, 1886): 100.

novel, she imagines how Stevenson must have looked upon the landscape that informed his writing. The author comments:

The town has grown even since R.L.S. — a slim youth, his brown eyes “radiant with vivacity” — used to admiringly gaze upon this panorama, for the straight lines of the streets now stretch from the farther range of hills to the sea, the Pentlands forming a green background to the miles of solemn gray houses.²⁶³

The text and author impact the actions of the audience and help them frame the land into a panoramic composition to stage the novel’s historic themes.

Kidnapped was published numerous times between 1886 and 1913. These included serial publication in multiple children’s magazines along with book editions with pictorial bindings and bindings adorned only with text. William Brassey Hole (1846–1917) provided cover designs for editions for the first editions of *Kidnapped* released by Cassel and Company in London and Charles Scribner’s Sons in New York in 1886 (**Fig. 3.17, 3.18**). The cover and a fold out map adhered to the end paper comprised its only pictorial decoration, and the cover designs were reused for multiple editions until Scribner’s commissioned N.C. Wyeth to produce illustrations for a 1913 edition of the novel.

Each of the Edinburgh-based artist’s covers presents a different composition. The Cassel edition featuring a young man wearing a suit who leans against a brick wall while gasping in horror as lightning strikes and bats dart towards him. Scribner’s edition features a man in a kilt energetically jumping on rocks down a river forming a dynamic

²⁶³ Era Blantyre Simpson, “Robert Louis Stevenson’s Hills of Home,” *The Living Age* 229, no. 2964 (Apr. 27, 1901): 256.

angle across the brilliant red cover. These compositions suggest different approaches for the British and American markets to the novel's content, with Scribner's focusing on the Scottish garment and the active form of Alan Breck while Cassel emphasizes the novel's psychological tensions and the violent capabilities of nature even within the confines of human constructions.

Little commentary is available on Hole's work for Stevenson, but reviews provide valuable insight into the function of this difference between these covers. In August 1886,

The Athenaeum remarked:

Mr. Stevenson's hero is not carried abroad after all, and here, perhaps, the book as a story attractive to boys will be found to fall behind 'Treasure Island' and 'King Solomon's Mines.' What boys love above everything else is new scenery, and to baulk the expectation of the scenery of Wonderland aroused by the opening chapters of this story is exceedingly dangerous. Having tasted the delight of 'Treasure Island' and 'King Solomon's Mines,' the boy reader who follows David Balfour's adventures up to the point of his landing at Mull will most likely be disappointed at finding that he is not to be taken to the plantations. And yet, as has been just indicated, it is here where the story passes into literature. As picture of the state of Scotland immediately after 1745 we do not hesitate to say that there is nothing in history and nothing in fiction equal to these remarkable chapter. While the adventure in connexion[sic] with the wicked uncle, though unquestionably vigorous, are excogitated, the adventures in the Highlands are imagined, and this makes us think that it was merely in order to bring in these latter adventures that the somewhat state business of the kidnapping was resorted to.

This and other reviews on the early editions of *Kidnapped* do not focus on the Highland landscape features because they are not new and exciting as a view of the Carolina plantation colonies or views of British activities on the African continent as in *King Solomon's Mines* and other fiction whose action occurs outside of Great Britain.

Kidnapped is not about a new place, but it is appealing because of the adventure and the

tension and emotional experiences related to the adventure. The dynamic figures on the covers and minimal landscape convey that energetic quality.

Lastly, landscape and illustrations featuring detailed landscapes are an integral component to Scribner's 1913 edition of *Kidnapped*. Charles E. Hesselgrave expounded on the useful function of Wyeth's plates, observing:

Should the heart be set on a trip to bonny Scotland, no other comrade can replace the handsome octavo edition of *Kidnapped*. Mr. N.C. Wyeth, the artist of the dozen or more full-page color prints which embellish Stevenson's classic, has made a faithful study of the Scotch types and scenes described, and his portraits are thoroly[sic] in keeping with the author's pen-pictures.²⁶⁴

According to Hesselgrave, the combination of Stevenson's text and Wyeth's images provide the ultimate travel guide to Scotland. Unlike Simpson's commentary focused on the land and viewing the landscape, printed and textual iconography are a guide to Scottish character types intended to shape tourists' perspective of the Scottish people as active in the rural and suburban landscape. Wyeth's edition of *Kidnapped* is not merely a catalog of types. Through its characters and identification of multiple locations in Scotland, the book becomes the ultimate portable model of Scotland.

Conclusion

The structure of a book is significant. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the form and concept of books fundamentally changed. Rather than merely a vehicle for text, books transformed into elaborate material objects that contained and

²⁶⁴ Charles E. Hesselgrave, "A Holiday Trip into the Land of Books," *The Independent... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* (Dec. 11, 1913): 513–14.

reflected the character of the interior text as well as the character of the author, reader, and nation. Studies of edition bindings have grown in recent decades to emphasize the content of collections and the aesthetics of artists produced over a limited timeline.

Framing the decoration of bindings within a thematic model of content allows scholars to trace the representation of Scotland through a series of authors, publishers, and design aesthetics ranging from medievalized emblems and figures, to the active forms of Jacobites integrated with the landscape, and approaches to the representation of history.

This discourse of design and national identification suggests that history supersedes all contemporary developments in Scotland. However, we must remember that history is continually countered by the recent and contemporary. History is balanced by parallel developments in technology and the changing shape of the Scottish capital, and contemporary British and American readers to experiencing the Scottish landscape through the vision and memories of recent Scottish authors. The construction of Scottish iconography in literature and book design represents an intense push and pull between the roles of Scotland as a nation and as part of the British union. Moving forward, we must — as Stevenson commented — examine the parts of Scotland or literary Scotland as a whole. The tension and contrast between the old and new, ecological structures and human designs, and choices to reshape the landscape or recompose the view underscore Scotland as continually vibrant and active rather than an aging historic template.

Conclusion

Scotland Bound and Unbound

Books and prints are ideal media for analysis of the visual representation of Scottish character. Beginning in the eighteenth century, new concepts of landscape via enclosure, gardening, and the picturesque, renewed attention for Scotland's visual appearance. Maps, topographic drawings, and landscape prints, along with literature concretized the aesthetic conventions of a reorganized Scottish landscape. Travel narratives and tour guides supplemented these materials for a growing English tourist audience, and by the mid-nineteenth century, publishers, advertising, and literary reviews encouraged readers in Britain and the United States to use books and landscape images to travel virtually to Scotland from the comfort of their homes. Printed images, texts, and illustrated books offered viewers and readers an impression of familiarity with the place represented in them.

These new landscape conventions have also shaped the way audiences in Britain and abroad experience space. As Richard J. Hill has noted, graphics based on Walter Scott's poetic landscapes continued to impact production of images of Scotland for at least a century after the 1810 publication of *Lady of the Lake*. 18th-century topographical drawings of Scotland informed the models for drawings and travel prints of British colonies. Numerous nineteenth-century American authors commented on the ways Scotland and Walter Scott reframed their experience of the United States. And even recent exhibitions and marketing emphasize that the picturesque Scottish landscape draws people to the country while also impacting the way other countries structure their

tourism. Images of Scotland have inextricably changed the visual experience of parts of the world.

Thinking about pastoral landscape as the historical model for multiple sets of images highlights tensions over Scotland's place in history. At the turn of the 19th century, critics declared Alexander Nasymth's painted landscapes to be not picturesque, but versions adapted for travel prints published in London were used to draw tourists to the region. London caricature abruptly edited out Scottish political and economic interests in India and Burma while John Watson's *Glasgow Looking Glass* dove into the subject during the magazine's brief existence in 1825–26. Around the mid-century, critics like John Ruskin branded Edinburgh's Neoclassical New Town as formulaic and un-national. Robert Louis Stevenson countered that the Edinburgh's historic and new infrastructure more fully represented Edinburgh's and Scotland's history. And in the 1880s, A.V.S. Anthony's designs for Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, were rebuked for his defiant inclusion of a train as part of picturesque conventions for Scotland and placing the country thoroughly in the present. Acknowledgement of Scotland's changing landscape by both Scottish and foreign authors, printers, and illustrators facilitated Scotland's continuing negotiation of its own national character and its roles in British imperialism.

Further, the periodical press and literature in Scotland, England, and the United States framed the new landscape aesthetics around the idea of improving or containing poor Scottish character. As a result, Scottish authors like Mary Brunton, Elizabeth Hamilton, Susan Ferrier, and Walter Scott began writing novels and poetry about historic

and contemporary life in an intricately described Scottish landscape in the early nineteenth century. Decades of enclosure predisposed an Anglo-British audience to more favorable attitudes about Scotland, and these Scottish authors had opportunity for British and international transmission of material objects that communicated ideas about Scottish character. Speaking about Scottish landscape necessitates examination of the construction of Scottish character and people in that landscape.

Physiognomy belies many of the discussions correlating Scots, landscape, and books. Walter Scott's infirm body was analyzed as a potential limitation in his writing, and the brilliance of his landscapes were perceived as a strong affinity for national character. Scottish emigres and Americans of Scottish ancestry like John Muir Thomas Dixon associated Scott with ideas of home and history. And they applied the ideas of the idealized Scottish landscape to progress genocide of Indigenous Americans, the suppression of the history of middle class Africans in U.S. cities, and supporting the racism and terrorism of organizations like the Ku Klux Klan. Unbinding the relationships between landscape, Scottish character, and books delineates the ways that Scots perpetuated systemic racism.

Tracing the connections between the character of readers, bookbinding, and the content of books further highlights the roles of Scotland in the building of British national character and the British Empire. While poor women worked in fields to make a subsistence living and maintain the productivity of enclosed estates, middle class women were especially targeted as buyers for John Leighton's elaborately-bound editions of

Scott's poetry in the 1860s. By the late 19th century, bindings and books about Scotland reinforced gendered behaviors in children and families. Novels about Jacobites directed at boys and more generalized family audiences like H.C. Adams' *In the Fifteen* and *James or George* visually framed masculinity around bold acts of defending school yards and home. Stevenson's *Kidnapped* provided the opportunity to virtually escape a ship bound for colonial North America and stride across the binding through historic Scotland's landscapes. Other examples like Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall's *Scotland's Story* and *Our Island Story* model the act of writing and reading of story books to teach children about the structure of Scotland, Britain, and the empire. Brilliant metallic embossing and multi-color pictorial designs draw in the reader and the narrative text and illustrations provide ongoing instruction for reproducing and maintaining empire and the accompanying structures of race, gender, and class.

Paper, cloth, and ink prices increased after the start of World War I in 1914. Supply prices, shortages, and emphasis on stoic and frugal habits of purchase and consumption changed publishing radically during the war. After the Christmas season of 1914, publication of decorative edition bindings in hardback books declined abruptly. Small paperbacks with varying degrees of decoration took over as the prominent commercial book format. Hard bound books with cloth covers and dust jackets with colorful pictorial and typographic designs also appeared in large numbers after 1918.²⁶⁵ These continue to be the dominant forms of commercially-published fiction.

²⁶⁵ Alice A. Carter, "British Fantasy and Children's Book Illustration," *History of Illustration*, eds. Susan Doyle, Jaleen Grove, Whitney Sherman (New York: Bloomsbury, 2019), 263–264.

Readers and shoppers witnessed a resurgence of historical fiction and historical romance novels emblazoned with vibrant Scottish landscapes and Highland characters in the late twentieth century. Beginning in the 1970s around the development of a Devolution referendum in Scotland, publishers like Harpers have marketed Highland-themed historical romances adorned with tartan-clad Scotsmen in varying stages of undress to readers. These countless novels have been positioned within discussion of the history of the romance genre and relationships to gender expression.²⁶⁶ In this way, we see the labor of reading continue the work of reproducing nation as discussed throughout *Graphic Scotland*.

Romance novels and their readers are often the subject of popular and critical scorn due to a perception that the genre is unintellectual content that reinforces amorality and poor rationality in readers.²⁶⁷ In the sub-genre of Highland Romance and Historical Romance, Diana Gabaldon's *Outlander* series (from 1991) has overcome many of these critical obstacles to become one of the most republished series. The books have been translated into more than twenty languages, and the content has been adapted into a multi-season television program. *Outlander* is novel about a nurse in 1945 London who time travels to Scotland in the years before the 1745 Jacobite Uprising. Its multicolor dust jacket features a still life including a baroque clock, strand of pearls and tartan fabric each

²⁶⁶ For a discussion of approaches to the Romance novel, see: Euan Hague, "Mass Market Romance Fiction and the Representation of Scotland in the United States," *The Modern Scottish Diaspora: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives*, eds. Murray Stewart and Duncan Sim (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 166–173.

²⁶⁷ Joanna Gregson, Jennifer Lois, "Social Science Reads Romance," *The Routledge Research Companion to Popular Romance Fiction*, eds. Jayashree Kamblé, Eric Murphy Selinger, and Hsu-Ming Teo (New York: Routledge, 2021), 324–333.

alluding to parts of the content. *Voyager* (1993), a sequel features tartan again and a map alluding to the Scottish characters who sail to the Royal Colony of Jamaica and are later shipwrecked on the coast of colonial Georgia. Later books address Scottish support of the Regulator Movement and American Revolution. Authors, cover designers, and publishers continue to replicate Scotland's allochronicity—particularly its rise against Anglo-British rule and the various roles of Scotland in building the British Empire and American nation.

Circumstances in current book sales and library collection practice make it challenging to perform extended art historical analysis for large sets of these novels. Cataloging and permanent collection of many examples of contemporary romance is not yet commonplace. Worn copies are regularly available at public library book sales such as the Albuquerque Public Library's semiannual Friends of the Library book sale, to make room for newer content. Only a few academic libraries, such as Bowling Green State University in Ohio and the Russell B. Nye Popular Culture Collection at Michigan State University, collect contemporary romance novels for preservation. Disparate availability creates challenges in fully overviewing the aesthetics and composition of book covers.

It's no coincidence that U.S. publishers and readers form one of the largest markets for Highland-themed historical romance.²⁶⁸ Americans are heavily invested in Scottish heritage. American media grants ongoing attention to the country's connections

²⁶⁸ Euan Hague and David Stenhouse, "A Very Interesting Place: Representing Scotland in American Romance Novels," *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature*, ed. Berthold Schoene (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007): 354–361.

to Scotland with commentary on suppers dedicated to Robert Burns and ongoing critiques of racism at Highland festival.²⁶⁹ U.S. citizens also contribute a high volume to the market for Highland Heritage Tourism.²⁷⁰ Scots and Americans claiming Scottish heritage have both critiqued and supported the former President Donald Trump, terrorist organizations like the “Proud Boys,” and the January 6, 2021 attack on the U.S. Capitol building in Washington, D.C.²⁷¹ President Joseph Biden presented Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon with a gift at the recent COP26 summit even though she held no official role in the event, and news closely followed Congressional Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's efforts to locate a popular Scottish soft drink, Irn-Bru.²⁷² Fiction with

²⁶⁹ For a discussion of the excessive efforts that U.S. residents demonstrate to prepare Haggis for Burns' night dinners, see: David Yaffe-Bellany, “Building the Perfect Meal with Sheep Lungs and a Suitcase,” *New York Times* (Jan. 24, 2020), <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/24/business/haggis-smuggling.html>; Jim Galloway, “The Troubled Triangle of Scottish Heritage, Southern Racial Politics, and Stone Mountain,” *Atlanta Magazine* (Oct. 14, 2021), <https://www.atlantamagazine.com/news-culture-articles/the-troubled-triangle-of-scottish-heritage-southern-racial-politics-and-stone-mountain/>.

²⁷⁰ Lennox Morrison, “The Business of Being Scottish: Are You One of 50 Million,” *BBC* (May 25, 2017), <https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20170525-the-business-of-ancestral-tourism-in-scotland>; Visit Scotland, “Insight Department: USA Factsheet | 2019,” *Visitors from the USA, Visit Scotland* (Nov. 2020), <https://www.visitscotland.org/research-insights/about-our-visitors/international/usa>.

²⁷¹ Emer O'Toole, “Fury as Far-Right Group Dons Kilts for Pro-Trump March,” *The National* (Dec. 13, 2020), <https://www.thenational.scot/news/18941259.fury-far-right-group-dons-kilts-pro-trump-march/>; Nan Spowart, “Scots living in the US React to Trump Supporters Storming the Capitol,” *The National* (Jan. 9, 2021), <https://www.thenational.scot/news/18999817.dd/>; “Scots Political Leaders Condemn Capitol Storming,” *BBC* (Jan. 6, 2021), <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-55566717>.

²⁷² Jody Harrison, “COP26: Nicola Sturgeon 'delighted' after meeting with President Joe Biden,” *The Herald* (Nov. 3, 2021), <https://www.heraldscotland.com/politics/19692762.cop26-nicola-sturgeon-delighted-meeting-president-joe-biden/>; Karla Adam, “With Irn-Bru and Climate-funding pledges, Scotland's Leader Made a Role for Herself at COP26,” *The Washington Post* (Nov. 14, 2021), https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/cop26-glasgow-scotland/2021/11/13/25dc8c5c-41b8-11ec-9404-50a28a88b9cd_story.html; Grant, Alistair Grant. 2021. “US Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez on the Hunt for Irn-Bru at COP26,” *The Herald* (Nov. 10, 2021) <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsgin&AN=edsgcl.681816661&site=eds-live&scope=site>; Jennifer Hassan and Maxine Joselow, “Climate Leaders are United on One Things: Scotland's Glowing Orange Drink, Irn-Bru,” *The Washington Post* (Nov. 11, 2021), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/11/11/what-is-irn-bru-flavor-scotland-cop/>; Katie Collins, “Instagram and Irn-Bru: Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez Takes the World Inside COP26,” *CNET* (Nov. 11, 2021), <https://www.cnet.com/news/instagram-and-irn-bru-alexandria-ocasio-cortez-takes-the-world-inside-cop26/>.

Scottish motifs and adorned with Scots continue to sell well because Americans are socially and politically invested in the idea of Scotland.

Graphic Scotland represents the extended study of three case studies. However, the persistent publication of prints and decorated books for more than two centuries requires more analysis and exhibition development that highlights the extended use of printed Scottish motifs outside of the narrow focus of tourism and beyond 1830.

Arranging materials in this way allows viewers to understand the ways artists, printers, and publishers continue to use Scotland to reprint, rebind, and reproduce systems of race, class, and gender in Britain and the United States.

Appendices
Appendix A—Chapter 1 Images

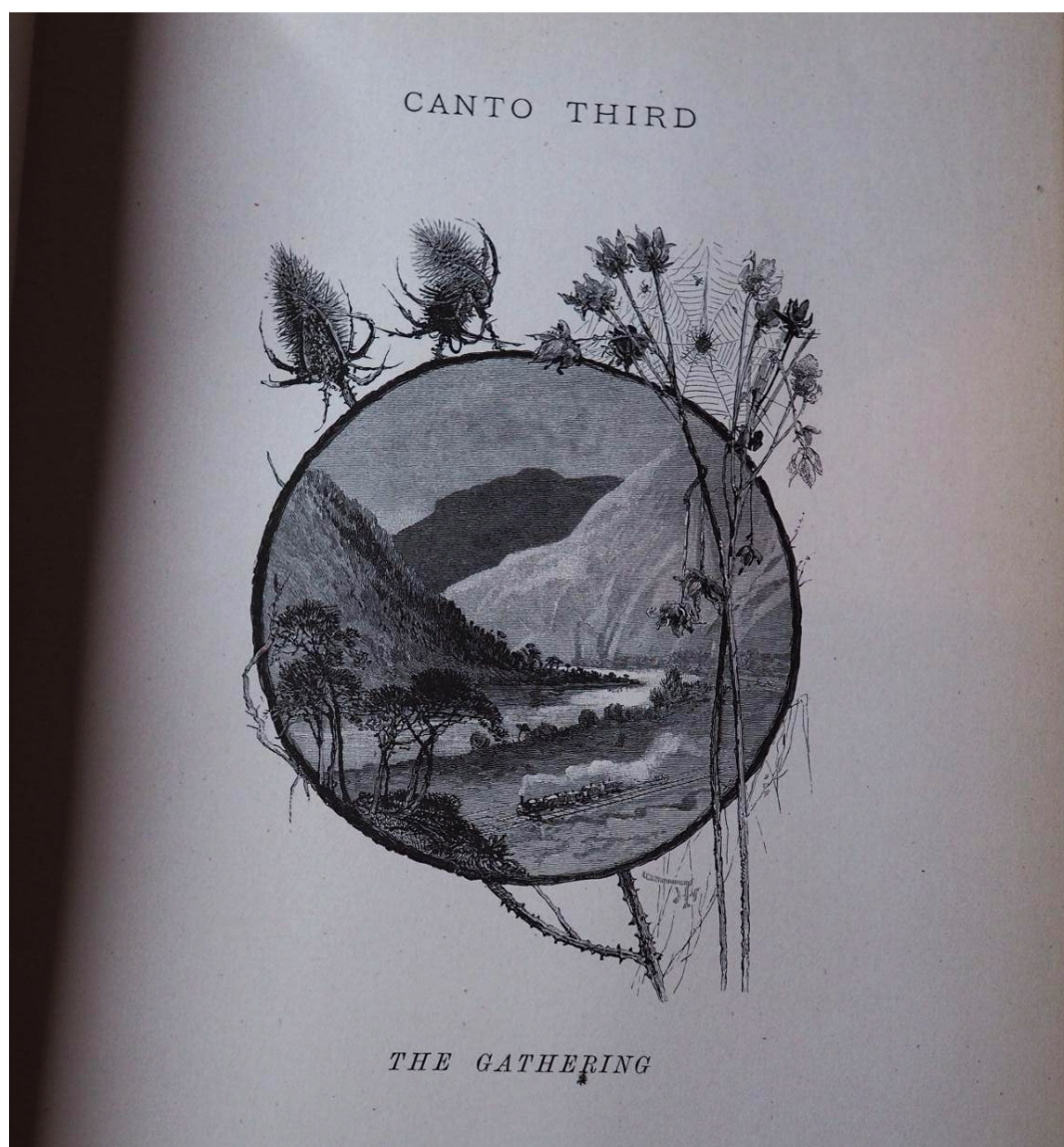


Figure 1. Henry Fenn and A.V.S. Anthony, "Half Title to Canto Third.— In Leny Pass," 1882, wood engraving, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1882), 97. Photo by author.

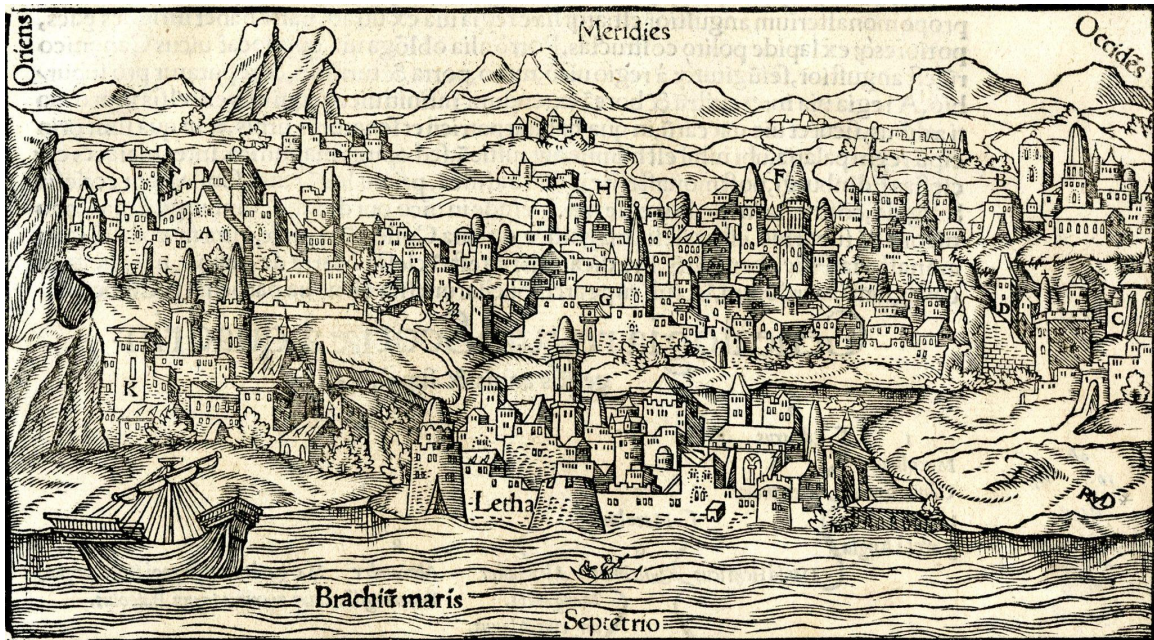


Figure 2. Hans Rudolf Manuel, “Plan of Edinburgh”, from 1544, woodcut, Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia*, Edinburgh, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.



Figure 3. George Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Edenburgum, Scotiae Metropolis*, ca. 1583. 33.2 x 44.4 cm (Cologne: G. Braun & F. Hogenberg, ca. 1583), Edinburgh, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

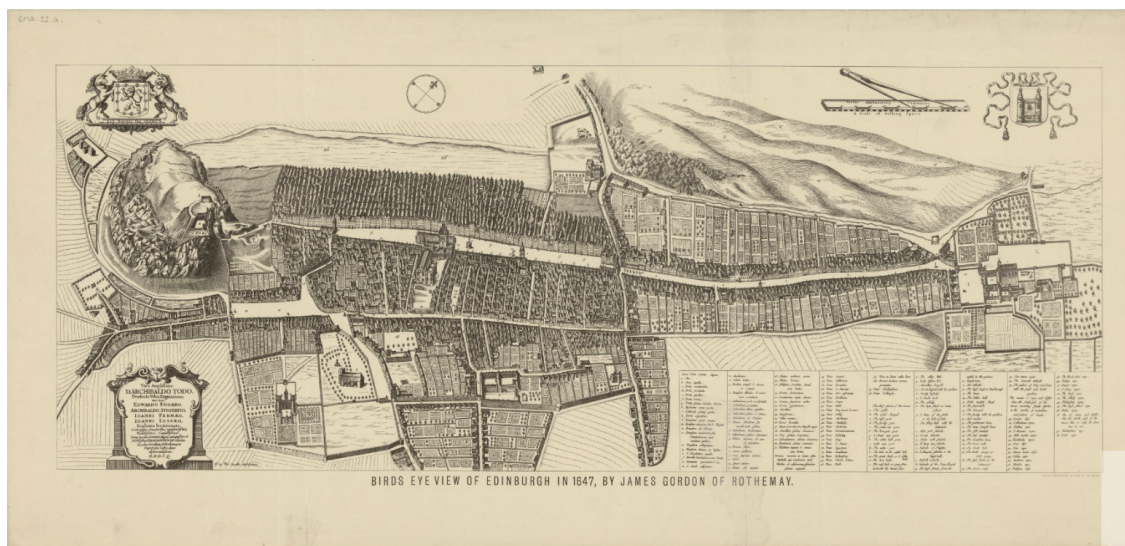


Figure 4. James Gordon. *Bird's Eye View of Edinburgh*, 1647, 41.6 x 106.9 cm, Edinburgh, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.



Figure 5. James Gordon. *Abredoniae novae et veteris descriptio*, A description of new and of old Aberdeen, with the places nearest adjacent / auctore Jacobo Gordono, 1661, 633 x 610mm, Edinburgh, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.



Figure 6. David Allan, *Sir William Erskine of Torrie and His Family*, 1788, oil on canvas, 60.5 x 90.5 cm, in *The Concise Catalogue of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990), 333.



Figure 7. Jacob More, *The Falls of Clyde (Corra Linn)*, 1771, oil on canvas, 79.40 x 100.40 cm, Edinburgh, United Kingdom. Bequest of James Ramsay MacDonald 1938. Courtesy of National Galleries Scotland.



Figure 8: W. Richards (after Alexander Nasmyth), *The Trossachs*, 1842, engraving, 14.9 x 9.5 cm, 1842, Edinburgh, Corson Collection, University of Edinburgh.



Figure 9: George Washington Wilson, "Scott's Tomb at Dryburgh", 1863, albumen print, in Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (London: A.W. Bennet, 1863), 1. University of St. Andrews' rare books' collection.



Figure 10: Thomas Ogle, “Brig of Turk,” 1863, albumen print, in Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (London: A.W. Bennet, 1863), 6. St. Andrews, United Kingdom. University of St. Andrews' rare books' collection.



Figure 11. Thomas Ogle, “Ellen’s Isle [Loch Katrine]”, 1863, albumin print, in Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (London: A.W. Bennet, 1863), 15. University of St. Andrews' rare books' collection.

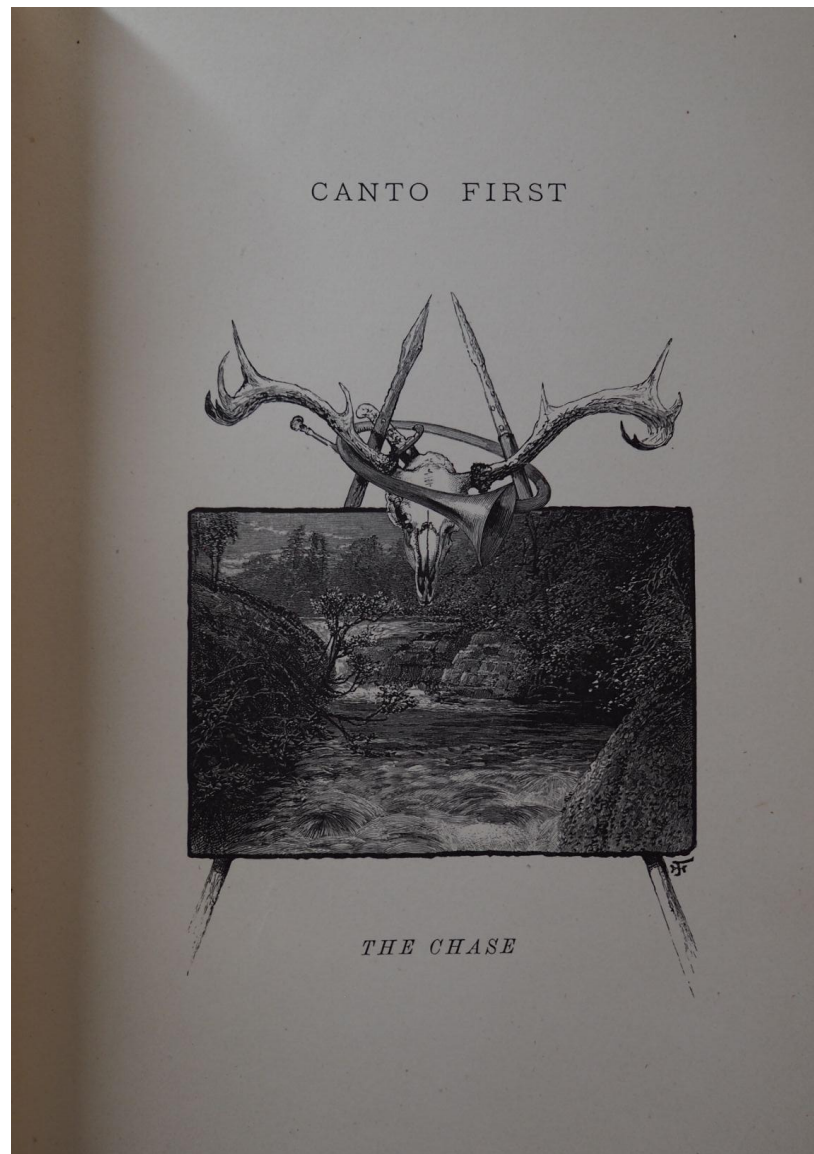


Figure 12. Henry Fenn and A.V.S. Anthony, “Half Title to Canto Third.— Glen Artney,” 1882, wood engraving, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1882), 21. Photo by author.

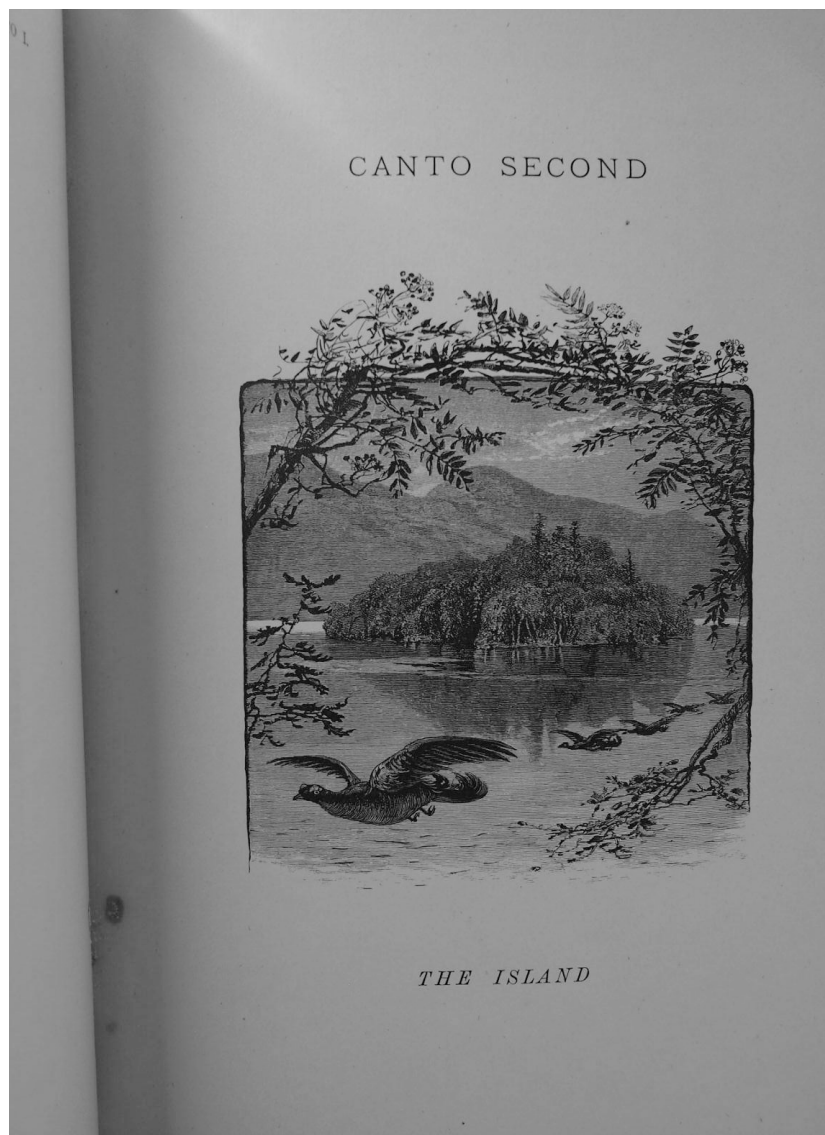


Figure 13. A.V.S. Anthony, "Half Title to Canto Second.— Ellen's Isle," 1882, wood engraving, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, wood engraving (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1882), 57. Photo by author.

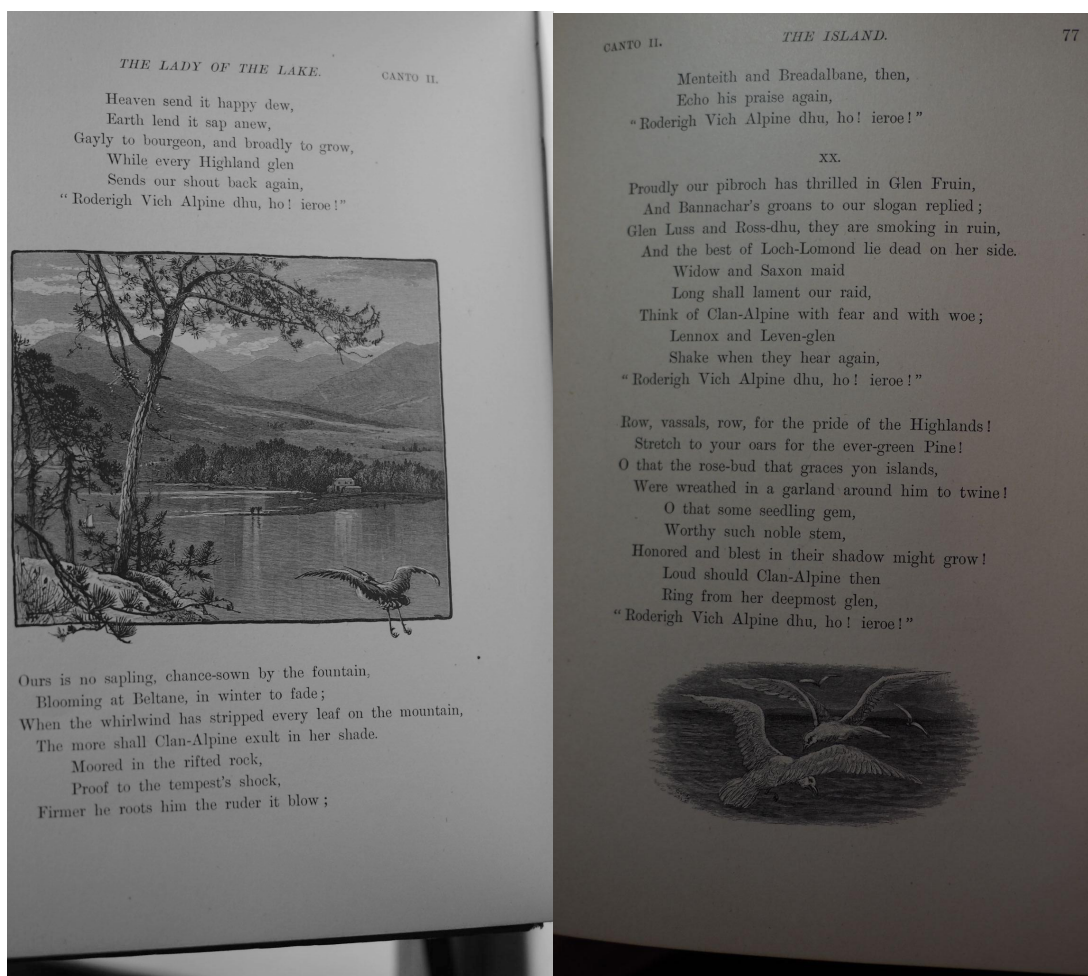


Figure 14. (LEFT) Henry Fenn, "Glen Luss," 1882, wood engraving, in Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1882), 76. Photo by author.

Figure 15. (RIGHT) "Loch Lomond Gulls," 1882, wood engraving, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake*, (Boston, J.R. Osgood, 1882), 77. Photo by author.

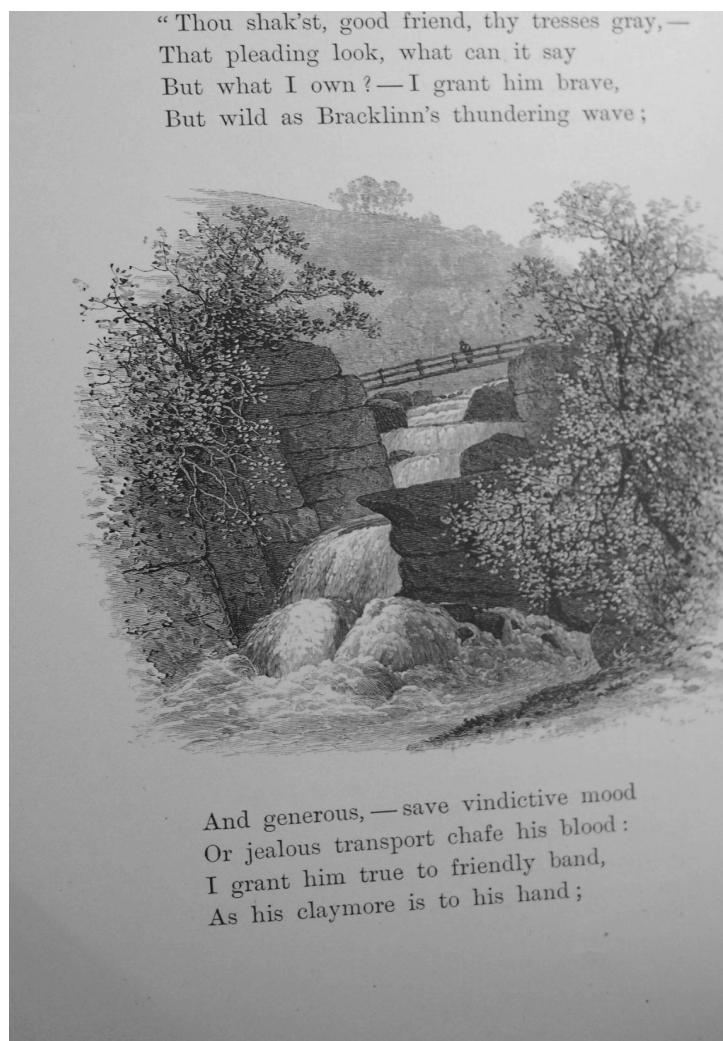


Figure 16. A.V.S. Anthony, “Bracklinn’s thundering wave”, 1882, wood engraving, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1882), 70. Photo by author.

Appendix B—Chapter 2 Images



Figure 2.1. “The Bath coach going down to a watering Place,” *Glasgow Northern Looking Glass* 2, no. 2 (June 1826): 6, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.2. "Going Home in a Noddy," *Northern Looking Glass* 1, no. 7 (September 3, 1825): 24, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.

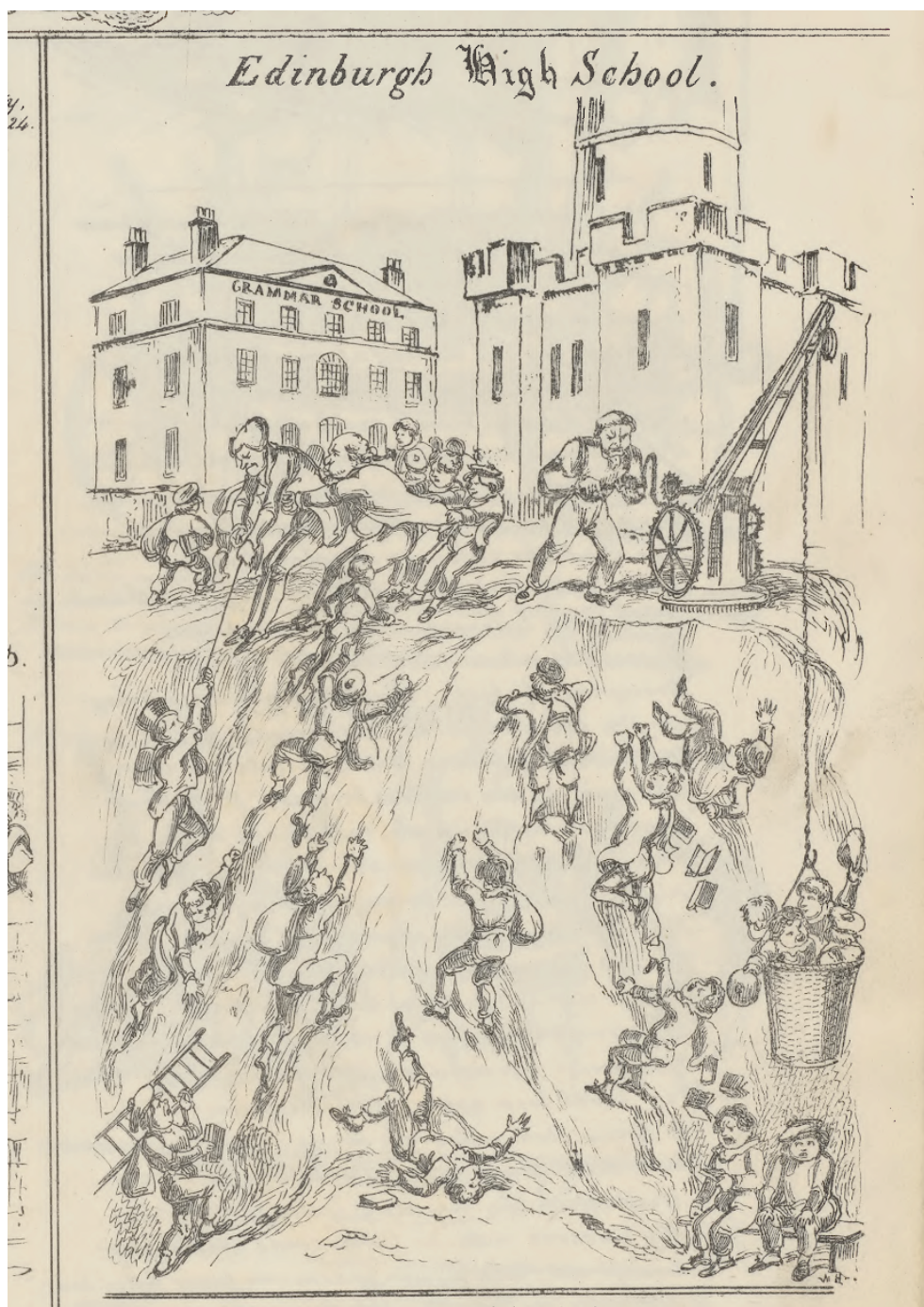


Figure 2.3. “Edinburgh High School,” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 4 (1825): 1. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.

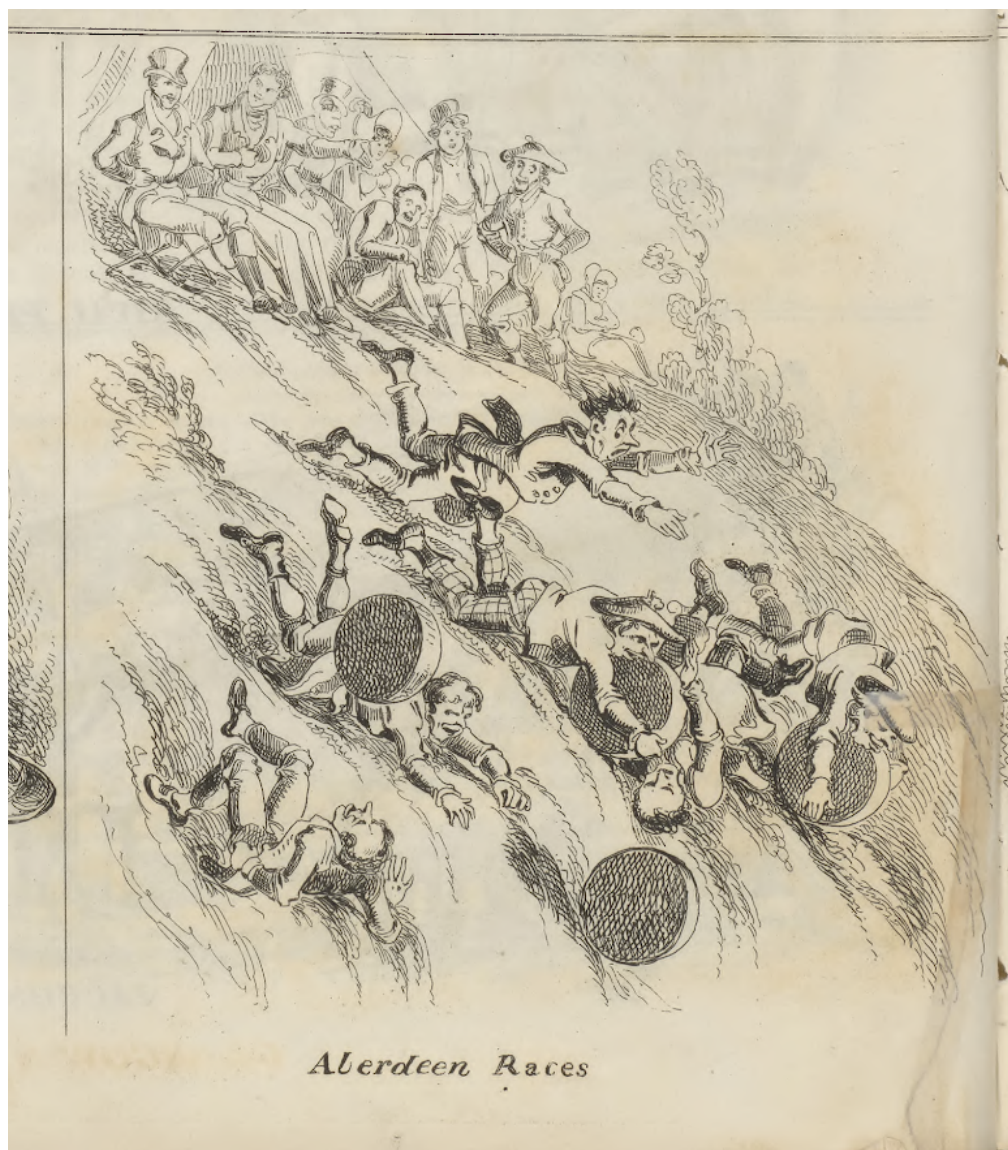


Figure 2.4. "Aberdeen Races," *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 4 (1825): 31. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.5. “Fashionable Promenade,” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 2 (1825): 3. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.6. “Awfu’ weather,” *Northern Looking Glass* 1, no. 12 (December 12, 1825): 44. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.7. “Shipping News: Embarkation, Scene 1,” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 2 (1825). Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.8. "Shipping News: Voyage of a Steam Boat from Glasgow to Liverpool, Passing the clock, pleasant breeze." *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 2 (1825). Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.9. "Shipping News: Voyage on a Steam Boat from Glasgow to Liverpool. Scene 6. Twas Night." *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 6 (1825). Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.10. “Voyage of Steam Boat from Glasgow to Liverpool: Scene 7, Arrival at Liverpool” *Northern Looking Glass* 1, no. 7 (1825). Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.

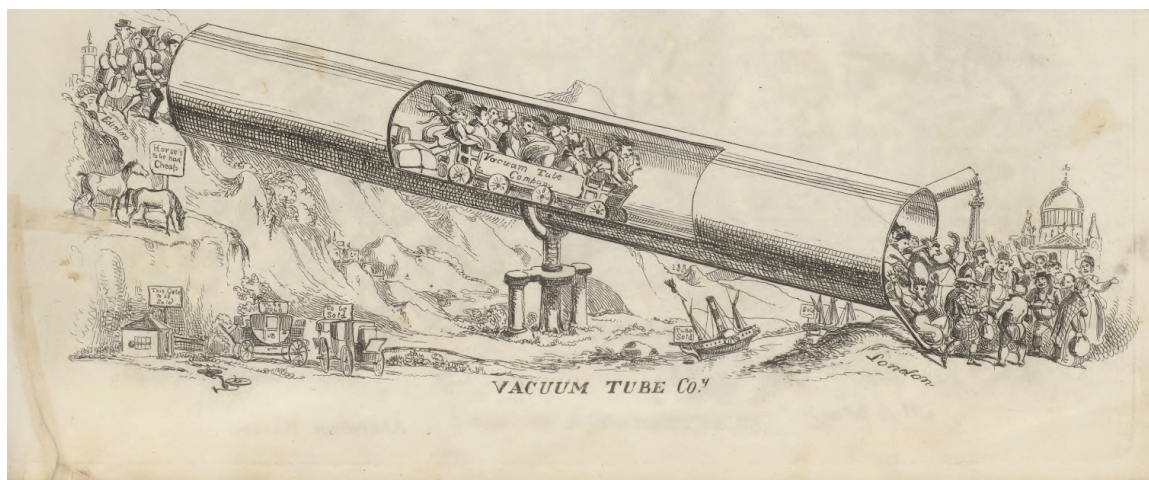


Figure 2.11. "Vacuum Tube Co.," *Northern Looking Glass* 1, no. 9 (1825): 30.
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.12. (Top) “Politics, Affairs of India or how to astonish the Natives,” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 3 (July 9, 1825), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland.

(Bottom) “Merchant’s Park, Monument to John Knox ,“ *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no 3 (July 9, 1825). National Library of Scotland. Photo by Author.

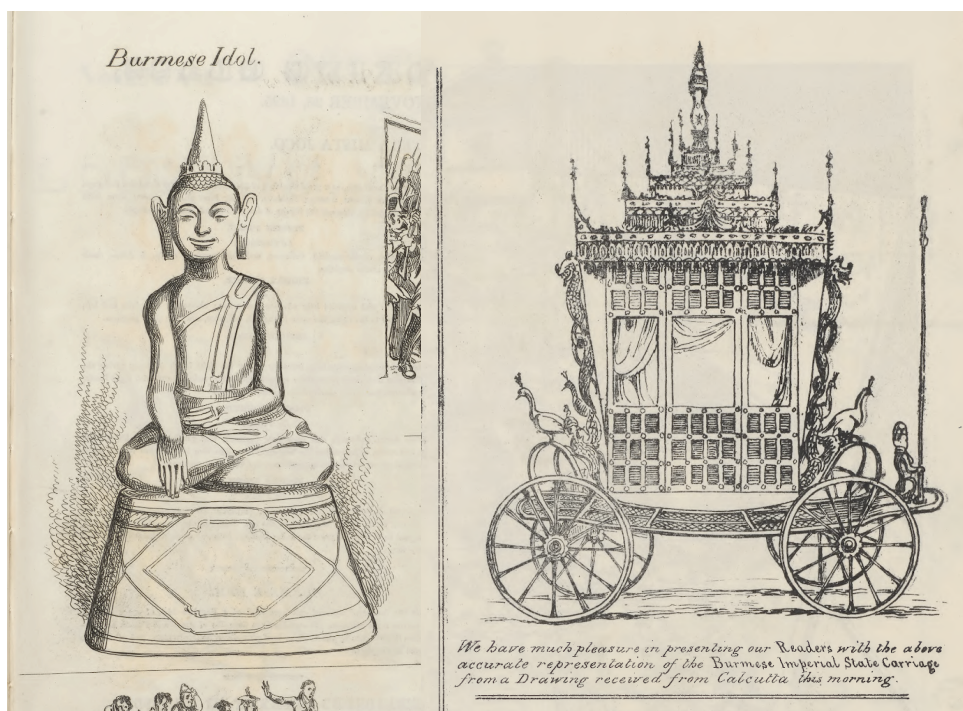


Figure 2.13 (Left). “We have much pleasure...,” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 4 (1825), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.

Figure 2.14 (Right). “Burmese Idol,” *Northern Looking Glass* 1, no. 11 (Nov. 28, 1825), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.15. “Burmese Foundling,” *Northern Looking Glass* 1, no. 13 (1825), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 2.16. “Consumption of Smoke: Present, Future,” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 8 (1825): 3, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.

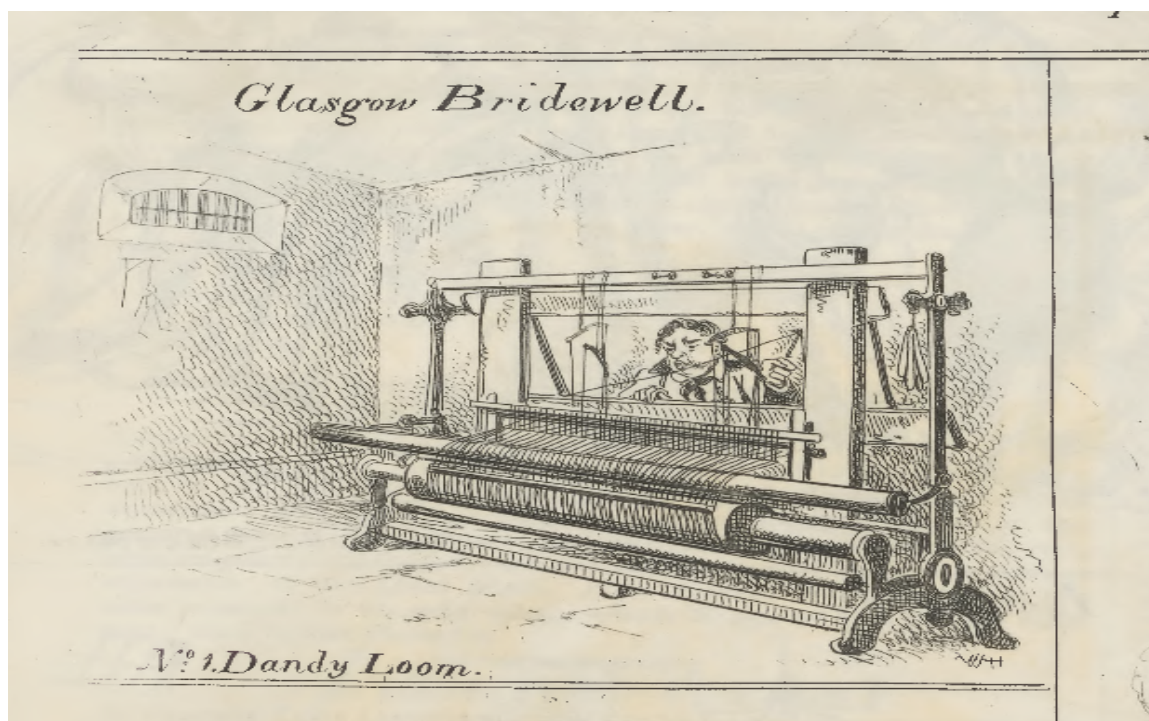


Figure 2.17. “Glasgow Bridewell: No 1. Dandy Loom.” *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1, no. 10, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.

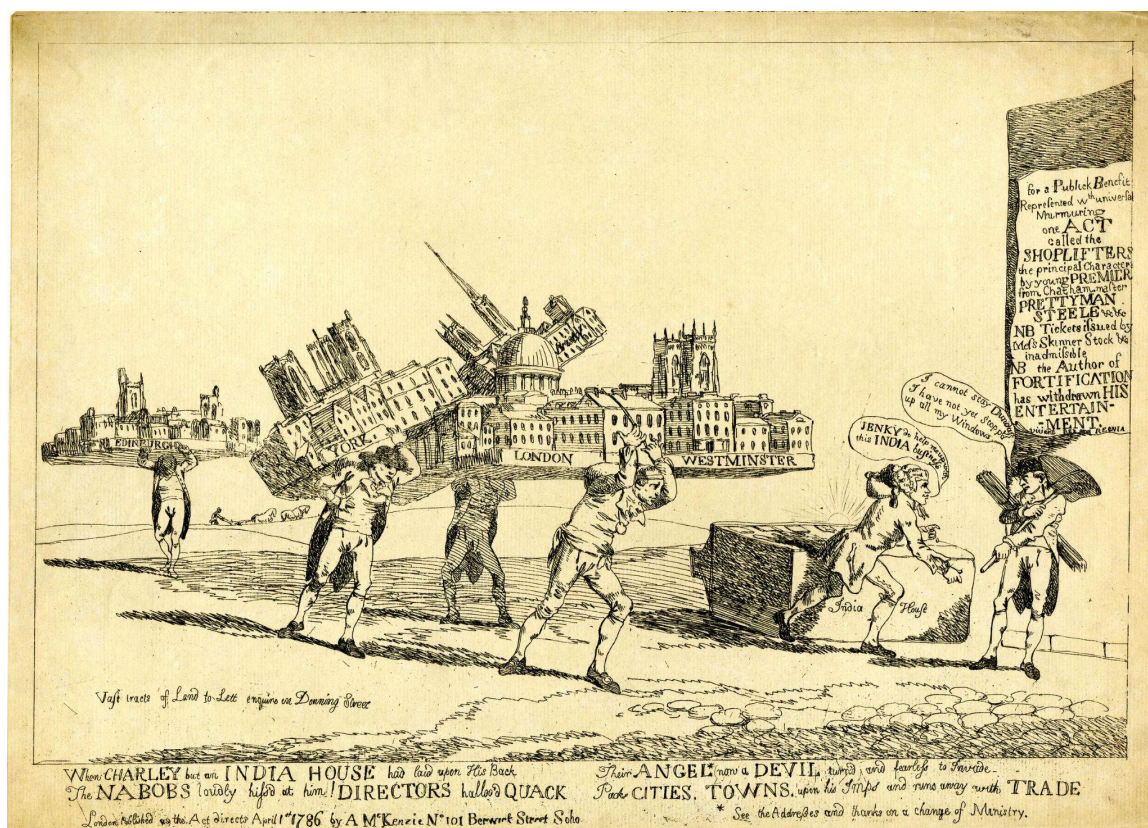


Figure 2.18. Alexander McKenzie, *When Charley but on India House had laid upon his back...*, 1786, etching, 28.8 x 40.1 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.19. James Gillray, *The board of controul. or the blessings of a Scotch dictator*, 1787, etching with aquatint, 27.3 x 37.3 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.21. William Dent, *East India Stocks*, 1788, etching, 19.5 x 27 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

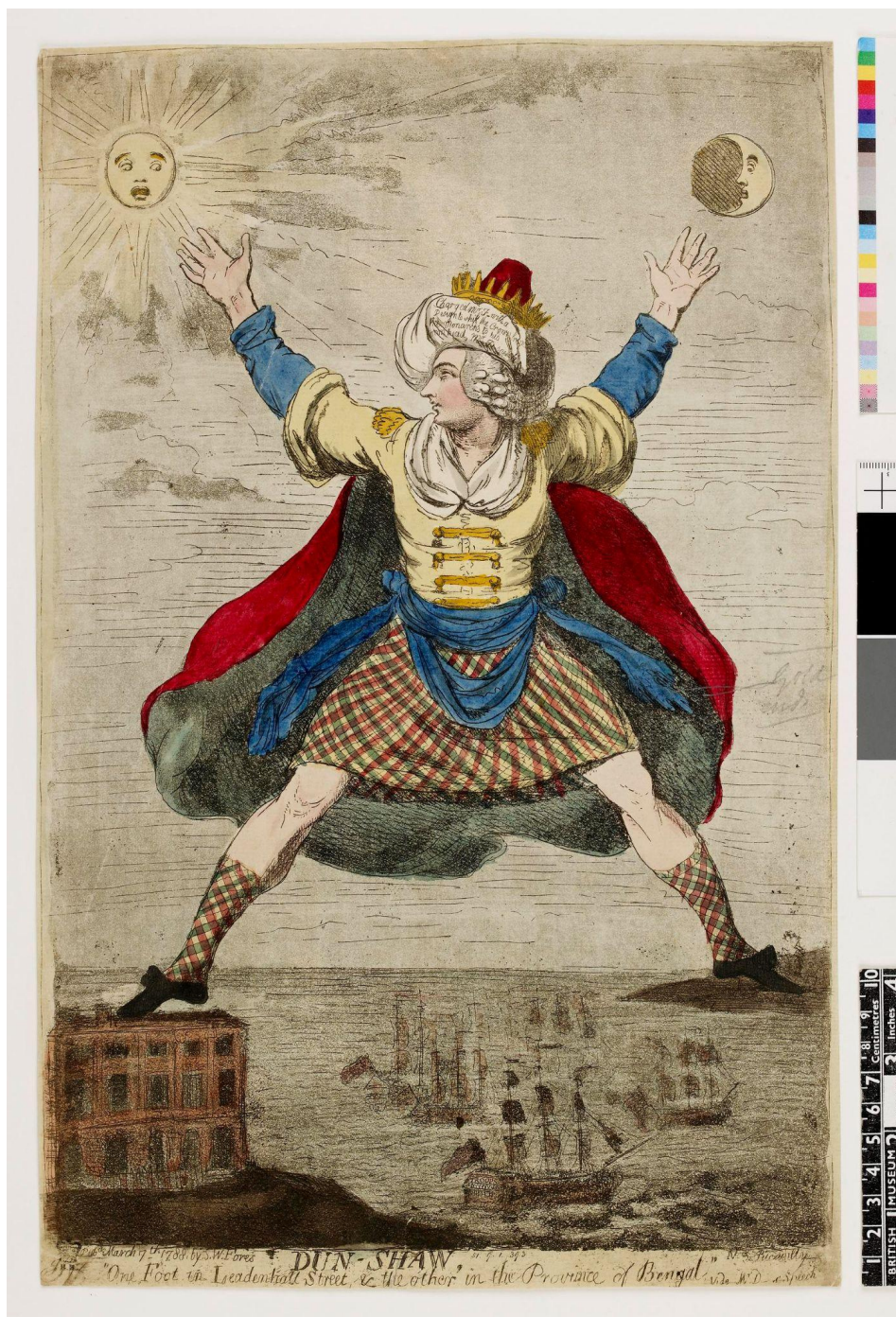


Figure 2.22. James Gillray, *DUN-SHAW*, 1788, etching, 40.6 x 25.8 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

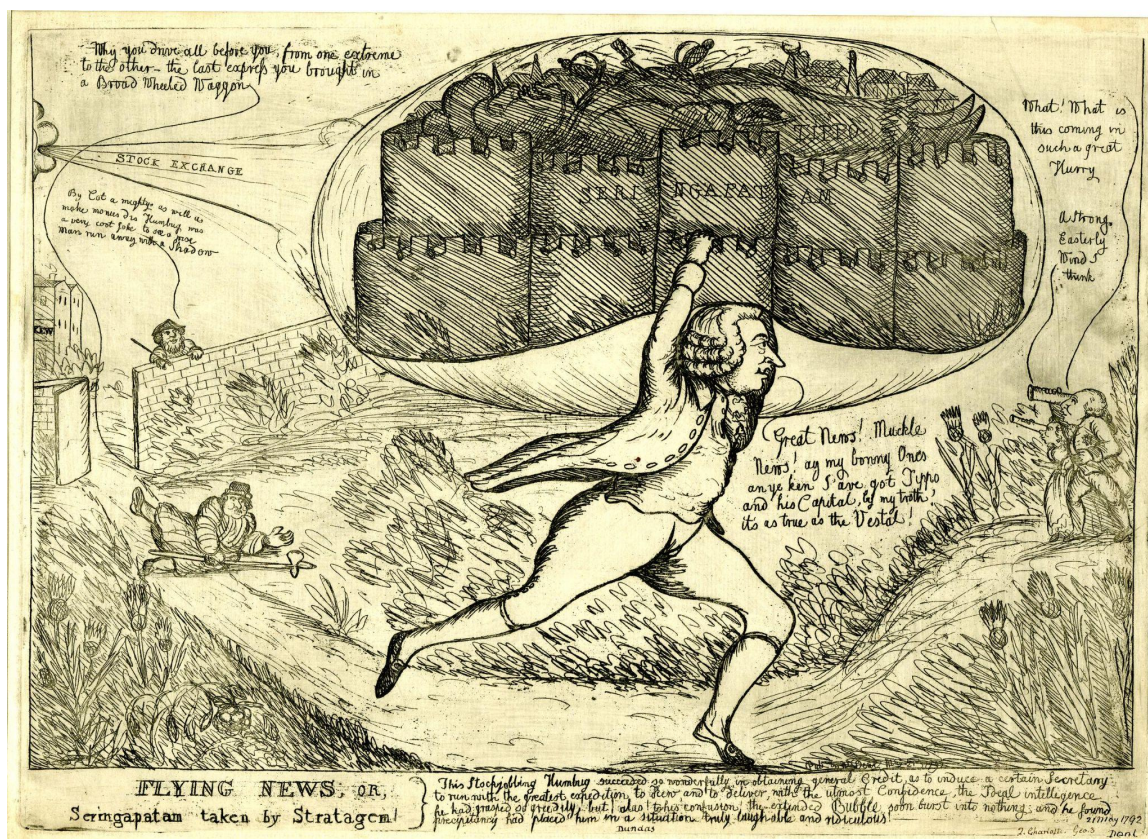


Figure 2.23. William Dent, *Flying News; or, Seringapatam taken by stratagem!*, 1792, etching, 24.8 x 34.6 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.24. Richard Newton, *William the Conqueror's Triumphal Entry!!!*, 1796, etching. 40.0 x 27.2 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.25. Richard Newton, *Tria Juncta in Uno, or a Ministerial Mode of paying Triple Taxes!*, 1797, etching. 24.7 x 35.5 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.26. Richard Gilson Reeve, after Lt. Joseph Moore, “The Attack of the Stockades at Pagoda Point, on the Rangoon River,” *Rangoon Views, and Combined Operations in the Birman Empire*, 1826, etching, 33 cm x 42.5 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.27. George Hunt after M. Egerton, *Characteristics, or England Ireland and Scotland*, 1825, etching with aquatint, 22.4 x 21.1 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.28. *The First Laird in Aw Scotia*, 1822, etching, 24.13 x 29.85 cm, Edinburgh, United Kingdom. Courtesy of National Galleries of Scotland.



Figure 2.30. George Cruikshank, *Turtle doves and turtle soup! Or a try-o between Geordie, a northern lassie, and sir willey, o!!*, 1822, etching, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.31. J. Lewis Marks, *The Benefits of a Northern Excursion. Or - R-l pastime at home. (ie) fiddling and dancing!*, 1822, etching, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 2.32. William Heath, *March of the Intellect*, 1829, etching, 30.5 x 42.2 cm, London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Appendix C—Chapter 3 images

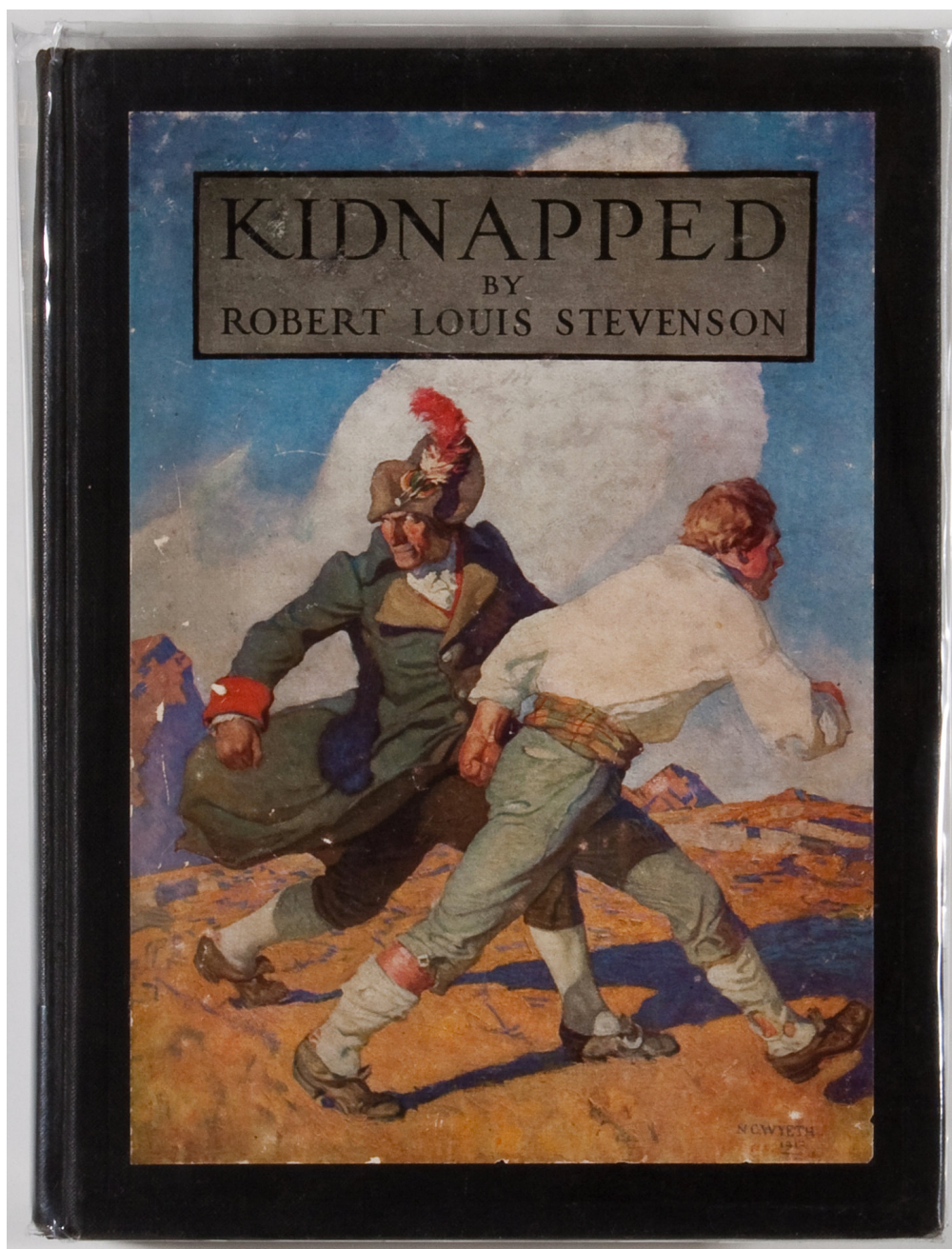


Figure 3.1. N.C. Wyeth, cover design, 1913, Robert Louis Stevenson, *Kidnapped* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), Albuquerque, NM, University of New Mexico Libraries. Photo by author.



Figure 3.2. John Leighton, cover design, 1863, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (London: A.W. Bennet, 1863). Courtesy University of St. Andrews Special Collections.

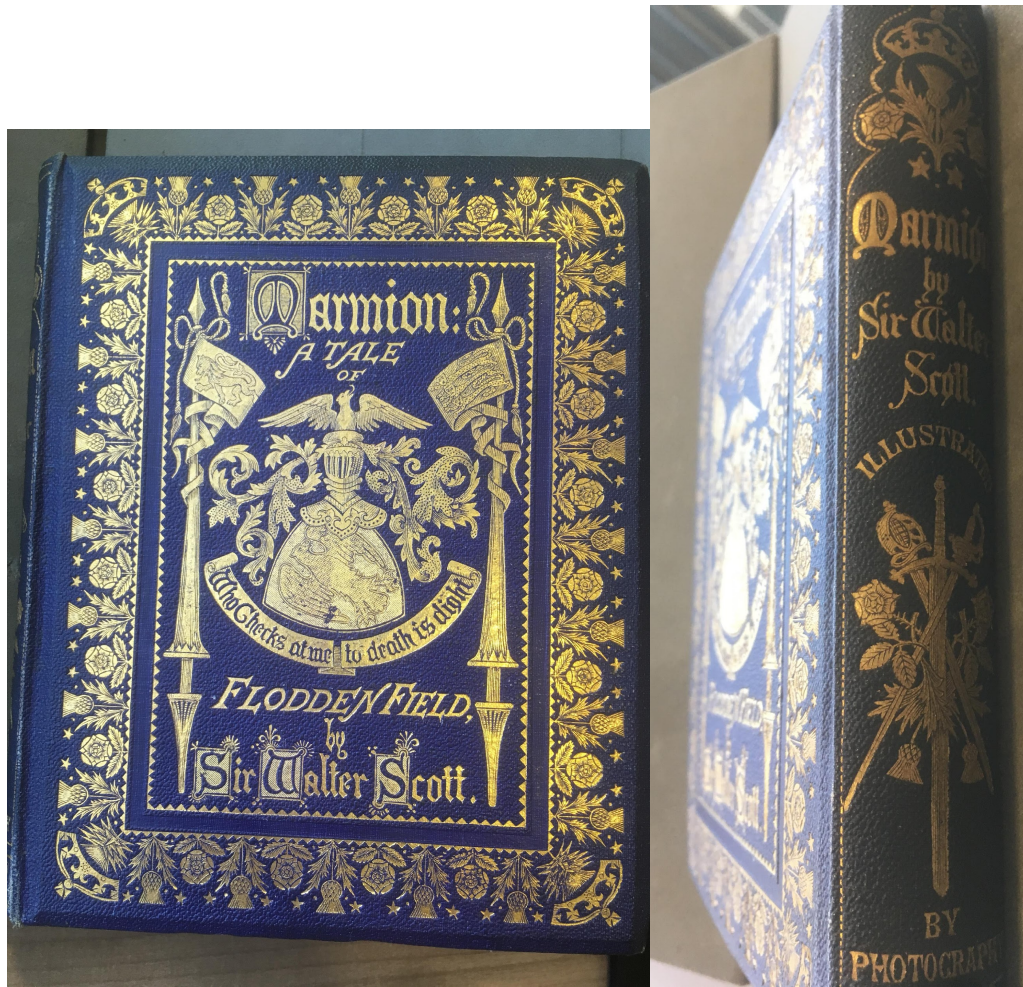


Figure 3.3. John Leighton, cover design, 1866, Walter Scott, *Marmion: A Tale of Flodden Field* (London: A.W. Bennett, 1866), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.



Figure 3.4. Cover design, 1872, Walter Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (London: Provost Co., 36 Henrietta Street, W.C., 1872), Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland. Photo by author.

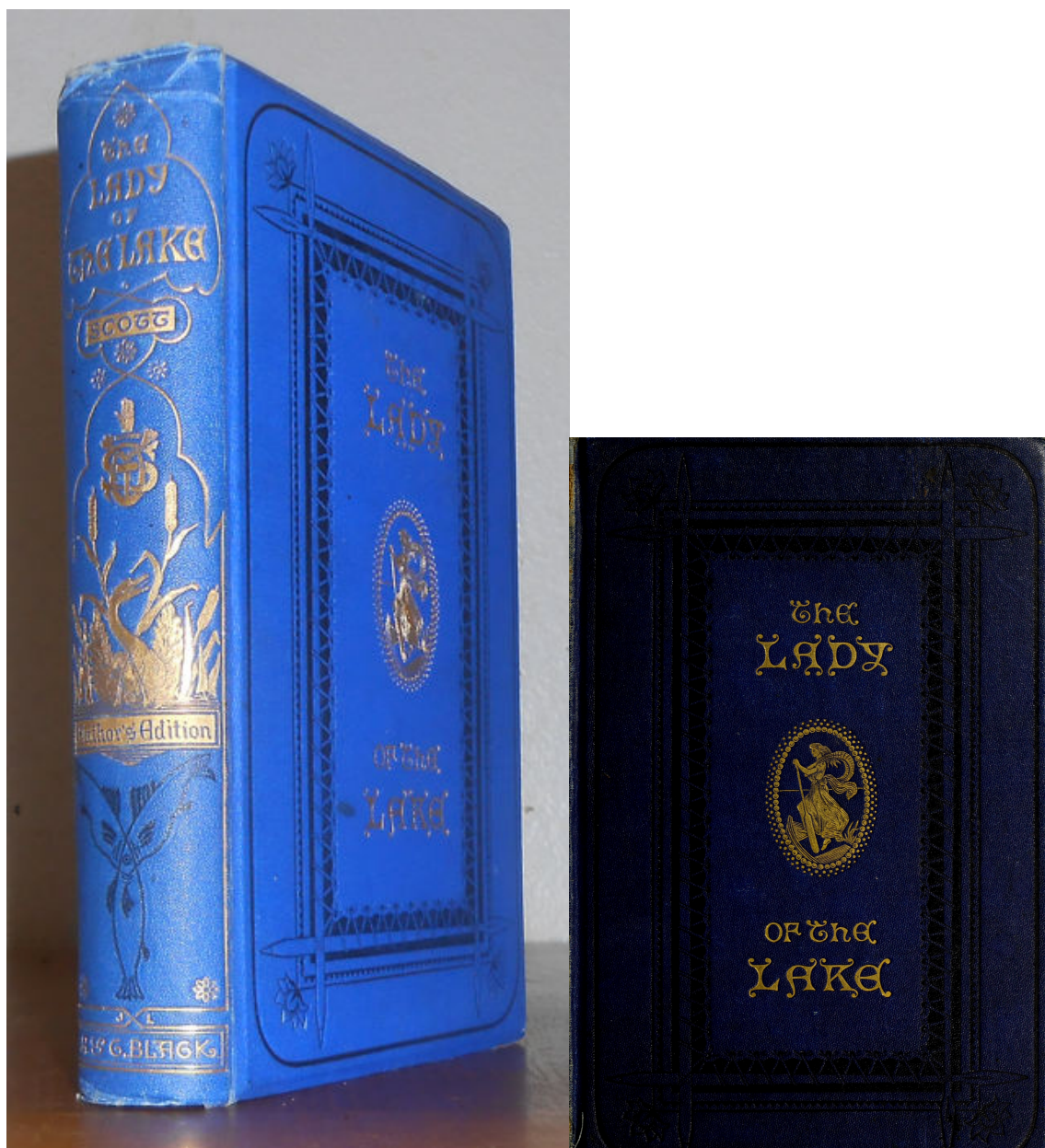


Figure 3.5. Birket Foster, cover design, 1869, Walter Scott *Lady of the Lake* (Edinburgh : Adam and Charles Black, 1869), Los Angeles, CA. Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute.

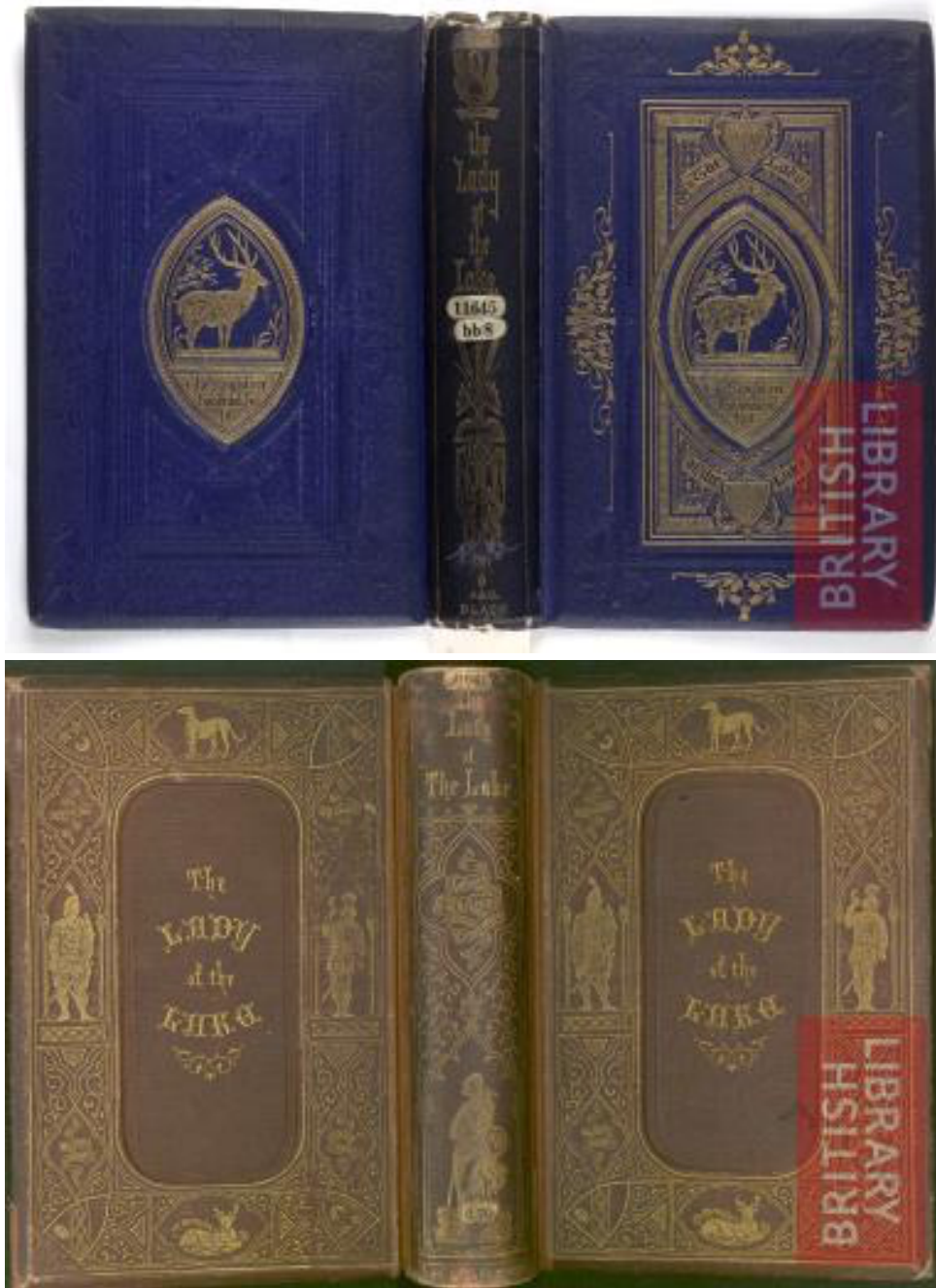


Figure 3.6 (Top). Cover design, 1869, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1869), London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the British Library.

Figure 3.7 (Bottom). Cover design, 1853, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1853), London, United Kingdom. Courtesy of the British Library.



Figure 3.8. Cover design, 1851, Walter Scott, *The Beauties of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1851), Albuquerque, NM, University of New Mexico Libraries.

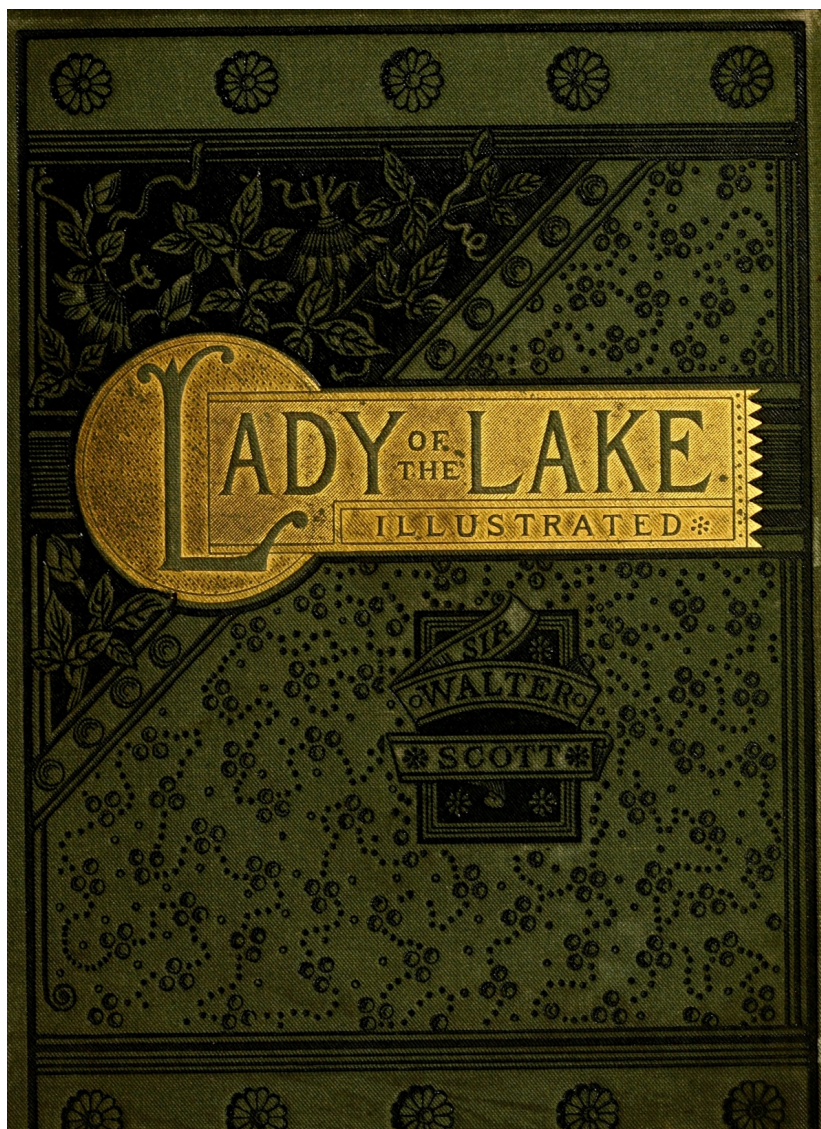


Figure 3.9. Cover design, 1882, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1882). Photo by author.



Figure 3.10. Cover design, 1883, Walter Scott, *Lady of the Lake* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1883).

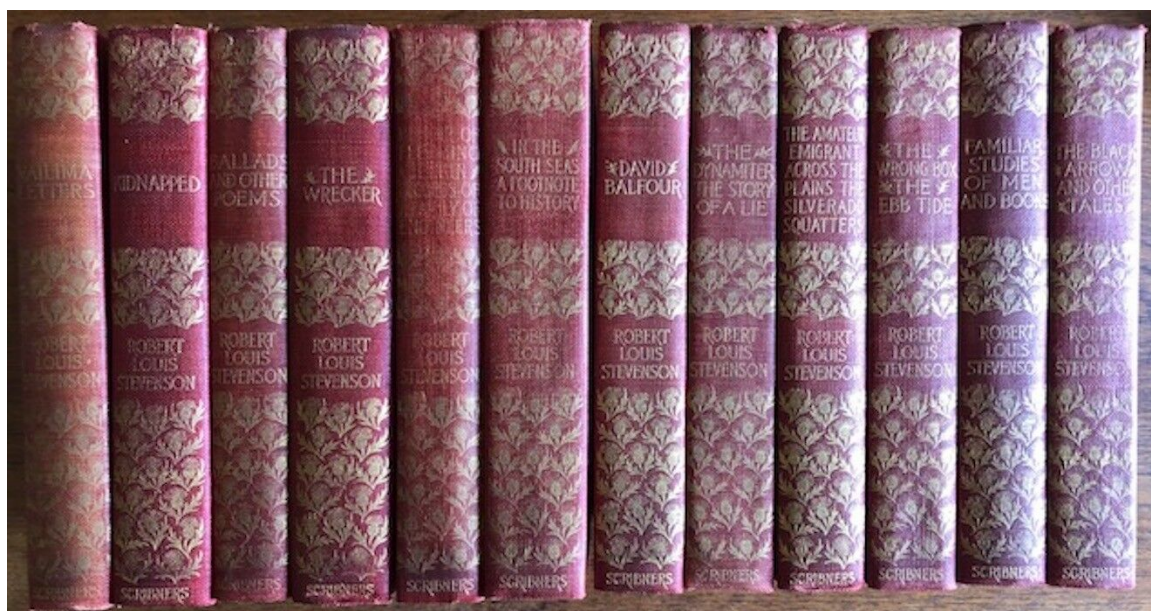


Figure 3.11. Cover designs, 1896, Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Novels and Tales of Robert Louis Stevenson*, Thistle Edition, 12 volumes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896).

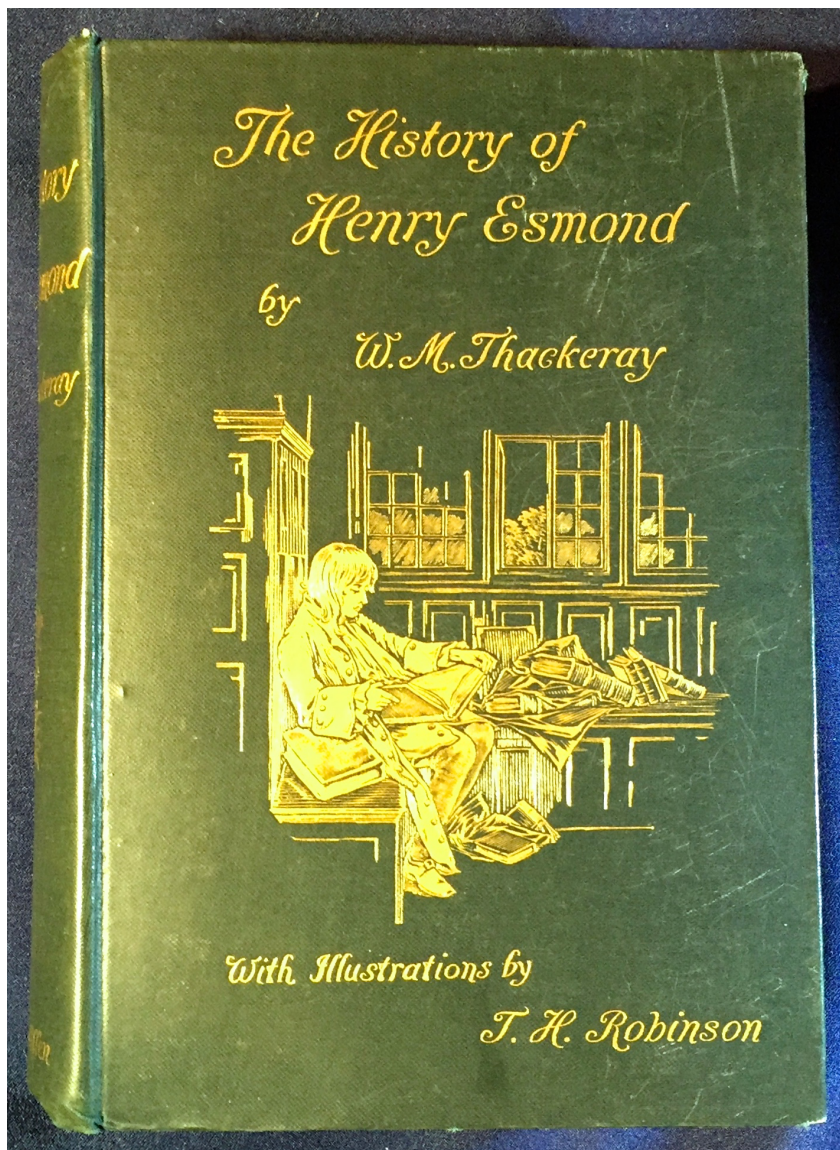


Figure 3.12. Cover design, 1896, Thackeray, William Makepeace Thackeray, *The History of Henry Esmond* (London: George Allen, 1896).

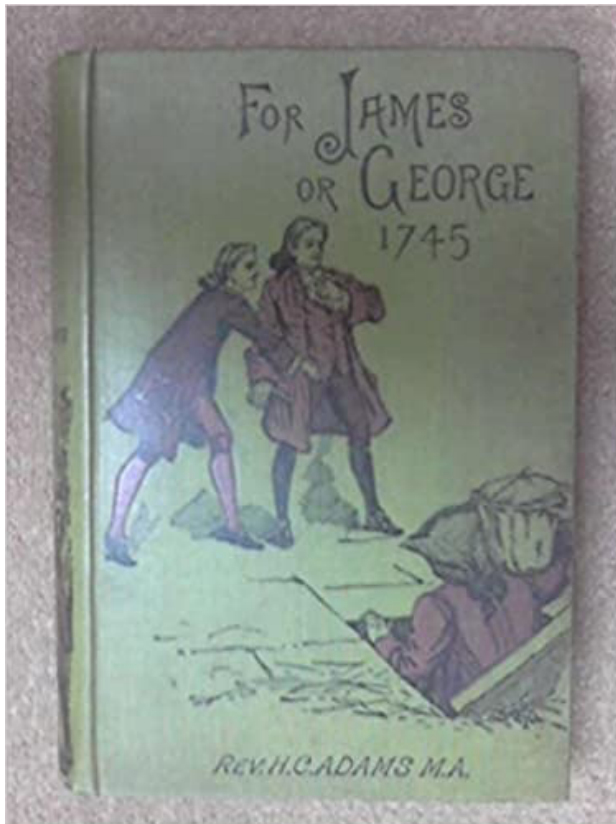


Figure 3.13. Cover design, 1892, Henry Cadwallader Adams, *For James or George: A Schoolboy's Tale of 1745* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1892), London, United Kingdom, British Library.

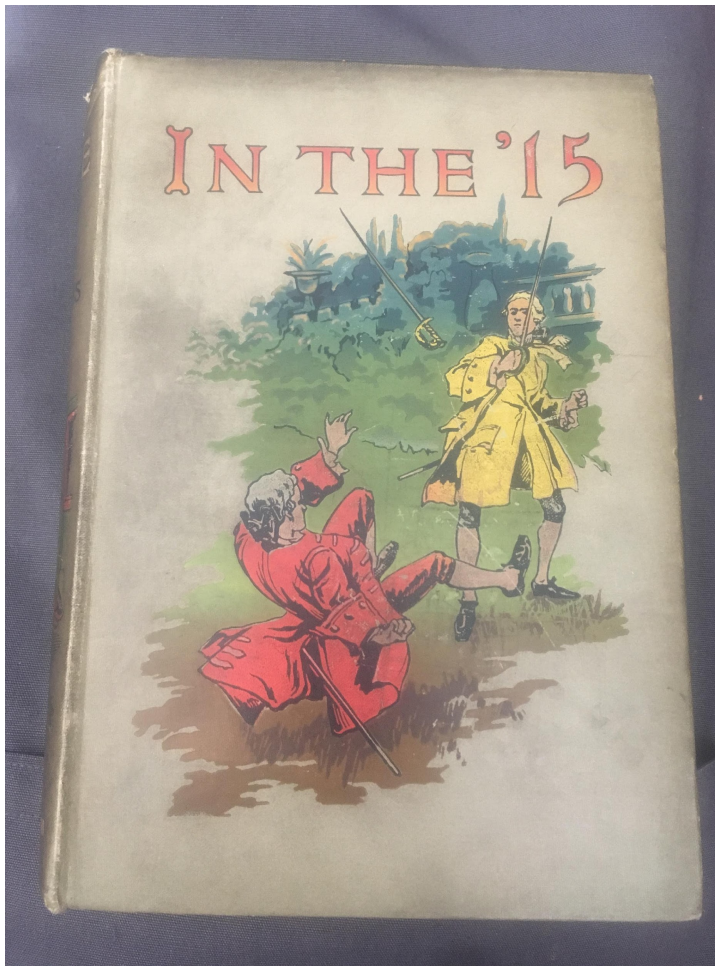


Figure 3.14. Cover design, 1893, Henry Cadwallader Adams, *In the Fifteen: A Tale of the First Jacobite Insurrection* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893), London, United Kingdom, British Library. Photo by the author.



Figure 3.14a. Spine detail, Henry Cadwallader Adams, *In the Fifteen: A Tale of the First Jacobite Insurrection* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893). British Library. Photo by author.

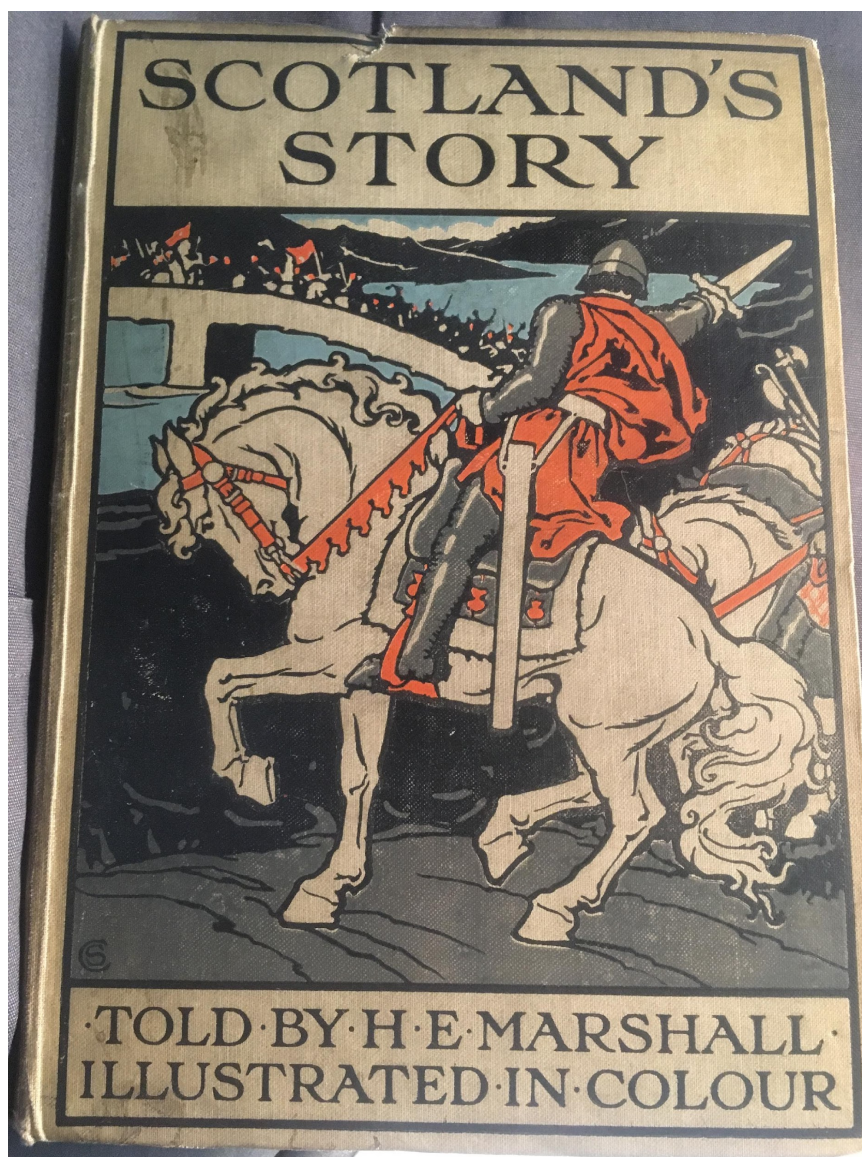


Figure 3.15. J.R. Skelton, cover design, 1906, H.E. Marshall, *Scotland's Story: A Child's History of Scotland ... With Pictures by J.R. Skelton, J. Hassall, and J. Shaw Crompton*. 1906, London, United Kingdom, British Library. Photo by author.

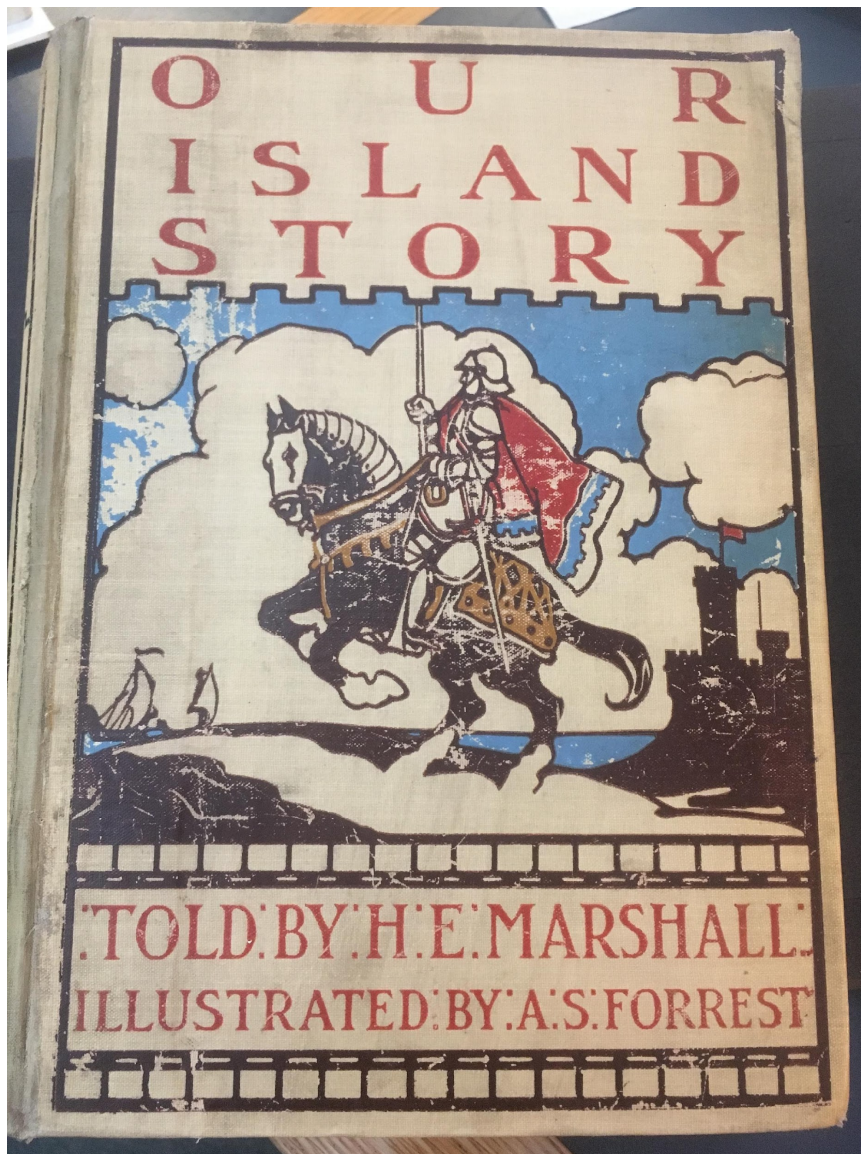


Figure 3.16. Archibald Stevenson Forrest, cover design, 1905, H.E. Marshall, *Our Island Story: A Child's History of England ... With Pictures by A.S. Forrest* (T.C. & E.C. Jack: London, 1905), London, United Kingdom, British Library. Photo by author.

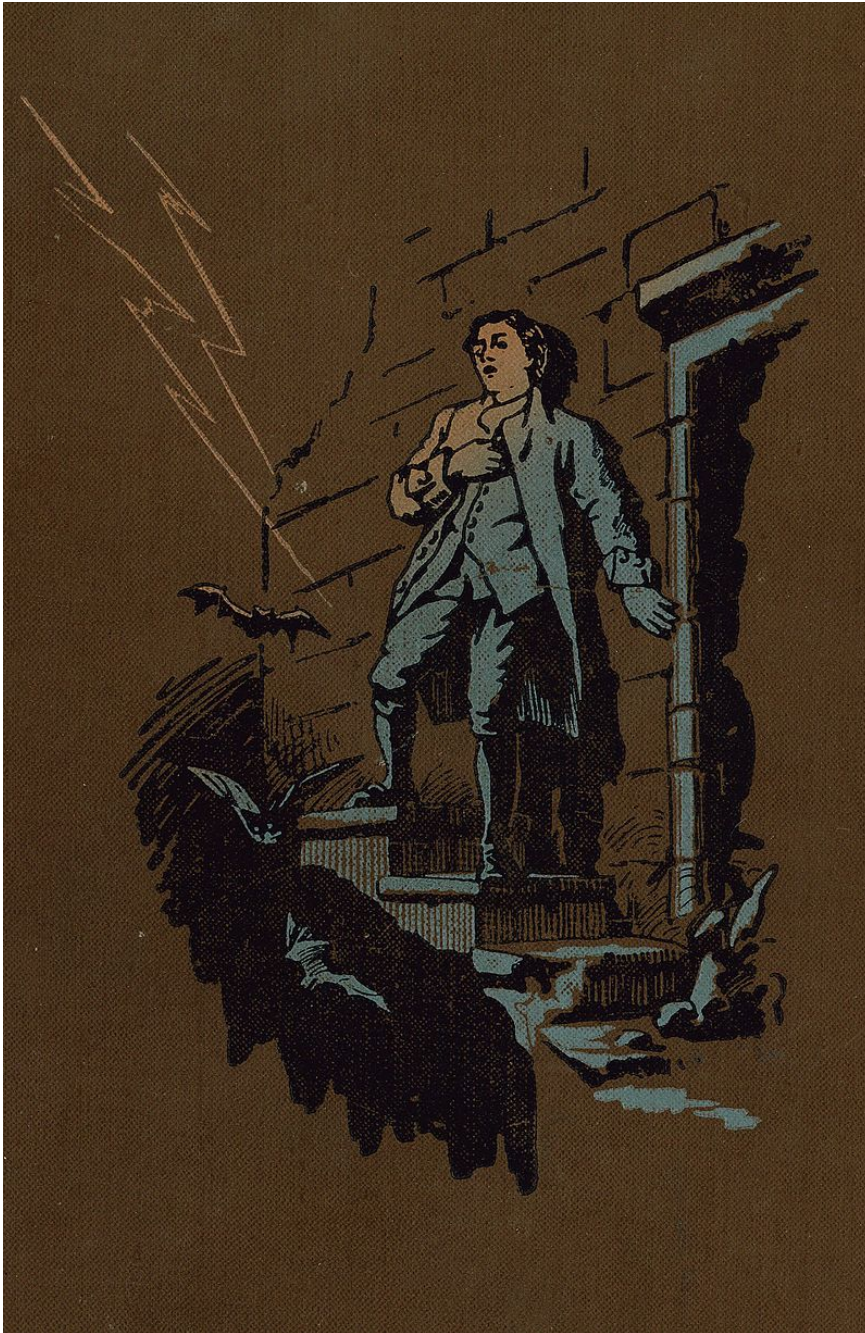


Figure 3.17. Cover design, 1886, Robert Louis Stevenson, *Kidnapped* (London: Cassell and Company, 1886), Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Libraries.

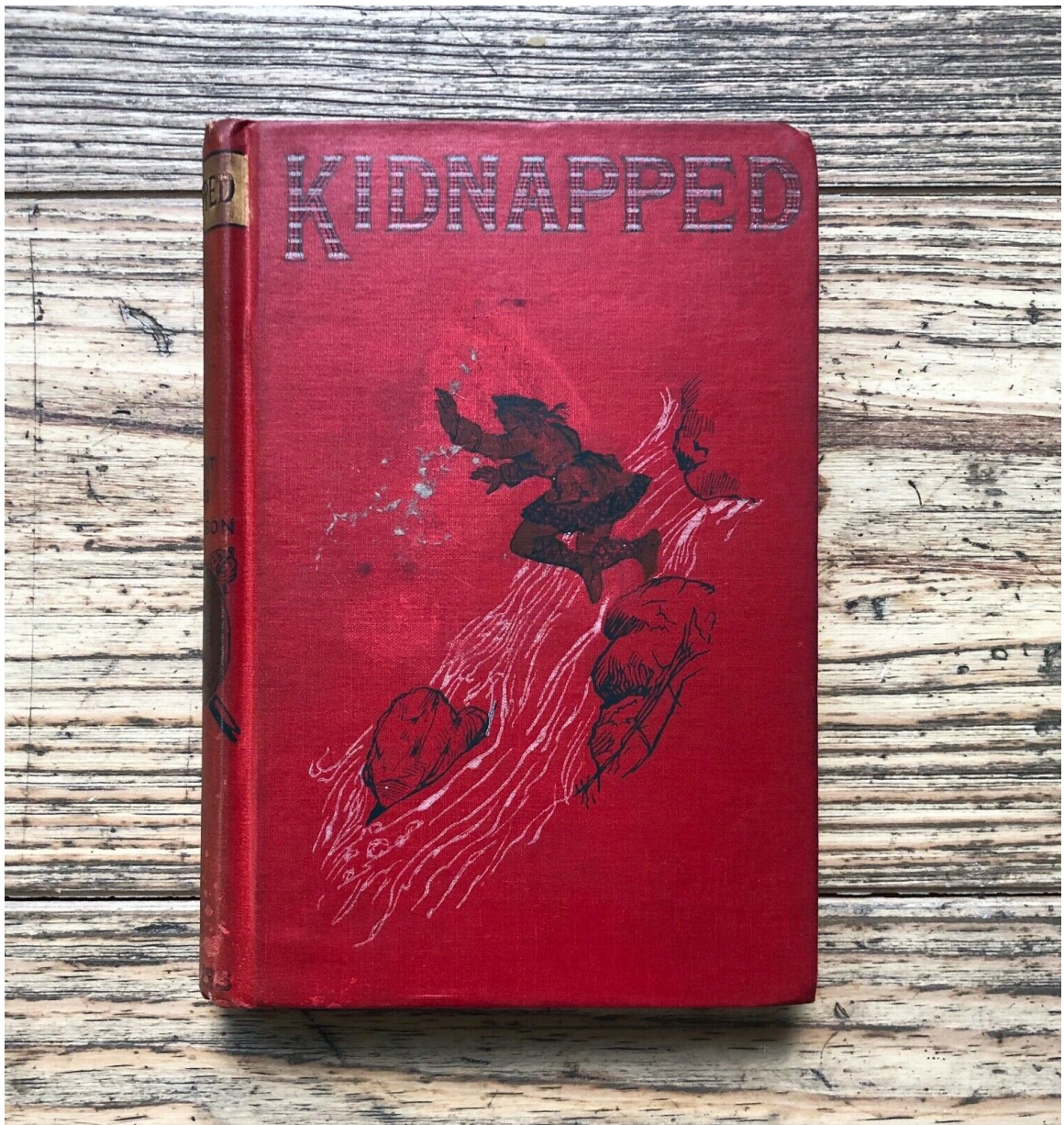


Figure 3.18. Cover design, 1886, Robert Louis Stevenson. *Kidnapped* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886).

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