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# “Prized by the Tourist”:
# Souvenir Books in Victorian Scotland

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**Abstract**

Scotland has been a popular tourist destination for over two centuries, with an intensely romantic reputation that persists to this day. This thesis argues that in the mid-Victorian era, this reputation was developed and perpetuated by books published in Scotland as tourist souvenirs. It combines methodologies from literary criticism, literary tourism studies, and book history. It argues that souvenir books were central to a touristic process of semiotic meaning-making, as they provided the foundations for tourist-readers' retrospective interpretations of their travels. This thesis identifies souvenir books as a distinct genre, with its own publishing and reception history. Chapter One discusses mauchline ware bookbindings, to show how the representational rhetoric used by souvenirs evolved in an increasingly commercial and industrial era. Chapter Two shows that Scottish publishers' frequent reuse of illustrations in different books perpetuated stereotypes contained in those illustrations. The recycled images also generated a reading community, similar to but distinctly different from communities that coalesced around mass media environments later in the century. Chapter Three focuses on souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* illustrated with photographs. These editions furthered and materialized some of Sir Walter Scott's work in the poetry, using realistic detail to support romanticized narratives of Scottish history. Chapter Four shows how souvenir books allowed tourists to display cultural capital by associating themselves with Queen Victoria, or by depicting Scottish tourism as an intellectual enterprise. The Unionist attitudes in these souvenirs allowed tourists using them as markers of class identity to simultaneously navigate national identities. Overall, this thesis argues that souvenir books played a crucial role in establishing Scotland's romantic reputation. It also makes contributions to Scottish publishing history, and provides a model for the analysis of souvenir books that may be useful to studies of other regions or eras.

## Lay Summary

Scotland has been a popular tourist destination for over two centuries, with an intensely romantic reputation that persists to this day. This thesis argues that in the mid-Victorian era, this reputation was developed and perpetuated by books published in Scotland as tourist souvenirs. It argues that souvenir books, the representations of Scotland that tourists took home with them, shaped the way Victorian tourists interpreted the history and culture of the country. This thesis identifies souvenir books as a distinct genre, with unique expectations from readers that led to a unique publishing history. Chapter One discusses books bound in Scottish wooden mauchline ware, to show how depictions of Scotland evolved as book production entered the industrial era. Chapter Two shows that Scottish publishers' frequent reuse of illustrations in different books perpetuated stereotypes contained in those illustrations. The recycled images also united readers around their shared exposure to similar content, although this reading community differed from those that coalesced around mass media later in the century. Chapter Three focuses on souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* illustrated with photographs. These editions furthered and materialized some of Sir Walter Scott's work in the poetry, using realistic detail to support romanticized narratives of Scottish history. Chapter Four shows how souvenir books allowed tourists to display cultural capital by associating themselves with Queen Victoria, or by depicting Scottish tourism as an intellectual enterprise. The Unionist attitudes in these souvenirs allowed tourists using them as markers of class identity to simultaneously navigate national identities. Overall, this thesis argues that souvenir books played a crucial role in establishing Scotland's romantic reputation. It also makes contributions to Scottish publishing history, and provides a model for the analysis of souvenir books that may be useful to studies of other regions or eras.

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**Declaration Page**

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented here is entirely my own.

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## Introduction

Today, Scotland is world-famous as a tourist destination. In 2018, 3.5 million international travelers visited the country, while UK residents took 11.8 million overnight trips and 138 million day trips in the region (Insight Department). The country's massive touristic appeal is based on foundations laid in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century, it experienced an enormous increase in tourism, the nature of which still informs the country's modern reputation.

Many scholars have agreed that Victorian tourists were first drawn to Scotland by their reading. But few scholars have discussed the fact that tourists bought books not only to inspire or guide their journeys, but also to remember them. In the second half of the nineteenth century, books were being printed and sold as souvenirs throughout Britain, and in Western Europe and America. This thesis considers souvenir books as a distinct genre, concentrating on examples from Victorian Scotland from the 1850s through the 1870s. By "souvenir books," I mean books produced professionally for sale as souvenirs. I have excluded most travel writing, and handmade souvenir albums or journals, to focus on commercial productions marketed to tourists during their travels. I consider how these souvenir books were produced, how they circulated, how they represented Scotland to the world, and how tourists might have read and used them.

This introduction contextualizes that analysis, placing my research in relation to existing work. It introduces, first, the history of tourism; second, the theory of souvenirs; and third, the history of the book, before closing with a summary of the thesis. Overall, this project is an exercise in book history, in literary and artistic criticism, and in cultural history, written with respect for the precision and rigor of critical bibliography. I do not, in general, consider authorial intention, though I do consider the manufacturers' intentions; I cannot, with precision, trace historical use. Instead, I am considering these souvenir books as symbolic forms, tracing the influence of commercial and technological circumstances on their production, and subsequently tracing the way these books guide their own receptions and interpretations. If literary criticism in general is a discipline about making meaning

from texts, I am attempting to see what meaning the Victorians made of embodied texts—of books. As a cultural historian, I am attempting to historicize these interpretations, to ground them in what we have already discovered or concluded about contemporary thought. Then, in the end, I tie the interpretations of these books to broader cultural developments. In this I am arguing that souvenir books, by their material existence, engendered certain ways of thinking about the places they depicted. But I am also trying to show that these books are worth study for their potential to engender thought.

**A "Source of Sublimity": Tourism in Scotland**

Before the end of the eighteenth century, Scotland was not a popular tourist destination. Tourists believed it to be remote at best, and dangerous at worst. In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, of course, it had been a site of rebellion: the Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745 made the area unappealing for tourists from the south. Even for motivated tourists, it was logistically unapproachable: the Highlands in particular were said to have bad roads and few hotels. By the 1760s, however, a few travelers were exploring—and writing about their journeys. These tourists were not following a long tradition of travel, as tourists on the Continent were; instead, these eighteenth-century travel writers established new foundations for Scottish tourism. Their travel narratives made Scotland seem more approachable and appealing. Thomas Pennant, a Welsh naturalist, published *A Tour in Scotland in 1769* in 1771. In 1773, Samuel Johnson and James Boswell toured the Highlands and islands of Scotland. Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* was published in 1775; Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* appeared in 1785. At the time, their journey might have appeared to English readers as a "courageous venture into an almost uncharted world," but their publications about the trip did much to inspire curiosity (Rogers). In general, the number of tourist accounts of Scotland increased from the 1780s, indicating that the country's reputation was evolving: Jacobite struggles faded further into the past, and the area was now reputed to be safe for travelers (Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays*

35). In the second half of the century, Highland soldiers became strongly associated with the British military, following recruitment for wars with France and in the colonies (Watt 24).[1] By the end of the eighteenth century, Durie writes, "the land of the rebellious had become the land of the respectable, where rain rather than rapine was the main concern" (36). In 1789, William Gilpin's *Observations on the Highlands of Scotland* offered an enthusiastic account of the aesthetic appeal of Scottish landscapes, praising the "vast and magnificent scenery" (69).[2] Johnson had criticized the simplicity of Scottish scenery, but Gilpin asserted that though its "unadorned grandeur" did not quite meet his aesthetic ideal, it was nevertheless a "*source of sublimity*" (122; 121, author's emphasis). With the addition of a few trees, he wrote, "Scotch views […] would rival those of Italy" (119). By the end of the eighteenth century, Scotland was, for the first time, a "destination of some significance" (Durie 34). In the era of Romanticism, a country that could offer such sublime and picturesque landscapes had plenty to recommend it to travelers.

Then, in the nineteenth century, Scottish tourism exploded. During the Victorian era, Scotland ceased to be "the preserve of a few moneyed and culturally motivated tourists" and became instead "a mass destination for all levels of society" (Durie 44). Tourism was becoming generally more feasible for both Europeans and eventually Americans, as more people had leisure and disposable income to support travel (45). Scottish infrastructure managed to keep pace with the influx of new visitors. Roads were improved, and new hotels built (32). Coach services were expanded and extended (51). The "rapid building of railroads" in the 1840s dramatically increased accessibility (Watt 60). So too did the invention and deployment of commercial steamer ships (Durie 54-5; Gold and Gold 95-99). A professional tourism industry developed: Thomas Cook led his first excursion to Scotland in 1846, while John Murray and Adam and Charles Black began to publish popular Scottish guidebooks.

Travelers came to Scotland for a variety of reasons. It was a popular destination for health, leisure, and sport, known for its spa towns, deerstalking, and

[1] In the nineteenth century, Highland regiments would even become "romantic icons" for their contributions at important battles like Waterloo and Lucknow (Watt 41, 86).
[2] Not every scene met with unqualified approval: Gilpin disparaged Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh as "odd, misshapen, and uncouth" (*Observations* 59).

golf. One of the most important draws—at least for this research—was the popularity of Scottish literature, especially Ossian, Robert Burns, and Walter Scott. A considerable amount of recent research has focused on literary tourism within Britain, a strand of tourist activity that some scholars argue has today become thoroughly "naturalised" (Watson, *The Literary Tourist* 5). Some say that today, it now "represents the general character of the British heritage industry" (Westover 171). Nicola J. Watson, perhaps the pre-eminent current scholar of literary tourism, defines it as "the practice of visiting places associated with particular books in order to savour text, place, and their interrelations" (1). In *The Literary Tourist*, she surveys the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century origins and development of the practice (5). She addresses tourism focused on texts like *La Nouvelle Heloïse*, *Lorna Doone*, and *The Lady of the Lake*, as well as travel itineraries tracking authors like Austen, Shakespeare, and the Brontës. Other scholars have contributed further case studies: Ian Ousby discusses Shakespeare and Wordsworth in *The Englishman's England*. The collection of essays *Literature and Tourism* is an early example of work in this field, identifying tourist trends centered on authors like L. M. Montgomery, Mark Twain, and the Brontës (Robinson and Andersen). Nicola Watson has edited a similar collection of essays, *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*, with chapters on Burns, Wordsworth, Gaskell, Hardy, Dickens, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Rider Haggard, and more. More recent work has approached the topic from specific angles: Paul Westover has concentrated on what he calls "*necromanticism*: a complex of antiquarian revival, book-love, ghost-hunting, and monument-building that emerged in the age of revolutions and mass print" (*Necromanticism* 3). Alison Booth has written a transatlantic study of tourism at authors' homes and house museums, connecting the practice to life narratives (*Homes and Haunts* 3). These scholars have in general provided broad and useful work on a complex phenomenon. They have advanced our understanding of its history, its logistics, its influence on the reception of specific authors and locations, and the complex questions of reality, fantasy, history, mortality, and national identity with which the phenomenon was entangled, as well as showing the breadth of "reading" as an act of cultural interpretation.

Scottish tourism in particular was intensely literary, making it a useful focal point for considering many interactions between tourist culture and print culture (souvenir books included). Considerable work on literary tourism has focused on nineteenth-century Scotland for this very reason. Travel in the region was not exclusively bookish: as already mentioned, many travelers visited for the shooting, the health resorts, the seaside, or the golf (Durie 44). But literary tourism was so popular that sites lacking "literary associations suffered," even sites of historical importance (134). An 1852 account of St Andrews ascribed its "relative neglect" to "the fact that no writing of any standing had been based in or around it" (134). As soon as Scottish tourism began to grow, it was shaped by literary interests. In the late eighteenth century, tourists began searching for sites like those glorified in the poetry of Ossian (or rather, James Macpherson) (Gold and Gold 54; Watson, "Holiday Excursion" 134). The popularity of Robert Burns' poetry soon led tourists to visit places associated with his life, especially in Ayrshire (63; Watson, "Holiday Excursions" 134; see also Wilson-Costa). Burns' birthplace was receiving American visitors as early as 1817 (Gold and Gold 64). A large proportion of souvenir books and other souvenir ware incorporated references to Burns, especially mauchline ware—wooden tourist trinkets produced close to Burns' birthplace and stomping grounds (Mackay 150-1). Other authors were also popular: Alexander Smith's travel writing drew people to the western Highlands and to Skye (Berry). At the end of the century and later, tourists would venture out in search of sites associated with Robert Louis Stevenson and J. M. Barrie (Durie 134). But, of course, the works and reputation of one Scottish literary figure outshone all the rest.

The vast majority of literary tourism in Scotland was focused on Sir Walter Scott. His works were consistently and overwhelmingly popular throughout the nineteenth century: in 1892, he was one of the top six stock authors most commonly reprinted (along with Dickens, Thackeray, Eliot, Carlyle, and Barrie) (Watson, *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* 120). Scott's success changed Scotland's reputation forever. Alastair Durie cites 1810 as a key year for Scottish tourism because of the publication of *The Lady of the Lake* (45-6). He argues that Scott's writing—not just *The Lady of the Lake*, but his other poems and novels—pushed tourism in Scotland "from custom to commerce, from hospitality to an

industry" (53). Consequently, much of the scholarship on Scottish literary tourism also focuses on Scott's influence. The collection *Literary Tourism, The Trossachs, and Walter Scott*, edited by Ian Brown, traces the enormous impact of *The Lady of the Lake* in particular, exploring how the poem's popularity shaped tourist-readers, later authors, and the travel industry around Loch Katrine. Scott did not singlehandedly draw popular attention to Scotland—the Trossachs were a well-known destination before the publication of *Lady*—but he made Scottish tourists bring "a copy of the poem," creating a specifically literary form of tourism (Gold and Gold 69). His popularity transformed the public vision of Scotland. The influence of his landscape descriptions spread to other media, meaning that Scott's images of Scottish scenery dominated the nineteenth-century imagination (75, 138-9). His visions of Edinburgh and the Highlands, visually represented in art, book illustration, and theatrical scenery, came to stand for all of Scotland (195). Even as his works altered the way people outside Scotland imagined the country, they also shaped the way tourists interacted with scenery they observed firsthand.

Work on Scott has emphasized how his books transformed the way tourists interpreted the places they visited. His works influenced popular tourist itineraries and attitudes. John Robert and Margaret M. Gold write that Scott "and his followers were to reinvent […] ways of looking at [Scotland's] land and people" (60). Stuart Kelly's *Scott-land* explores Scott's massive cultural dominance in the nineteenth century, including the ways it dominated tourist itineraries and experiences. Durie has argued that "[n]o-one played a greater part in the promotion of Scotland as a place of romance and history than Walter Scott" (45-6). Paul Westover agrees in *Necromanticism* that Victorian Scotland was "the imaginative territory of Sir Walter" (161). As Watson argues, "Victorians now saw the landscape associatively, in terms of historical narrative, in a spirit of romantic documentary" (*The Literary Tourist* 162). His fictional narratives became essential tourist markers. Ann Rigney argues in *The Afterlives of Walter Scott* that he created a new and "radically modern relationship between memory and place" (131). She documents how his novels "recreated Scott-land […] as an imagined network of […] spots in which aesthetic value was combined with historical depth," spots which seemed "distinct from the surrounding territory" (10-11). Scholars working on literary tourism track it not just

as a historical phenomenon, but as a reading practice. Their work addresses the ways that literary tourists reimagined the world around them, using their favorite books as glosses on the sites they visited.

In general, scholarship on literary tourism reveals the intellectual breadth and depth of the phenomenon. Literary tourism is more than a fad: it is a multi-media, multi-faceted reading practice, the analysis of which can lead to fascinating questions and discussions about realism, imagination, and developing national identity. It allows scholars to approach complex questions about how readers used both reading and travel to interpret the larger world around them. Paul Westover argues that "[f]or literary tourists, the aim was to move between the sensory experience and the glow of associated ideas, to combine the perceived and the ideal in a powerful super-literary vision" (21). Exploring these super-literary visions allows researchers to consider new ways that nineteenth-century tourists understood their world.

For example, one strain involves considering how literary tourism shaped the relationships between past history, present reality, and imagined fiction. Literary tourism allowed travelers to connect stories of the past to real places. Westover also argues that literary tourism was a pathway for tourists to approach the past, specifically the sentimental past associated with dead authors. He notes that tourists often "described their experience in terms of time travel, as if a ruin or artifact were a portal to a vanished era" (19). His book explores the way literary tourism "embraces, often nostalgically, a constructed past, even while applying academic tools to substantiate that past" (171). Ann Rigney explores how Scott's works offered new ways of imagining the past and relating history to the present, including for travelers *(Afterlives* 4, 11). The practice also lent shades of realism to imaginative fiction. Contemporary guidebooks stressed this almost literally. One guide titled *The Trosachs and Loch Katrine* [sic] says that "[w]e may be told that [*The Lady of the Lake*] is a fiction […]; but we know better" (18-9). Nicola Watson has written about how tourist editions and literary tourist practices conferred a sense of "historical status" onto *The Lady of the Lake*, and vice versa ("Holiday Romances" 60). She considers how using poetry as a "guidebook" to the Trossachs allows tourists to "narrativis[e] older pleasures of the picturesque" (63). Her work also questions

whether literary tourism might be a consequence of nineteenth-century realist fiction (*The Literary Tourist* 13). Most scholars of literary tourism recognize it as a way for readers to link real history and first-person experience of places with vividly imagined literature. Rigney calls it "the ultimate extension of the life of the imagination into everyday life" (*Afterlives* 15). This allowed tourists to access Romantic, poetic emotions, and to frame their experiences with complex historical and fictional narratives.

Literary tourism can also allow us to approach questions of national identity and reputation. Travelers often developed their understanding of different countries and regions through their tourism. Literary tourists too founded their interpretations of new places on their reading as well as their lived experiences. Alison Booth writes that "the collection of representative writers" canonized by tourists becomes "a harmonic line in a theme about that nation's cultural heritage" (4). Work on literary tourism, therefore, also becomes work on national identities, both from external and internal perspectives. Ian Brown discusses *Lady of the Lake* tourism as a pilgrimage, extending even to the possibility of pilgrimage as cultural appropriation (3). He argues that the "imperialist narrative" of tourism "exoticised" Highland culture (3). Nicola Watson considers literary tourism throughout Britain as a "side effect of cultural nationalism, with the emerging literary canon seized upon in order to effect a sort of interiorised national mapping" (*The Literary Tourist* 14). In Victorian Scotland, many literary tourists were British, so that considerations of Scotland became tied to larger questions about Scottish and British nationality. Scott's writings in particular, suffused with his own professed support for the Union, influenced tourist-readers' ideas of Scotland and Britain both. This thesis, too, will explore how these questions and ideas were refracted through souvenir book consumption.

The delight of this research is that such broad questions were addressed through concrete reading and travel practices. The inherent drive behind these journeys was the desire to connect imaginative events and characters to real places and experiences. Tourists assumed that profound imaginative experiences of their reading would be strengthened or intensified "at specific physical locations," or in the presence of "material remains" (Westover 26). Ann Rigney has demonstrated

that Scott offered a model of this thought process, making his readers aware of the "mnemonic power of 'things'"—antiques and landscapes both ("Scott's Materialist Legacy" 18). His work and his home, as a tourist destination, offered a blueprint for the ability of both objects and landscapes to embody their own "cultural memory" (19). Small wonder, then, that readers who agreed decided to travel. Tourism, says Westover, is a process that "materializes" (143). Watson, drawing on Martin Meisel, concurs: literary tourism, specifically, is an "impulse towards the materialization of text" ("Holiday Romances" 64). Tourists were driven to find the concrete reality of place and landscape behind the stories they loved. Watson has shown how Scott's intellectual influence was expanded and consolidated by Scotland's developing cultural heritage industry. As early as 1816, guidebooks recommended that tourists pack a copy of *The Lady of the Lake* for a trip to the Trossachs (Watson, *The Literary Tourist* 155). In the 1860s, hotels in Stirling had copies of the poem available for their patrons to read (162). An imitation of Ellen's "rustic bower" was even constructed on "Ellen's Isle" by Lord Willoughby D'Ereseby, the owner of the island, although the bower burned in 1837 (159-60). Literary tourism was driven by both individual choices and by commercial infrastructures.

Finally, literary tourism was driven by material texts. Watson acknowledges this, though the bulk of her research is not dedicated to the consideration of books as objects. In other articles, she discusses how topographical footnotes in editions of *The Lady of the Lake* "encourage[d] a practice of locating the fictional events described upon a real map" ("Holiday Romances" 60). Editions like these, she says, suggested that tourists "both could and should use the poem as a kind of guidebook" (63). As mentioned above, she notes that actual guidebooks encouraged tourists to pack copies of Scott. Watson argues that her work offers "the beginnings of a literary history of those literary and sub-literary genres associated with the phenomenon" (*The Literary Tourist* 8). However, her research ignores one substantial genre: souvenir books.

In fact, few scholars of literary tourism have attended to this genre. Many have written on guidebooks, including Nicolas Parsons, James Buzard, John Vaughan, Paul Dobraszczyk, Annette Therkelsen and Anders Sørensen, and Barbara Schaff. Others, like Sara Haslam, have discussed topographical editions of literary

works. Books sold explicitly as souvenirs, however, have received little attention. Watson's discussion of literary tourist genres, especially "editions of novels elaborately illustrated with photographs of real locations," could be taken in new directions by discussing the genre's origin with photographically illustrated souvenir editions, such as those I will discuss in chapter 3 (*The Literary Tourist* 11). These photographic souvenir books were some of the flashiest and most literary souvenir books published in Victorian Scotland, and they have received some attention from researchers, without being analyzed fully as souvenirs. Paul Westover discusses photographically illustrated editions of Walter Scott's poetry in the relatively brief coda to *Necromanticism*. His discussion shows the potential in considering these books, but does not provide an exhaustive analysis of them. He uses their example to argue that "literary tourism" involves "an emerging, multimedia conception of the literary, as well as an enactment of distinctive reading strategies" (152). One of the reading strategies with which tourists approached those very books was to consider them as souvenirs, yet Westover does not have the space to explore that "conception of the literary" (152). Similarly, Helen Groth discusses some editions of the same texts in *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia*, but does not recognize the books as souvenirs. Her analysis is based on the assumption that their readers would be armchair travelers. She argues that the photographic editions "obviated the need" for travel (98). However, she does not acknowledge that these books were sold specifically to tourists in Scotland who had already made the journey: a contemporary advertisement describes one title as a "photographic souvenir of Scotland" (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1866, 22). By failing to take into account the actual experience of the audience she discusses, her account of the books' reception is at best incomplete. These scholars, the few who discuss souvenir editions in any detail, have only been able to do so glancingly, without space for fuller context.

This thesis aims to demonstrate how much that context matters: how the acquisition and reception of these books *as souvenirs* informs their meaning, and thus the opinions and assessments of their tourist-readers. It also establishes the importance of considering these books as material texts, by analyzing their physical aspects. Considering these books in greater bibliographical and contextual detail than

previous scholars will enable me to cast new light on established questions in literary tourism research: on the relationship between reality, history, and fiction, and on questions of national identity.

**Pictures of the Past: Theories of Souvenirs**

This work also requires an understanding of the history and theory of souvenirs. Much of the relevant history of souvenirs and souvenir production in Western Europe will be provided in Chapter One. For the moment, a brief overview of theoretical work on souvenirs is enough to provide context for my approach. Perhaps the best theoretical analysis of souvenirs has been performed by Susan Stewart, in her book *On Longing*. Stewart considers souvenirs, along with "the miniature, the gigantic," and "the collection," as objects whose meaning is "generated by […] narrative" (xii). For her, a souvenir, as an object, is "impoverished and partial" (136). Its job is to provide hints of a past, of which it can "serve as a trace," and which it can—partially—"restore[…] through narrative and/or reverie" (150). The souvenir's meaning depends on the memories the owner associates with it. The story it ultimately tells is not about itself, about the place of its origin or acquisition, but about the experiences of its owner: its narrative is ultimately "not a narrative of the object" but "a narrative of the possessor" (136). Rolf Potts writes that we use souvenirs "to narrate our lives" and "to narrate the self" (12, 153).[3] John Frow concurs that a souvenir is a "part object," "an allusion rather than a model," which requires a tourist's "mythologization" (94). It provides a narrative about "the subject who possesses it" and about "the lost and recovered moment of the past" (94). For Stewart and Frow, a souvenir's meaning is highly personal.

[3] Potts' recent book *Souvenir* is a work of popular theory on souvenirs, primarily approaching them from a thoroughly modern perspective. He provides a useful reminder of their obscured relationship to human suffering, largely in the context of American practices (110-30). He also offers a somewhat useful history of souvenir collecting, but again, the bulk of his coverage of the nineteenth century is focused on American practices and industries (55-75, 89-109).

In these theorizations, a souvenir's narrative is not only personal but unreliable. It jeopardizes the authenticity of the tourist's memories, even as it supports a developing narrative. It can only ever gesture to history—it is "a sample," that can only "evoke and resonate to" an experience that it "can never entirely recoup" (Stewart, *On Longing* 136). It "displaces the point of authenticity" by making itself the "point of origin for narrative" (136). Its apparent ability to restore the past is a "false promise of restoration" (150). The narratives that souvenirs provide are subjective: meaningful to individuals because of individual narratives and associations, which may prove emotionally powerful but specifically unreliable. They are a response to and a creation of longing.

These unreliable or inauthentic narratives can sometimes supplant or deform more accurate memories. Other scholars who discuss memorial objects agree that rather than making our memories more precise, they can literally "constitute our picture of the past" (Kwint, *Material Memories* 2). The images or details that a souvenir provides can replace the tourist's mental images or detailed recollections of an encounter. Elizabeth Edwards argues that photographs "become surrogate memory and their silences structure forgetting" ("Photographs as Objects of Memory" 222). The details that souvenirs omit are forgotten by the tourist, while the details that souvenirs preserve receive disproportionate attention. Alison Nordström argues in *Photographs Objects Histories* that travel photographs, arranged by tourists in albums, "constructed the journey that should have been, one without boring moments, bad weather, late trains," and other disagreeable incidents (87). These records recreate an idealized or incomplete version of the actual journey—a version that ultimately might supplant more accurate memories. Nordström is describing unique, personally assembled albums, but professionally published viewbooks constructed even more idealized journeys. Accepting these failures of representation, this thesis focuses on the narratives that commercial souvenir books offered to their readers, in order to consider the patterns of thought their readers could internalize. Stewart argues that souvenirs gain their power and interest through their involvement in complex, reader-driven narratives. I look at the foundations that souvenir books provided for those narratives, and consider how books can shape and determine the stories built around them.

Much of my research explores the national narratives about Scotland offered by souvenir books, rather than considering individual narratives of the self highlighted by Frow and Stewart. Thad Logan, in a more recent, material culture-focused study titled *The Victorian Parlour*, argues for reading souvenirs as "a link between the domestic interior and the outside world" (184). She writes that the souvenir's interest relied specifically on its "ability to evoke a special time or place" (186). Frow and Stewart do not deny this, but where Stewart argues that souvenirs "tame" the other, Logan argues that they depend on preserving it (187). By "reconstructing it as private property," they also "insinuate the foreign into the domestic realm" (187). In other words, souvenirs of Scotland bring Scotland into non-Scottish spaces. Thus, they provide tourists with narratives about the places they visited, as well as themselves. In some cases, the nature of the personal narratives offered by souvenirs depends on the impersonal narratives they offered about Scotland. I investigate the stereotypes and images that souvenirs provided about Scotland, and then consider how those images might reflect on the self. When considering how souvenir books shaped narratives about their owners' identities, I consider them communally, exploring group identities that these books both supported and disrupted. Though I am considering hypothetical reader responses, this analysis is grounded in concrete artifacts: the books themselves.

However, categorizing a book as a souvenir, or potential souvenir, is not always a self-evident process. I have used several methods to identify souvenir books as subjects for this research. Helpfully, some books identify themselves clearly as souvenirs, such as the *Dunkeld Souvenir*, *Souvenir of Land o' Burns*, or the *Tourist's Album* series. Others describe themselves as souvenirs internally. The *Guide to Doune Castle* does not include the word "souvenir," but the author expresses the hope that the book will "enable visitors to remember" their trip (59). These souvenirs are easy to categorize. Others can be recognized based on evidence from advertisements or reviews. For example, a photographically illustrated edition of *The Lady of the Lake* was advertised as a "photographic souvenir of Scotland" (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1866, advertisements 22). In rare cases, we can even find an individual tourist's confirmation. For example, one copy

of *Marmion* includes an owner's inscription calling it a "souvenir de Abbotsford" (*Marmion* Bdg.s.939). Though this evidence is contextual, it is unambiguous.

Souvenir books can also be reasonably identified from strong associations with tourist attractions or the tourist market. Some examples in this project state explicitly that they were available for purchase at tourist sites like Stirling Castle (Scott, *Marmion,* 1873, Bdg.s.924). Others were issued as keepsakes for events, like the *Life of Sir Walter Scott* printed for the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition (Wood). When this type of evidence about acquisition and publication circumstances can be hard to come by, some souvenir books can still be identified by their resemblance to contemporary souvenir commodities. For example, mauchline ware was a popular material for Scottish tourist souvenir objects of all types. A mauchline ware bookbinding therefore strongly suggests that a book was aimed at the tourist market.

Finally, it is possible to recognize souvenir books, or potential souvenirs, by their resemblances to positively identified souvenirs. If one edition of *The Lady of the Lake* with photographic illustrations and a mauchline ware binding was advertised explicitly as a souvenir, other reasonably similar editions can reasonably be categorized the same way. Many examples of a certain style of viewbook—accordion-fold albums of tourist views, designed to resemble photograph albums—identify themselves as souvenirs. Other books in the same style, like Brown & Rawcliffe's "Camera" series, could also be potential souvenirs, participating in the same publishing trend. This type of identification, depending on both textual and material evidence, requires some familiarity with the genre—and some general familiarity with Victorian print culture.

**Souvenirs as Books, Books as Objects**

This research breaks new ground specifically by discussing souvenir books. Most discussions of souvenirs focus on objects and photographs. While photograph albums are certainly codices, the printed, published souvenir book remains a largely unaddressed Victorian phenomenon. To the best of my knowledge, no other scholar

has considered souvenir books as a Victorian publishing genre in any sustained way. The meanings and narratives a souvenir book's readers could construct were complicated by the density of the souvenir book as object. Similarly, my research will be complicated by joining the critical approaches of both literary criticism and book history, with a sprinkling of cultural history. In this, I am complicating discussions of souvenirs, by identifying and concentrating on the books—meaningful texts, specifically, not just trinkets. I am also complicating studies in literary tourism and literary criticism, by considering these books as material texts, and as examples of a genre with its own publishing and reception history. Scholars of literary tourism occasionally acknowledge material texts, but their brief discussions lack sustained attention to either the books' materiality, or the contexts of their publication and circulation. I trace souvenir books along what Jerome McGann calls the "double helix" of "linguistic" and "bibliographical codes" (*The Textual Condition* 77), and along the other "double helix" of "reception history and […] production history" (*The Textual Condition* 77; 16).

My approach to book history and textual materiality has been influenced by several scholars, including McGann. Like D. F. McKenzie, I center my research on the book. McKenzie describes bibliography as "focusing on the primary object, the text as a recorded form" (*Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* 19-20). McGann writes that "[l]ike cells or thunderstorms (and unlike a triangle, or time), texts are empirical phenomena" (*The Textual Condition* 177). McKenzie describes a book as "a locatable, describable, attributable, datable and explicable object […], a *bibliographical* fact" (45; italics his). Like these scholars, I endeavor to begin with and to return to the book. Though my analysis strays away to intangible ideas and cultural phenomena, it is grounded by focusing on the book itself as a profoundly tactile, material point of origin.

McKenzie calls the book a "*bibliographical* fact" (45). Unlike McKenzie, I am not a practicing bibliographer; but I owe much to the thinking of bibliographers such as Terry Belanger, G. Thomas Tanselle, Fredson Bowers, and David Whitesell. Like Tanselle and Belanger, I look at books in terms of their production and manufacturing. Tanselle, in *Bibliographical Analysis*, considers bibliography as the study of "manufacturing clues" on the one hand and "design features" on the other

(64). He insists that these topics must go hand in hand: any "analysis of design features cannot be conducted independently of the analysis of manufacturing clues" (67). I attempt to live up to Tanselle's insistence that my "interpretation of the intended effect" of the artifact "be consistent with the technical process that produced it" (68). Tanselle argues that a bibliographer "us[es] physical details to learn something about the manufacturing processes that produced a given book" (3). Not all my awareness of manufacturing processes stems from direct examination of the books themselves; my analyses are heavily informed by publishers' archives and by a knowledge of printing history.

Much of my understanding of book and printing history was gained not only by reading, but also by studying and working at Rare Book School at the University of Virginia. There, through both formal coursework and informal conversations too many to cite, I learned from Terry Belanger and other members of the RBS faculty, including Sue Allen, Michael Winship, David Whitesell, John Buchtel, Mark Dimunation, Ryan Boatright, and James Reilly. These scholars taught me about the production of the book. I follow their example in considering books as more than texts—more even than material texts—as artefacts that include bindings, illustrations, endpapers, and advertisements. They also taught me to consider how technology can both shape expression and prompt reception. Belanger taught me to consider when decisions with aesthetic impact might have been made without aesthetics in mind. Winship taught me to acknowledge the publisher's and the printer's role in book production, and the financial stakes they faced. Allen revealed the role of craftsmen, like binding tool engravers, in creating a final aesthetic product. In particular, my thinking on illustration owes much to Erin Blake and to Terry Belanger's teaching on illustration processes. Learning to recognize a wood engraving from both the impression of the block and the vocabulary of the image has taught me to think in other ways about how illustrations come to be. These scholars all taught me to consider each book as a manufactured artifact, and to trace the influence of manufacturing mechanisms, production technology, and commercial production circumstances on the final object.[4]

[4] As Nicolas Barker and Thomas R. Adams write, "[m]anufacturing is primarily a matter of technology and economics" (Adams and Barker, 54). Therefore, I have considered souvenir books in the lights of both production technology and commercial production circumstances, attempting to

This insistence on the various aspects of production bears comparison to the communications circuit offered by Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, which carefully places the book and the "cycle" of its production at the center, with other "indirect forces […] outside it, […] pressing inwards" (53).[5] In my exploration of souvenir books, I have also found Barker and Adams useful for their assertion that the "first step in the creation of a book" is "[t]he decision to publish, not the creation of a text" (54). For them, the "intention of the author" can be a relevant but not a dominant "factor" in production (54). This is highly applicable to the books discussed in this thesis. Lorraine Janzen Kooistra's work on verse gift books, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing*, has been a useful model in this regard. Like her gift books, souvenir books are what Kooistra calls "a *composited* art—a three-dimensional work assembled in engraving firms, print shops, and binderies, rather than an abstract text composed in the ethereal space of artistic inspiration" (30). Souvenir books, similarly, were the work of publishers, photographers, and mauchline ware manufacturers, as much as authors. Like Kooistra, my approach to these books is "not to discover authorial intentions but to historicize and interpret the textual production of meanings and readers" (30). I follow McGann's guidance in considering the "multiple agents involved in the […] production and reception histories" of these books (*A New Republic of Letters* 165). All of these thinkers have taught me to begin with the book, but also to consider the trade forces and technologies that made it.

In considering the impact of these objects on the Victorian world, I am deeply influenced by the Rare Book School of Michael F. Suarez, S.J., and the scholarship of D. F. McKenzie and Lorraine Kooistra. It is McKenzie's vision of a sociology of texts that leads me to consider not only these books' "production" but also their "transmission and consumption," through the lens of "human motives and interactions" (*Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* 6-7). His vision allows bibliography, or book history, to include "the relation between form, function and

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remember "the sheer randomness, the speculative uncertainty of the book trade" (51). I am indebted also to McKenzie's arguments for "the value of the publisher's archive as important bibliographical evidence" (*Making Meaning* 4).

[5] Barker and Adams were, of course, revising Robert Darnton's original communications circuit, which they argued "deals with people, rather than the book" (51).

symbolic meaning" (2). This scope allows research to "[take] into account both the materiality of the works it investigates and their social and cultural functions," as Kooistra puts it (4). In her own work, Kooistra argues that the poetic gift book, "a largely forgotten material artefact of middlebrow culture," can "offer new ways of seeing and understanding the high Victorian period" (4). This statement, applied to souvenir books, can serve equally well as an introduction to my own project. From McKenzie and his influence, we learn to "move from the most minute feature of the material form to questions of authorial, literary, and social context," all "[i]n the pursuit of historical meanings" (14). I have sought to practice not analytical bibliography as Tanselle or Bowers would have it, but what Tanselle calls book history: an investigation into how "the physical presentation of texts has influenced their reception," and then "how cultural history has been affected by the physical forms of books, and the reading practices they have engendered" (63, 62). These scholars provide the impetus to ask questions about how souvenir books impacted Victorian culture on a broader scale.

Answering these questions is a challenge. There is little or no concrete documentation about the reception of souvenir books. I have been unable to track specific, individual responses, beyond occasional ownership inscriptions. The lack of first-person responses is a perennial problem in reception history and reader-response criticism. Much reception history therefore moves to the areas of richest evidence; Andrew Stauffer has said that we look where the light is good (Stauffer, Sutherland et al.). In this research, I have turned for evidence to the souvenir books themselves. I am hypothesizing where the light is bad, but I am not making stabs in the dark: these are educated guesses, informed by careful study of tangible evidence.

This research is based on the basic bibliographical principle that "forms effect meaning" (McKenzie 13). I operate from the fundamental premise that books, as objects, prepare certain receptions for themselves.[6] I also operate from the premise that some general knowledge about contemporary reception can inform my guesses about the books' receptions. In discussing the readings that these material

[6] This idea and turn of phrase comes from conversations with Barbara Heritage, who frequently discussed with me the ways *Jane Eyre* "anticipates its own reading and reception" during the preparation of her 2014 dissertation "Brontë and the Bookmakers"—though the idea takes somewhat different forms in her work than in my own (188).

objects would themselves prompt, my work draws again on McGann and Kooistra. Like McGann, I develop likely interpretations of the object as it (incontrovertibly) existed, contextualized by modern scholarly understanding of the contemporary reception of similar formats or texts. McGann argues in *The Textual Condition* that "interpretation is an act which gets carried out only as a response to a given textual condition" (184). Kooistra, confronting a similar dearth of primary evidence about "the actual daily practices of ordinary readers," also identifies the "theoretical position […] that the book itself is an expressive form and that readers are, as Pierre Macherey observes, 'made by what makes the book'" (29). She takes the stance that "we cannot read with nineteenth-century eyes," but that the book itself—"the materiality of nineteenth-century paper, type, illustrations, graphic ornament, and binding" can nevertheless reveal "a great deal about a work's readers" (180). An assessment of the material text can allow us to estimate response.[7]

Considering this research from the perspective of book history and print technology has helped to set boundaries for this thesis. Victorian Scotland offers a particularly good case study for initial work on the souvenir book genre partly because it boasted a vital and expanding print trade, with strengths that supported the development of souvenir books. Scottish publishing included a focus on illustration: early in the century, it "excelled" in certain "niche markets" for which illustration was absolutely "essential," including "cartography, text books, and medical publications" (Bell 61). As the century continued, the "successful implementation and occasional improvement of the best and latest [illustration] methods" would remain crucial for many Scottish publishers (61). Scotland was also the site of an extraordinary amount of innovation in photography: one of the first books sold with photographic illustrations was William Henry Fox Talbot's *Sun Pictures in Scotland* in 1845. Pioneering photographers David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson established the first Scottish photography studio in 1843. In the 1860s, George Washington Wilson attained prominence as a massively popular landscape photographer. Scottish publishing in general was thriving in the period. This, combined with a tradition of book-focused tourism, may have made Scotland an

[7] I am grateful to McGann for the argument that "[s]cholarship is interpretation, whether it is carried out as a bibliocritical discourse or a literary exegesis" (*The Textual Condition* 98).

unusually concentrated center for souvenir book production and consumption. At the moment, we cannot say precisely how the souvenir book trade differed in Britain as a whole, or in America and Continental Europe. However, the features that might have made Scotland uncharacteristic also make it an excellent place to begin this research.

I have generally stayed within the third quarter of the nineteenth century, though I have strayed outside it to discuss lithographic viewbooks. This time period was, in some ways, technologically consistent; concentrating on it allows me to characterize a particular epoch in printing history, and to identify general phenomena that depended on technological circumstances. Many methods of production were relatively stable in this period, though new inventions brought sweeping changes in earlier and later decades. The use of stereotype and electrotype plates in book production, especially for illustration, was already common (Gaskell 201-06). The enormous changes brought about by hot-metal composition would not arrive until later, with the Linotype introduced into the print trade in 1886 and the English Monotype Corporation established in 1901 (276; 281). The production of publishers' bindings was relatively stable, with publisher's cloth developed in the late 1820s and the arming press introduced in 1832. Though styles would alter with the fashions, the most notable changes would be the development of black leaf in 1869, with other colors appearing in the 1880s (Allen; Golden). British copyright law was equally stable, with copyright set in 1842 at the life of the author plus seven years (Gaskell 308). Developments in international copyright came with the Berne Convention in 1887 for European copyrights, and the American Chase Act of 1891 (308-9). However, British copyright law was not revised again until 1911 (308).

In terms of illustration, chromolithography had been used for color plate books since the late 1830s, and was steadily increasing its hold on cheap print (Gaskell 268). Steel engravings, a nineteenth-century invention, had their heyday in the 1830s and 1840s (266). Wood engravings were produced largely as they had been at the beginning of the century, with the exception of the use of electrotypes for duplication (266). Color wood engravings had become typical in the 1840s (267). There were numerous innovations of various kinds involving photography, but many of these were high-end experiments that did not affect the middle-brow souvenir

trade. The most influential photographic innovations would be the photographic relief halftone, invented around 1880 (271-2). Halftone blocks became common in periodicals in the mid-1880s, and were used for book illustration only in the 1890s (272). The technology of the 1850s, 1860s, and early 1870s was, in these arenas, fairly consistent.

The use of actual photographs in book illustration was one of the most important innovations in this period, and it is one I am able to discuss at length. This thesis is bounded by photographic innovation—bookended by the arrival of the calotype in book illustration on one side, and on the other side by the arrival of the handheld camera and the invention of photomechanical processes in the 1880s. These important developments fundamentally determined some of the expectations tourists held about their souvenirs. Tourists throughout the centuries want images of the places they visit. This period of history is defined by their access to them: they could buy photographs, and they could buy photographs in books, but they could not easily take pictures themselves. The technological developments that frame this period thus provide approximate temporal boundaries for the thesis as a whole.

**Making Sense of Scotland: An Overview**

Scotland in the third quarter of the nineteenth century offers a tidy package in which to investigate souvenir books. Researching Scotland rather than Britain as a whole has helped to keep this project within reasonable bounds, while allowing me to consider important questions about Scotland's Victorian reputation. Most of the souvenirs discussed in this thesis represent locations in southern Scotland—often Edinburgh, the Trossachs, and the Borders. Both tourism and printing were more active in these areas at an earlier date than tourism and printing in the Highlands. This geographical focus also corresponds to a general focus on Walter Scott's poetry. Though this may seem like a neglect of both his novels and other authors, it is in fact a response to the frequency with which his poems were featured in souvenir material. This focus has also allowed me to take advantage of the large body of

existing research concerning Scott's influence on tourism. Overall, this region offers a useful frame for this thesis.

As stated above, the time frame is primarily determined by technological developments, but it also aligns nicely with other cultural trends. In this period, tourists in Scotland were predominantly British, but Americans began to arrive in large numbers after the end of the Civil War, in the late 1860s, and increased dramatically in the 1870s (Durie 140). This period also covers what might have been the "high point" of "Scott's cultural power," which Ann Rigney dates to 1871—a time when "direct and indirect knowledge of his works came together at a point when Literature was the primary resource for identity-constructions in the rapidly expanding English-speaking world" (*Afterlives* 7). It also focuses on the era after the completion of what Hugh Trevor-Roper calls the "Highland takeover" (*The Invention of Scotland* 192). He argues that the transition of the kilt, tartan, and other "customs and costumes of the Scottish Highlanders" from suppressed to popular symbols of Scottish culture that took place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was definitively complete by 1845 (192). Thus, the third quarter of the nineteenth century offers a conveniently coherent epoch to explore.

Inside this frame, I ask how the production of souvenir books shaped the narratives that tourists developed about Scotland and about themselves. This thesis consists of four chapters, each roughly centered around a particular type of souvenir book: books bound in mauchline ware bindings, illustrated souvenirs, photographically illustrated souvenirs, and "royal" souvenirs, with the final chapter also discussing connoisseur tourism more broadly. Each chapter addresses specific topics prompted by the books in question, but all of them are also responding to some broader questions: how did souvenir book publishers try to anticipate the desires of their intended consumers? And how might customers respond in inventive and personal ways to industrial-era consumer objects that could never perfectly represent their lived experiences?

The first chapter, "Bound in Wood," outlines the Victorian reader's general expectations of the souvenir book genre, drawing on theories and histories of souvenirs by Susan Stewart, John Frow, and Godfrey Evans. Briefly, souvenir books were expected to construct links to a place, often by means of physical features.

With commercially produced souvenirs, this connection was the publisher's responsibility. This chapter offers some concrete examples of souvenir publishing experiments, showing how Scottish publishers attempted to meet their readers' expectations. It also discusses the longer history of souvenir production, showing how commercial production practices in the nineteenth century forced the genre to evolve. Specifically, I discuss how the representational figures used in souvenirs shifted. The earliest souvenirs, religious relics, often functioned synecdochically—tiny pieces of a place serving as memorials of that place, like a fragment of rock chipped off a monument. Later souvenirs began to function metonymically, representing places through strong, often iconic connections, but not indexical relationships. This shift was crucial in the industrial era, as souvenir production increased rapidly to keep pace with increasing tourism. I consider the shift from synecdochic to metonymic logic through a case study of mauchline ware—quintessentially Scottish souvenir ware, used for bookbindings from around the 1840s. Discussing these books, I can show that the depictions of Scotland in souvenir books were limited by the technologies used to produce them.

I then situate these books in a broader context of touristic meaning-making. I argue that modern scholarly characterizations of tourism as a semiotic process also apply to Victorian tourism, and that Victorian guidebooks sometimes encouraged readers to understand and interpret Scottish culture through travel. Within this interpretive process, souvenir books played a crucial role: they had the last word. As tourists looked back over completed journeys, they based their memories of Scotland and their subsequent interpretations on their souvenirs. But the ways in which souvenir books provided meaning, the ways they represented memories, were structured by the commercial context of their production.

Chapter Two, "One Person's Trash," addresses souvenir book illustration, concentrating on the reuse of illustrations in different publications and formats. This chapter is perhaps the most book historical, grounded in an examination of print technology and publishing practices, but also moving forward to consider the social effects of a particular set of commercial circumstances. In the 1850s and 1860s, many Scottish publishers met contemporary demand for illustrated souvenirs by recycling illustrations: reusing wood-engraved blocks and lithographic stones,

repackaging old printed sheets, or copying image content from expensive photographs to cheaper media. Consequently, tourist-readers in this era were exposed to the same or highly similar images repeatedly. At the same time, emerging photographic book illustrations were also developing a visual canon. Tourist-readers exposed to the same or similar illustrations could develop the same mental images of Scotland without realizing it. They also shared exposure to the ideas embedded in those images—for of course all these illustrations expressed perspectives about what they depicted. Their circulation helped to spread these ideas even further, developing a common understanding among tourist-readers. In short, the reuse of printing surfaces in these books helped to drive the development of stereotypes about Scotland.

This shared exposure to the same content had simultaneously a unifying and a fragmenting effect on tourist-readers. Drawing on ideas of imagined and interpretive communities explored by Benedict Anderson, Gerry Beegan, Roland Barthes, and Jennifer Green-Lewis, I argue that the repetition of images brought together a reading community. This audience was united across time, as images were reused over years. However, it was simultaneously fragmented by variations in souvenir book format and content, and the variations in images introduced by the translation from one medium to another. I outline the nature of this community and its difference from Anderson's imagined community, arguing that it was specific to—and derived from—the unique dynamics of this technological era. This chapter builds my general argument that commercial publishing choices and technological factors shaped Scotland's cultural reputation. It also works to characterize the souvenir book genre slightly more, adding to our book historical understanding of both souvenir books and of book illustration more generally.

The third chapter, "Illustrated by the Sun," concentrates on a specific group of upmarket illustrated souvenir books: photographically illustrated editions of Walter Scott's poetry. These books are particularly important because they are early examples of a trend that grew more dominant in other locations later in the nineteenth century. In addition, they allow me to consider two of the most influential figures in the Scottish literary tourism industry, Walter Scott and George Washington Wilson. Scholarship on literary tourism frequently considers how places

and texts could mutually contextualize each other; with these more complex, multimedia volumes, the illustrations add an extra interpretive layer. By considering both the creation and the interpretation of these books, I show again that the circumstances of production often determined the souvenirs' available meanings.

In considering these books, this chapter examines some of the narratives and versions of Scotland presented by illustrated souvenirs. To understand the reception of these composite volumes, I weigh the contemporary reception of photography, and its reputation for apparently superhuman objectivity. I then place the books into a longer history of illustrations for Walter Scott's works. Scholars like Gillen D'Arcy Wood have argued that most illustrations for Scott's poetry participate in a dichotomy, with realist photographic illustrations opposed to romantic engravings or wood engravings. In this case, however, I argue that the separate elements of the volume actually work together: the realist photographs support the romance of Scott's poetry. Overall, the volumes support romanticized concepts of Scotland, offering an exploratory reading experience that mirrored touristic exploration. More specifically, I contrast photographically illustrated editions of *The Lady of the Lake* with a similar edition of *Marmion*, showing that they offered tourist-readers differing opportunities to recreate the historical past. Together, these editions prioritized certain narratives about the country over others: they offered tourists a romanticized version of a historical past, buttressed with realist detail.

In the final chapter, "One Person's Treasure," I turn briefly to guidebooks, and to hybrid souvenir guides, to discuss questions of class and identity. As tourism became accessible to people from a wider range of financial and social levels, some tourists became anxious to mark their own status by performing particularly aspirational types of tourist activity. Middle class tourists tried to imitate older models of connoisseur tourism, approaching travel through literature, history, and aesthetics to differentiate themselves from lower-class travelers. Contemporary guidebooks supported this conflation of class status and intellectual taste, simultaneously pressuring tourists to conform to it and offering them the tools to do so. While publishers sought ways to make their books stand out from the mass of contemporary guides, tourists pressured by class expectations looked for ways to affirm their social status. These desires coincided in souvenir books. The

illustrations, odd formats, and mauchline ware bindings that distinguished these books in a store window also made them effective displays in a parlor, allowing their anxious owners to display their touristic prowess and intellectual capital.

This argument provides important context for earlier chapters. Souvenir books had social dimensions: they were not only personal memory triggers, but could also display status and cultural capital. A souvenir book's function as *aide-mémoire* is important, but nearly impossible to trace. But possessing a souvenir book could be a tangible demonstration of cultural accomplishment, as well as a personal indulgence. Returned tourists could display such books in drawing rooms for perusal by visitors, or present souvenirs as gifts to friends and family. This means that the images these books contained were consumed in social, quasi-public settings. We must therefore consider the visions of Scotland constructed by souvenirs—those discussed in Chapters Two and Three—in a broader context. These images could be more than surrogate memories for individual travelers: they could represent Scotland on a larger scale, defining it in the British cultural and social imagination.

Chapter Four goes on to consider how these shared visions of Scotland related to developing ideas of British identity. Some publishers capitalized on the popularity of Queen Victoria and the royal family, creating souvenirs and guides that referred to the Queen's high-profile visits to Scotland. The royal associations and iconography allowed them to function as class markers; but purchasing and displaying them, even for the sake of soothing status anxiety, encouraged tourist-readers to consider their own relationship to the crown. Meanwhile, general guides and souvenirs that explored Scottish history also shaped tourists' attitudes towards Britain more generally. Guides and souvenirs that concentrated on intellectual and connoisseur tourism led readers to grapple with their understanding of the historically tense relationship between Scotland and Britain. Victorian national identity was frequently defined by a sense of history, and these books offered carefully sculpted narratives to appeal to tourists from across Britain. In reading and displaying these books as emblems of middle-class status, tourist-readers were bringing ideas and images about British identity into their own homes. Intellectual Victorian tourists used guides and souvenirs to position themselves within the class

system, but inadvertently positioned themselves within the larger British nation at the same time, by means of the same books.

This thesis identifies and analyzes souvenir books as a distinct genre for perhaps the first time. It thus contributes to existing studies in both literary tourism and book history. In the former, souvenir books offer a new type of touristic interaction with literary texts. This study disrupts the traditional perspective on travel by exploring how touristic meaning-making continues after the end of the tour, contributing to a more complete picture of the whole. By tracking the production and the reception of this new genre, this research also contributes to the history of the book. In certain places, it makes contributions to our understanding of Victorian publishing.

This project brings literary tourism and book history into concentrated conversation with each other, thus contributing something new to both fields. The story that I tell here, of souvenir books and their role in print and tourist culture, is a significant story that can only be understood through both perspectives. It details how paying attention to textual materiality, a topic that has not been sufficiently addressed by existing scholars in the literary tourism field, can expand our awareness of the tourist experience. My work on souvenir books suggests that the mid-Victorian tourist industry was thoroughly dependent on print culture, in more general ways. Meanwhile, the history of literary tourism is a significant piece of the history of reading, one that may not have received enough attention from historians of the book. By combining these approaches, this research can tell a broader story about the way the Victorians saw the world.

To be more precise, this research tells a broader story about the way the Victorians *were shown* the world. We gain not only an insight into a Victorian perspective, but insight into the construction of that perspective. Souvenir books were an expression of Victorian culture, but they were also a force that shaped it. We are already well aware that nineteenth-century Scotland became romantically known to tourists as the home of bagpipes and Balmoral, tartans and tat. The image of Scotland as "a land of wilderness, heroism and history" is popular, but "has always been controversial" (Watt 5). This thesis is not concerned with the accuracy of this depiction, but with its development and perpetuation. It examines how souvenir

books shaped the details of that image. It reveals how tourists based their reactions on books we have generally forgotten. It demonstrates that Scotland's reputation was not only the product of authors like Walter Scott or artists like George Washington Wilson, but also the product of publishers who brought those two figures together in souvenir books—publishers thinking not about the reputation of their nation, but about their bottom line. I argue that the technological processes and economic circumstances of book production consolidated and disseminated the narrative of Scotland that is now so familiar.

Studies of literary tourism often concern the collision of literary fiction and the reality of the world. Tourism studies, too, consider the conflict between the fantasy of a tourist site and its reality. This thesis considers the relationship between the physical object (i.e., the souvenir book) and the reader's interpretive fantasy, using techniques of literary criticism to examine the potential narratives that tourists could build from tangible foundations. It takes that process of creative interpretation seriously, and explores how Victorians might have used these constructed narratives. In some ways, travelers were trained to "read" Scotland as they might read a poem or analyze a painting. This interpretive analysis continued after the end of the tour. In that final phase, tourists had to base their interpretations on their memories—and on the souvenirs that they used to frame their memories. Thus, souvenirs could become the foundation for their owners' reminiscences. In this role, souvenirs and souvenir books helped tourists construct narratives out of their memories—narratives about themselves, and narratives about Scotland. We define ourselves by our memories. The narratives of travel that Victorian tourists constructed when they reminisced—the narratives shaped by these books—were narratives they used to define themselves and their nation. Hugh Trevor-Roper has said that "the whole history of Scotland has been coloured by myth," and that these myths are "never driven out by reality, or by reason," but only replaced by new narratives (*The Invention of Scotland* xx). Souvenir books and their readers constructed myths that Victorians could use to characterize Scotland, and that they could incorporate into their broader understanding of the world.

## Chapter One: Bound in Wood
## Mauchline Ware and Interpretation

Literary tourists were primed to accept books as integral elements of the interpretive process of tourism: as symbols, mediators, representations, interpretations, recreations, mirrors, records of their experiences. But tourists who did not shape their journeys around their reading still found books integral to their travel: guidebooks, travel writing, and souvenir books structured expectations and assumptions for the tourists who consumed them. Souvenir books in particular influenced tourists' opinions about what was memorable. They changed the way tourists preserved their memories and made sense of their journeys. In this instance, the print record did not merely reflect contemporary changes in the way Scotland was received; print culture helped to drive those changes. Victorian tourists could be intellectually active, interpreting the places they visited based not only on the sights they saw but on the information that contextualized them. Souvenir books fit into that interpretive process, and even came to dominate it.

This chapter lays the foundations for understanding that process. To begin with, it identifies the key features of souvenir books as a genre, identifying the expectations and attitudes with which tourists habitually approached them. Souvenir books are distinctive because readers always expect to link them to another place and time. Inevitably, they achieve their full meaning and use only when paired with readers' memories. They are also uniquely retrospective, read with an attitude to the past that differentiates them from other travel writing.

Readers can bring these expectations and attitudes to any books. Published souvenir books, however, encourage these attitudes, usually through the inclusion of evocative material features that can serve as memory triggers. These physical features, like commemorative bindings or illustrations of notable views, offer the potential for the books to be read as souvenirs. The qualities that distinguish a souvenir copy of a poem from a standard reading copy are frequently material, rather than textual. Joining in a tradition of souvenir objects, souvenir books must be understood as objects themselves.

After establishing this, the chapter will show how the nature of the Victorian publishing industry shaped the development of the souvenir genre. Specifically, it will explore how certain types of souvenir editions evolved from, and in concert with, guidebooks. This section also demonstrates that souvenir books were commercial products, involving choices and intentions of many different creators, rather than coherent artistic productions. Many details about souvenir books were shaped by the circumstances of their production, whether those were publishing trends or technological factors.

Having discussed how souvenirs were produced, and having mentioned some of the many types of souvenir books available, I will then consider how souvenir books could be received by readers, placing them into a longer history of souvenir objects. Early souvenir objects, like holy relics, used synecdochic logic to represent tourist sites; but with increased commodification, more souvenirs began to function metonymically. Souvenir books could and did draw on both rhetorical techniques, as publishers experimented with technologies and fashions. An important group of Scottish souvenir books, bound in mauchline ware and tartan ware bindings, could represent Scotland both synecdochically and metonymically. By incorporating wood from identifiable tourist attractions, mauchline ware drew on the synecdochic logic of relics; but the decoration on the bindings, often tartan patterns or views of famous sites, used contemporary metonymic representations to add value and meaning to the objects. This case study explores the images and representations of Scotland that souvenir books offered to their readers, and the different ways tourists might understand them. It also considers the extent to which these images could be determined by the technologies that produced them. This introduces an argument I will make in fuller detail later in this chapter, and throughout this thesis: that the contingent details of book production changed the representations and interpretations that souvenir books made available to their readers.

Finally, I will fit these books into a broader theoretical model of semiotic tourism. Victorian tourists were trained to interpret their surroundings, seeking to develop an overarching understanding of Scotland and its culture. Souvenir books were integral to this process: they were not just memorials, but signs in and of themselves that could be decoded in the same way as any other sight or sign a tourist

encountered. In addition, souvenir books had the last word in the process. These books influenced the way tourists made sense of their journeys retrospectively, helping them to retain the details of their trips and to construct narratives around them. Their nature as commodities increased their influence: souvenir books, existing in multiple copies, could influence large numbers of tourists in similar ways. Consequently, they could shape the way large numbers of tourists interpreted their journeys. This theory prepares us to consider in more detail how souvenir books represented Scotland; why they represented it in certain ways; and what conception of Scotland their Victorian purchasers developed as a result.

## "Materiality into Meaning": The Souvenir Book Genre

In the nineteenth century, especially in Scotland, books were common tourist souvenirs. However, recent critics have not recognized souvenir books as a distinct genre. Little work has been done to characterize or theorize the genre, or to track its production history. This section outlines the key generic features of souvenir books and considers how material features of these texts helped them to fulfill their most important roles. It then explores how nineteenth-century souvenir books were published in a range of formats, styles, and texts. Publishers rarely specialized in dedicated souvenir books (though some did exist); they also released souvenir editions of guidebooks, religious texts, poems, novels, and histories. How, then, are these souvenir books to be recognized?

Souvenir books are distinctively retrospective. In general, souvenirs exist specifically for the "displacement of attention into the past" (Stewart, *On Longing* 151). While readers of guidebooks tend to concentrate on the present or the future (a current or planned trip), readers of souvenir books tend to concentrate on the past (a concluded trip). A guidebook primes the experience, or frames it in the moment. A souvenir book focuses the interpretation of that experience later, "spiraling in a continually inward movement rather than outward toward the future" (135). The job of a souvenir, as the name dictates, is to assist the act of memory. Therefore, a souvenir book is one that is prepared for this retrospective attitude.

Souvenir books are also uniquely open-ended. They share the "fundamental incompleteness of the sign" that Jonathan Culler describes (*Structuralist Poetics* 19). The souvenir's job is to help a tourist recall personal encounters with a distant place. While guidebooks provide readers with information that they can use or ignore as they choose, souvenirs require readers to bring their own memories and interpretations to the book. A memory aid only achieves its full function if its readers bring relevant memories. Susan Stewart points out that a souvenir "represents not the lived experience of its maker but the 'secondhand' experience of its possessor/owner" (*On Longing* 135). The meaning of a book of views depends on the reader's personal encounters with the sites depicted, on what he or she learned about those places, and what he or she recalls. A reader's interpretation of a souvenir book, then, depends on the memories that the tourist-reader brings to it. This means that any commercial souvenir is "by definition always incomplete" without a tourist interacting with it (136). Souvenirs are dependent on lacunae, which consumers can fill with personal memories.

Many books could be used as souvenirs without being designed for that purpose. Any book can be pressed into service as a memory aid, if its owner chooses. Any book or item can accrue personal meaning and authenticate its owner's personal experiences through use. Tourists might buy or bring ordinary editions of any text on tour and connect their travel to the book they were reading on the trip. Tourists might also co-opt guidebooks as souvenirs. Paul Dobraszczyk, in an article on guidebooks, briefly acknowledges that a tourist might later "appropriate" a guide as "an aid to memory" (130). Tourists could also make their own souvenir sketchbooks and journals. Many tourists did this for themselves, recording their travels in manuscript journals or sketchbooks. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "the practice of keeping a travel diary" became "a normal way of focusing observation" (Frow 92). Alastair Durie concurs that "for many nineteenth-century middle- and upper-class people and even some artisans, the keeping of a daily journal or diary was standard practice, but especially so if on tour" (*Scotland for the Holidays*, 10). Many tourists with artistic training also illustrated their travel diaries (10). Sketching favorite views was a traditional element of travel that added pleasure to the travel experience, as well as adding visual appeal to record books. Wealthy

tourists could commission viewbooks from local artists, but by the late eighteenth century, sketching was specifically encouraged by authors like William Gilpin as a source of aesthetic appreciation and amusement.

However, especially in the mid-nineteenth century, published books of tourist views became more common. Sketchbooks and journals made admirable souvenirs, but they required that the tourist possess time, artistic skill (perhaps honed by costly lessons), or money to commission private sketchbooks. As more middle-class tourists began to travel, and as shorter trips became common, tourists might have less artistic training or less leisure time for journaling. By the end of the century, tourists would be able to take their own photographs and create their own records quickly, but in the period covered by this thesis, there was sizeable demand for manufactured versions of the sketchbooks and travel diaries that tourists might not have the luxury to create for themselves. These published souvenirs needed self-evident markers to establish themselves as viable memory aids. They needed unambiguous demonstrations of their connections to tourist sites. This, above all, is the most fundamental feature of a souvenir book: it needs features that link the object to the place its owner wants to remember. Souvenirs need to convey unique recollections of a moment distant in both space and time. John Frow, summarizing Susan Stewart, writes that a souvenir "translates distance into proximity" (93). A souvenir book, therefore, must include features that somehow represent or recall a place. It needs some feature that represents the details of the place it memorializes.

Sometimes those connections could be constructed easily. A souvenir often helps its owner recall the place where he or she acquired it. Godfrey Evans writes, in his history of souvenirs, of the "acid test" for objects' inclusion in his study: "were they, or could they have been, acquired in or near the places they relate to?" (v). Many Victorian souvenir books were indeed sold near tourist locations. A copy of *The Lady of the Lake* with a depiction of the "Bridge of Allan from Dunbrae" on the front board has a contemporary bookseller's ticket for "John Erskine, Bookseller, Bridge of Allan" (Scott, Glasgow: David Bryce & Son). Some Victorian souvenir books could even be purchased at historic sites: the binding on a book described later in this chapter claimed it was for sale in the Douglas Room at Stirling Castle (Scott, *Marmion,* 1873, Bdg.s.924). Contemporary depictions of the interior of the Burns

Monument in Ayrshire—both photographs and photomanual lithographs—show a table of souvenirs for sale, with mauchline ware, photographs, stereo views, and yes, a few books (*Photographs of the Land of Burns*; *Souvenir of Land o'Burns*; see figures 1-2). Acquiring a book or other souvenirs at a notable tourist site established a straightforward connection between the object and the place.

However, many souvenir books were sold at book stores or railway stalls, rather than at tourist locations. Advertisements indicate view books and guides for sale at "James Reid's, Bookseller and Stationer, 144 Argyle Street, Glasgow" (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1866, 22), or mauchline ware books and trinkets "at the Depôt for Scotch Wood Manufactures, 24 King Street, Stirling" (31). Other ads might say more generally that books or views would be "sold by *all Booksellers*, and at the Railway Stations" (20, author's emphasis). While these items might generally recall the whole trip, the story of their acquisition would not lead a purchaser to recall especially important sites or views.

Most souvenir books do without a specific connection established at the moment of purchase. They still need, however, to establish a connection to a specific place and time. Found souvenirs can signify in any way their finders want. Commercial souvenirs, designed to represent the diverse experiences of unknown tourists, need a public logic. They need to represent Scotland in recognizable ways. They need to contrive symbols and signs that will be open to the many different tourists who could purchase them, yet detailed enough to enable purchasers to recall the details of their trips successfully. Some Victorian souvenir books described sites or events in textual detail: the *Guide to Doune Castle* commemorated a specific place, while James Wood's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* was printed as a keepsake for the 1886 Edinburgh International Exhibition. More frequently, souvenir books included paratextual or non-textual elements that represented Scotland more effectively. Stewart writes that souvenirs mark "the transformation of materiality into meaning" (*On Longing* 140). A wide variety of material features made Victorian souvenir books more effective. Some of the most recognizable souvenir books include depictions of important tourist attractions. There were, for example, a large number of books of lithographic views of tourist spots published both in the U.K. and on the Continent in the late nineteenth century. A popular line in Britain was called the

"Camera" Series, published by Brown & Rawcliffe (see figure 3). These books were obvious tourist souvenirs, and many similar view books exist.

A large proportion of Victorian souvenir books, however, were texts from other genres with additional features that served as memory triggers. These books could be gift books, literary texts, or guidebooks, but they had additional features that allowed them to transcend their original genre boundaries to function as souvenirs as well. For example, popular Victorian souvenir books included editions of *The Lady of the Lake* illustrated with photographs of tourist sites associated with the poem. These photographs helped the tourist-reader retain memories of trips to those places, in ways that the text alone might not. The photographs and sometimes the bindings also differentiated souvenir editions of Scott's poem from other editions. Other souvenir books featured mauchline ware bindings that incorporated wood from famous tourist sites (which will be discussed more at the end of the chapter). These bindings could be found on a wide variety of texts, from souvenir guides to unrelated religious anthologies. The mauchline ware bindings allow the books to function as representatives of a place and an experience, beyond anything described in the text.

Victorian souvenirs, it may be seen, were pluriform. As a publication category, souvenir books were frequently responsive: some publishers did establish series of souvenir books, but others launched souvenir editions in reaction to specific circumstances. Consequently, the design of many of these books was determined according to commercial factors and pressures, rather than creative or aesthetic principles. After all, the publisher's primary goal was to sell books that stood out in a competitive market, and they experimented with different methods of doing so. Their tactics sometimes included appealing to the growing tourist market, often with methods that drew on their existing resources or that responded to contemporary publishing trends. Publishers might release souvenir editions of popular literary texts because they happened to own the copyright already, or they might add souvenir illustrations to guidebooks to encourage them to sell more quickly. Many books reflect the contributions and choices of numerous individuals, including writers, artists, illustrators, and binders. In some cases, publishers combined components created by multiple individuals over wide stretches of time—an 1810 poem with

1860s photographs and 1870s advertising strategies, for example. The resulting editions could produce effects that were not intended by either the publishers or the original artists.

In Scotland, for example, many souvenir books emerged as variations on guidebooks. Tourism had been continuously increasing, with the Scottish tourist industry expanding to meet it. Souvenir trinkets were becoming familiar commodities. Book publishers entered the tourist industry with guidebooks, and began to produce souvenir books as they struggled to distinguish themselves in a competitive market. Though many mid-nineteenth-century publishers released guidebooks, a handful of names dominated the field. For guides to Scotland, and for guides published by Scots, the dominant name was Murray (Vaughan 47). John Murray III was the first publisher to "appreciate the need for comprehensive and practical guidebooks to cater for the burgeoning market" (Parsons 180). In 1836 he began a series of *Handbooks for Travellers*, helping to establish the genre. By the end of the century, Murray's guides would be overshadowed by the German firm Baedeker, but Baedeker did not publish a guide to Scotland in the nineteenth century and can therefore be largely left out of the current discussion.[8] In Britain, Murray ruled the field.

Despite the firm's dominance, guidebook publication was a large field, with varied contributions from smaller firms. As more tourists arrived in Scotland, more publishers sought their custom. Competition for tourist business drove publishers to produce increasingly distinctive, elegant, or inventive guides. Murray publications generally remained exempt from this trend: after a few decades, Murray guidebooks became relatively standardized. Vaughan describes them as "impersonal, systematic, and designed for a single overriding purpose" (64). Baedeker guides were similarly utilitarian, with business-like typography and without illustration (besides the necessary maps). These major guidebook publishers could rely on their reputations to attract custom, and they established minimalist but iconic house styles to brand their publications. Murray guidebooks were usually bound in red cloth, with the name "Murray" in large letters and the titles in standardized formats. Baedeker's guides were similarly designed, and both series were instantly recognizable. To stand

[8] Baedeker published a few guides to London, but the first guide to Britain was not printed until 1890.

out against this visible branding, smaller firms produced more elaborate publications, with less streamlined styles. Vaughan's history of the guidebook acknowledges that "competition for customers" forced publishers to make their works "as attractive as possible" (99). Smaller publishers worked to improve the "presentation of data" in their guides, and commissioned more eye-catching bindings (99). Above all, publishers began to illustrate their guidebooks, including images in greater numbers and higher quality as the century wore on (113). These illustrations made the books "more attractive" on the shelf, and they added value, allowing publishers to raise their prices (64, 89). The idea was that such "handsome features" would cause the books to be "prized by the tourist and sightseer," as a reviewer of one such book put it (*Albert Memorial Guide Book* leaf B1r). But these prized, illustrated guide books also functioned as souvenirs, transcending the limits of the genre.

In general, the more stable guidebook publishers produced more restrained books, and smaller publishers produced more elaborate, eye-catching editions. The second-most important guidebook publishers in Victorian Scotland were Adam and Charles Black, the only firm that offered the Murrays any "serious competition" (Parsons 189; see also Vaughan 50). The Blacks, like the Murrays, developed a recognizable binding style: green cloth, for more expensive volumes, and green paper, for cheaper guides.[9] The Blacks' guides also featured dense, utilitarian typography, designed for ease of access rather than visual appeal. Unlike the Murrays, the Blacks illustrated their guides with wood engravings (Parsons 189). Their most elaborate volumes also included steel engravings: an advertisement for their 8s 6d guide to Scotland mentioned "numerous Views of the Scenery on Wood and Steel" (*Black's Tourist's and Angler's Guide to Moffat* 12). The inclusion of views made their guides seem more luxurious. They helped to market the *Picturesque* series: the books were so thoroughly oriented towards the aesthetic side of tourism that they included pictures. Their *Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, for instance, was illustrated with wood engravings by popular artist Myles Birket Foster (1853, 1866). Vaughan also mentions the Blacks' *Picturesque Guide to the English*

[9] For examples in green cloth, see most of their guidebooks, including *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland.* For examples in paper, see *Black's Guide to Edinburgh and Environs* and *Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1866.

*Lakes*, which included illustrations by Birket Foster, engraved by Edmund Evans, and an elegant publisher's binding by John Leighton, "thereby combining several of the great names in Victorian book production" (99). He argues that this type of strategy helped them "survive in a very competitive market" (98). In fact, the Blacks worked with Foster on numerous guidebooks, continuing the relationship that began when he illustrated their 1850s gift editions of Walter Scott (Goodman, "Copyright and Christmas" 456). So while Murray and Baedeker, at the top of heap, produced utilitarian materials, A. & C. Black, strong competitors in their specialist areas, produced slightly more elaborate volumes with tasteful illustrations. These illustrations served no utilitarian purpose if the books were only being used as guidebooks, but they would make the tourist-owner recall the illustrated sites at the end of a tour. The *Picturesque Guides*, therefore, could serve as souvenir books, as well as guides.

One step down the ladder came Thomas Nelson and Sons. The Nelson firm was large and successful, but lacked the Blacks' and the Murrays' early, foundational experience in the guidebook market. They focused on editions that were cheaper than those of their competitors. For the tourist market, they developed a series of cheap books of views—travel souvenirs for rail tourists (Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* 30). To produce these viewbooks affordably, the firm invented its own cheap and distinctive style of print, dubbed "Nelson prints" by Bamber Gascoigne in his bibliography of them (*Milestones…*). These views were printed in three colors: a lithographic key stone provided the main outline in dark purple, while fawn and light blue relief tint blocks colored the ground and sky respectively (see figure 5). This use of color was minimalist but effective. It enabled the Nelsons to produce appealing color views in the middle of the nineteenth-century, before chromolithography was cost-effective for their purposes. The Nelsons took advantage of their stock of views to compete in the guidebook market. In some ways, their series of Hand-books resembled the Blacks' guidebooks, which were similarly-sized volumes bound in publisher's cloth (for example, see *The Land of Scott* and any one of *Black's Picturesque Guides*). But the color illustrations distinguished these guides from the Black guides, illustrated with upmarket but

black-and-white wood engravings and steel engravings, and from the unillustrated Murray guides.

Later in the century, as chromolithographic technology developed, the Nelsons continued to rely on illustration as the distinguishing factor for their productions, releasing a series of "Chromo-View Guide Books." These later guides especially were hybrid volumes, both guide and souvenir. They included guidebook texts which a souvenir might not need, but those texts were cursory, shorter than (and sometimes abridged from) the Hand-books, and far shorter than the Blacks' publications. The richness of the chromolithographs offset the brevity of the texts (see figure 6). Without the clout of the more established guidebook firms, the Nelsons needed the glamor of color illustration to distinguish their products. With chromolithographs and Nelson prints, they found their own niche in the market, producing guidebooks that were distinctly different from the Blacks' and the Murrays'. They also published editions of their chromolithographic views without additional text. Publications like the *Souvenir of Scotland* allowed their investment in lithographic designs to do double duty in both souvenir-guides and souvenir view books. The Nelsons also use their prints to illustrate other texts, adding souvenir Nelson prints to an edition of *The Lady of the Lake*, for example (Goodman, *Books That Take Us Lands Away* 25). In short, the Nelsons printed dedicated guidebooks, dedicated souvenirs, and hybrid souvenir-guides, drawing on similar stock for all of them—reusing the same illustrations and texts in different combinations at different times.

Many small printers also produced hybrid and varied guides and souvenirs, especially provincial firms that published guides to their own regions (Durie, *Scotland for the Holidays* 130-1). As Durie points out, many small and small-town printers relied on tourists for a substantial proportion of their business (131). These smaller firms lacked the stability and the enormous audience of the major Edinburgh firms, and supported themselves by producing a diverse range of material. They might sell extremely elaborate souvenirs in addition to cheaper books, trying to appeal to as many different visitors as possible. The Rutherfurds of Kelso are a perfect example of this diversification. Kelso was a small town, and the Rutherfurd firm—a family business—could not afford to specialize: in addition to tourist books,

they printed religious tracts (*The Lord's Supper*), voting registers (*List of Voters…*), and other miscellaneous texts. They also produced a wide variety of books, some deliberately produced for the tourist market, some opportunistically aimed at a tourist market despite more general original intentions. As discussed above, they produced a wide array of guides, historical works, and gift books focused on the Border region, to appeal to tourists. In addition, the Rutherfurds sold a wide array of mauchline and tartan ware trinkets, which they advertised as "Fancy Wood Work of the District," "manufactured for them at Mauchline, from wood kindly supplied to them from the precincts of Melrose Abbey […]; from Kelso Abbey […]; and other woods of like interest" (*The Scottish Border*, advertisements 1). This diversity helped them supplement their local business by reaching out to tourists with varying interests. The result was a diverse range of souvenir books.

Overall, souvenirs were extraordinarily pluriform in the nineteenth century, appearing in rich and varied formats, styles, price points, and genre combinations. The drive to attract new customers inspired publishers to push the boundaries of the guidebook genre, using new formats or styles to differentiate their publications from the mass. Modern scholars, focusing on the most successful guides, have often interpreted guidebooks as utilitarian objects; but many Victorian guidebooks were not strictly utilitarian. Decorative, nonfunctional features like elaborate bindings or illustrations allowed books labeled as guides to function equally well as souvenirs, after the end of a tour. Some "guidebooks" even seem designed primarily for display. The Chromo-View Guide Books sold by the Nelsons included fairly little logistical information about means of travel, accommodation, food, or navigation. Instead, they focused on the intellectual and aesthetic experience of the tour, providing background information and values to help their readers appreciate the sites they visited. This information was, in at least some cases, repeated directly from the longer Hand-books: *Abbotsford and Scenery of the Tweed*, which includes a short text with a booklet of Nelson prints, states that it offers "a brief description of the accompanying Views" and refers the reader to "[a]nother work […] at the same time, issued by the same publishers" that offers "full information on all parts of this interesting district, and on the best modes of visiting them" (3). This complete guidebook was *The Land of Scott*. The shorter text was structured according to the

geographical progression of a tourist's journey, but it lacked the logistical detail of the longer guides, the sheer usefulness of Murray or a Baedeker. Instead, the illustrated volumes became viable products because of the longevity of their visual appeal: a tourist-reader might keep returning to the views in a Chromo-View volume, long after they stopped needing hotel recommendations. The chromolithographs gave tourist-readers a reason to buy these guides, and a reason to preserve them after the end of the tour.

Similarly, many types of texts—guides, literary works, and religious texts—could occasionally appear in elaborate mauchline ware bindings. Mauchline ware was a style of decorated wood ware peculiar to Scotland, used primarily for tourist trinkets. On a guidebook, these bindings had no utilitarian value. In fact, they would be downright detrimental while traveling: the thick, wooden boards were bulky and heavy. Guides bound in mauchline ware would be valued for their symbolic value, functioning as souvenirs as well as guidebooks. One example is the *Guide to Doune Castle* (Dunbar, 1889). This small book is a short history of the castle, written by its custodian James Dunbar. Contemporary reviews reprinted in the fourth edition describe the volume explicitly as a "guide" and a "contribution to our guide-book literature" (qtd in Dunbar ii, iv). The *Stirling Observer* identifies the "guide book" as the best substitute for Dunbar himself (ii). However, this book is a hybrid: though the contents are primarily informative, the author clearly expected to explain the castle's history in person to visitors, and offers this book so visitors could "remember the many interesting apartments" (59). The book was written to "enjoy at the close of a holiday season" (1). In short, the author wrote it as a souvenir. The reviews of the book argue that its later perusal would "recall pleasant memories" of both the site and author (iii). Retained after the end of the tour, a volume like the *Guide to Doune Castle* would be a serviceable memory aid, containing a wealth of information about the site. Different copies of the book reflect its multiple uses. Some copies are bound like a guidebook: plainly and lightly, in cloth over stiff card (Dunbar, 1884). Other copies, however, were bound in mauchline ware. The boards on one copy claim to be "[m]ade from the wood of Old Gallows Tree at Doune Castle" (1889). This copy was a souvenir, not a portable guide. The wood of the binding would keep the past tour present in the former tourist's mind, just as the

images in the Chromo-View guides could. Other types of books that do not seem like natural souvenirs could also appear in mauchline ware: birthday books, military histories, and religious texts, for instance.

Researchers have not often considered the role that these hybrid volumes might play as souvenirs. Scholarly research on guidebooks often ignores what happened to those books after the tour. John Vaughan's classic history of the English guidebook details the emergence and development of the textual form and format, with some considerations of tourist demographics and publishing dynasties, but ignores other potential receptions for the most elaborate guides.[10] Paul Dobraszczyk is one of very few scholars currently writing on guidebooks who considers what might happen to them after a tour, briefly noting that a tourist who annotated her guidebooks might later find that her marks left "a highly personal record of her navigation" (130). Other than this brief aside, there has been little investigation into the guidebook's functions after the end of a tour. However, the prevalence of elaborate guidebooks like the ones described above suggests that it was common for tourists to desire souvenir-guides. Dobraszczyk allows that tourists might wish to consult their guides every now and again after a tour, to "check" their memories or "add to [their] knowledge" (123-4). Books like the Chromo-View guides and the *Guide to Doune Castle*, with their high production values, were designed to show off their suitability for this role—but Dobraszczyk has ignored their additional functions as showpieces. Research on other types of books has also usually ignored their role as tourist souvenirs. Studies of illustrated gift books have not gone into detail about the way these gift books might also be directed at the tourist market. Some of the most notable Scottish souvenirs are reissues of illustrated gift editions of Walter Scott's poetry, transformed into souvenirs through the addition of photographs and mauchline ware (Goodman, "Copyright and Christmas" 472-9). But scholars who

[10] Earlier histories ignore the post-trip reception and circulation of guides. When James Buzard discusses guidebooks in *The Beaten Track*, he considers the emergence of the genre as a literary form, exploring (for example) John Murray's incorporation of substantial poetic quotations and his method of "nestling carefully excerpted passages of verse amidst copious plain exposition" (125). In addition, most of these discussions focus on the most popular guidebooks—as is appropriate. However, as demonstrated above, the most popular guides were also frequently the most restrained in their design and appearance. More experimental formats from smaller publishers are often overlooked in these major histories, which therefore also overlook hybridized guide-souvenirs.

have discussed these editions, including Helen Groth and Paul Westover, have spent little time on their reception as souvenirs.

Overall, souvenir publications could appear in a wide variety of texts and formats, frequently determined by publication circumstances. Publishers might design a line of books specifically as souvenirs for railway tourists, but they might also release souvenir editions—cheap or glamorous—simply because it made convenient use of stock they already had. Later sections of this thesis will go into more detail about those decisions. For now, it is enough to recognize that souvenir books were a diverse genre, with a chaotic production history. Their overarching role, however, was to provide links to Scotland that could serve as memory triggers. Commercially produced souvenir books usually did so with physical features that depicted Scottish views or represented other aspects of Scottish culture. But as souvenirs appeared from different creators in varied forms, the ways they represented and recalled Scotland varied as well. Tourists who engaged with these souvenirs, decoding them in concert with their own personal memories, could be influenced by the details of those representations.

A souvenir book could alter the way a reader assimilated an experience retroactively. A view book that depicts certain monuments but not others can keep a tourist-reader's memory of those monuments fresh, while the details of other places the tourist visited might fade from memory. Souvenirs can thus lead readers to categorize or prioritize the places they visited differently, or to interpret them differently. A souvenir that provides additional historical context, or literary quotations, can gently nudge a reader towards a particular interpretation or attitude. Souvenirs complicate and direct the way tourists make sense of their experiences. Souvenir books, reproduced in multiple copies, had a magnified public impact. Every copy of a Nelson Chromo-View guide included the same images and the same text, disseminating the same embedded biases. Not every tourist necessarily read the book the same way, but every tourist who purchased that souvenir book reacted to the same information, the same prompts. It is almost impossible to explore how Victorian tourists truly interpreted their souvenirs, due to a paucity of evidence. However, it is possible to examine the books they were interpreting. Studying souvenir books allows us to analyze the frames tourists used for their memories. A

souvenir book's main task was to represent Scotland. By examining how they did so, we can guess at the interpretations tourists could draw from them. But first, we need to understand the logic of souvenir representations in greater detail.

## "Fancy Wood Work of the District": Synecdoche, Metonymy, and Mauchline Ware

Souvenir books, like other souvenirs, were expected to make their readers feel close to the places they visited—in this case, close to Scotland. These features represented or depicted those places to tourist-readers, and tourists could interpret them as signs of Scotland. This section explores the logic by which those signs could generally be interpreted. Originally, the earliest souvenirs had followed a synecdochic logic. But as tourism increased in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, souvenir production increased as well, leading to the development of metonymic souvenir commodities. The souvenir books that function metonymically, as well as sometimes through literal synecdoche, reveal Victorian attempts to navigate a burgeoning culture of industrialization and commodification. Souvenir book publishers could and did draw on both approaches. This section discusses a specific subset of souvenir books bound in mauchline and tartan ware, which offered both synecdochic and metonymic representations of Scotland. The representations on these particular bookbindings were influenced by the technologies that produced them, which in turn influenced the depictions of Scotland that the books made available to readers.

The earliest souvenirs, those that established the tradition by which later souvenirs would function, were holy relics. Pilgrims in the late Roman and Byzantine eras took stones, dirt, water, and other organic materials from pilgrimage sites, believing that "the sanctity of holy people, holy objects and holy places was, in some manner, transferable through physical contact" (Evans 1). The collectors of these relics took fragments of the holy site itself. Early relics like these functioned synecdochically, as "object to object" (Stewart 136). They can represent the holy original because they are of a piece with it. A holy relic of this kind is original to the

holy site, and was presumably present for whatever past moment sanctified the place itself.

Growing out of this tradition, these early souvenirs were found, natural objects; purpose-made souvenirs developed soon afterwards (Evans v).[11] Manufactured souvenirs began to develop later, functioning with slightly more complex synecdochic logic. Eventually, it became apparent that eager pilgrims might chip away the entirety of a holy site; by the seventh century, pilgrims began to acquire badges or ampullae instead (1-3). These early purpose-made souvenirs might incorporate material from the site, gathered in sustainable quantities: ampullae, for example, contained tiny amounts of holy water.[12] Early secular souvenirs functioned with similar but slightly more complex logic. Souvenirs were produced as early as the 1600s in some European travel destinations. These were local craft items, often luxury goods, constructed from indigenous raw materials (14). For example, seventeenth-century travelers to Spa could buy walking sticks and decorated wooden caskets made from local wood (10). Like the ampulla, these souvenirs incorporated local organic materials—so tourists could carry away a piece of the site itself. But they also began their histories at the tourist spot itself, and were manufactured using specifically local techniques. Their physical nature and their production were inseparable from their place of origin. A similar impulse inspired tourists who collected art and antiquarian artifacts in local styles. Potts writes that eighteenth-century souvenir collection "echoed the rites of pilgrimage," though the focus "had shifted from divinity and sainthood to art, science, and humanistic inquiry" (55). A British aristocrat on the Grand Tour in Italy had an artistic acquisitions checklist: "a portrait of himself, views of the cities visited, and at least one significant classical antiquity" (Evans 19). These souvenirs were produced in the regions visited, using recognizable local techniques or styles. As products of local

[11] Godfrey Evans also distinguishes between personal mementoes of individuals, items commemorating specific events, and "kept normal items" (v). Rolf Potts, in contrast, divides souvenirs into "fragments of the travel destination," "local products," "pictorial items," items "branded to the location," and "symbolic shorthand" items reproducing local monuments in miniature (21-22). Potts's division perhaps ignores the possibility that some of his categories might merge with each other.

[12] Other early relics—the earliest being pilgrim badges—might be acceptable as souvenir-relics because they were manufactured or sold at the holy site. These badges were not made from local materials. Instead, the appeal of the souvenirs depended on the fact that they were acquired at the site of interest.

culture, these souvenirs could epitomize local culture, ancient or contemporary. These, too, were synecdochic memory aids.

Some nineteenth-century tourists in Scotland also searched for antiquarian and historical artifacts that shared this logic—for relics of both recent and ancient history. In Britain at this time there was a wave of interest in antiquarianism, an interest in collecting and studying objects as anthropological and historical artifacts. This was perhaps a Romantic variation on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century traditions of collecting marvelous items for *Wunderkammern* (see Potts 58). Walter Scott was a particularly well-known antiquarian. Ann Rigney describes Scott's collection at Abbotsford, which included not only "'original relics'" and 'archaeological finds,' but also small-scale quotidian objects relating to more recent history, such as "an 'oatcake' allegedly found on a dead Highlander at Culloden" ("Things and the Archive…", 22-23). Some of these materials were collected through travel: Rigney points out that Scott was one of "hundreds of other British tourists" who visited "the battle site of Waterloo" to collect souvenirs (23). These objects were collected not because of any holy connection, but because of their potential to reveal new information and generate new knowledge. Susan Stewart describes this type of antiquarianism as "a theory of history informed by an aesthetics of the souvenir" (*On Longing* 140). Examples of this interest in historical artifacts were available to literary tourists, in both fiction and travel writing. Scott was a model antiquarian, but he also disseminated the attitude through his mocking but affectionate portrayal of collector and historian Jonathan Oldbuck in *The Antiquary* (1816), and through his "inclusion of illustrations of *objects* from the Abbotsford collection in the 1842-47 Abbotsford edition of the Waverley novels" (Rigney, "Things and the Archive…", 15, 27, author's emphasis). In this edition, Scott "promote[d] […] an understanding of the mnemonic potential of the material world" (27). A devoted reader might have been encouraged to adopt the same hobby, or at least similar attitudes. Nonfiction authors also encouraged similar materialist tourism: Thomas Frognall Dibdin's narratives of his travels focused on tours of ruins and libraries. His account of Scotland is littered with illustrations and facsimiles of the documents and items he found most compelling. Victorian literary tourists—especially those interested in Scott—therefore had heavily intellectual examples of

the "mnemonic potential" of objects. Antiquarianism prepared them to view many miscellaneous items, from oatcakes to elaborate works of art and craft, as synecdochic symbols of history or culture.

However, the vast majority of nineteenth-century souvenirs were different: they were commodities, manufactured rather than organic or handmade, and they needed different ways of representing sites. These commodity souvenirs had advantages that dictated their rise: they could be produced in quantities proportional to the contemporary increases in tourism, while craft objects and relics could not. These newer souvenirs were consumer products that did not originate at the place they commemorated, and they lacked the apparent authenticity of earlier souvenirs. However, tourists could still bring personal memories to flesh out the souvenirs' impersonal representations. As Esther Leslie says, writing on Walter Benjamin, "[c]ommodity status does not preclude a true experience of objects" (Leslie 118). Instead, she argues that the reverse is true: the side effects of commodification include "a reanimation of objects, a vitalization of the object-world" (118). Souvenir commodities did not become less meaningful as they became more numerous.

However, the synecdochic logic that earlier souvenirs used became less applicable. Manufactured souvenir trinkets began to move from index to icon—from synecdoche to metonymy. The development of the modern souvenir commodity began sometime in the late eighteenth century, when the word "souvenir" first came to refer to "an object, rather than a notion" (Kwint 10). Marius Kwint argues in *Material Memories* that "the immense influence of the Grand Tour" shaped the marketplace, creating a demand for souvenir trinkets that could only be fulfilled with commercial production. Rolf Potts points out that Lord Chesterfield's letters to his son include an injunction *not* to "travel 'knick-knackically'" (qtd in Potts 61). His advice suggests, of course, that those "English student-travelers" on the Grand Tour not lucky enough to receive such sound advice did enter "a free-for-all spree of souvenir acquisition" (61). For example, contemporary tourists in Italy were soon purchasing not only classical antiquities, but also reproductions: miniature replicas, "archaeological-revival jewellery," and forgeries (Evans 21-28). This type of purpose-manufactured souvenir, as Leslie has pointed out, is "never far from the commodity" (116). Souvenir commodities like these invoked classical Italy without

actually originating in that era, and without incorporating local materials. They broke the synecdochic logic of the earliest souvenir-relics: they could have been manufactured anywhere, of material from any source. These commodities represent tourist sites without being original to them.

The souvenir industry expanded with the tourist industry, and with industrialization. By the mid-Victorian era, mass-produced souvenir commodities were the order of the day. The most popular mid-Victorian souvenir items were decorated household objects: decorated glassware produced in Bohemia (Evans 40), ceramics made in Staffordshire (42), and mauchline ware, wood ware from Ayrshire (Trachtenberg 22-23). These items could serve as souvenirs of the places where they were produced, but they were also decorated to be sold as souvenirs of places across the world. British potteries in Staffordshire produced "thousands of tons of earthenware transfer printed with thousands of different views of cities" (Evans 42).[13] Souvenir commodities like these functioned differently from earlier relic-souvenirs. Susan Stewart says that a modern souvenir "function[s] not so much as object to object"—that is, synecdochically—but instead "metonymically, as object to event/experience" (*On Longing* 136). Victorian souvenirs, among the first modern souvenir commodities, function associatively, often using images as iconic representations of tours, rather than original links to a place. The glassware produced at Bohemian spas was often etched with views of spa buildings or the surrounding countryside (Evans 15). Wooden boxes sold at Spa were also decorated with local views (12). Similar wooden trinkets were produced in England, with images of spas in Tunbridge Wells (12). By the end of the eighteenth century, multiple Scottish firms were also producing mauchline ware snuffboxes decorated with views of both local and distant attractions (Trachtenberg 22-23). These products could represent sites across the globe: Staffordshire plates and mauchline ware boxes might have views of the U.S. Capitol. An engraved glass might depict an international

[13] Staffordshire and other souvenir china and Scottish mauchline ware were both decorated using roughly the same process: transfer printing (Evans 40). This technology revolutionized both the souvenir and the ceramics industries in the mid-nineteenth century (40). In this process, a design was etched or incised onto a copper intaglio plate and printed intaglio onto a piece of paper, from which it was transferred to the final object (40-1). The decorated china or wooden surface was then glazed or varnished for protection (41). The technology made decoration easy, as complex designs could be printed and applied quickly once the intaglio plate had been made.

exhibition. These images of tourist attractions on a plate, glass, or box help their owners recollect experiences at the exact sites depicted, without synecdoche.

In an era of commercial souvenir production, metonymic souvenirs are crucial: they end the souvenir's reliance on limited, local, raw materials, making mass tourism sustainable. Only so many splinters can be chipped away from a wooden building, but picture postcards of the Scott Monument can be printed on paper from any supplier. In 1850s America, vandalism at Mount Vernon, the home of George Washington, had become so problematic that the managers of the estate harvested lumber to create souvenirs of local wood, somewhat in the mauchline ware tradition (though they made axe handles rather than bookbindings) (Potts 70). These souvenirs "served as a deterrent" against the popular habit of stripping a splinter off the great general's house (70). Unfortunately, some Scottish sites were not so lucky. A description of Alloway Kirk, known as the setting of Burns' famous poem "Tam o'Shanter," notes that "[t]he woodwork has all been taken away to form snuffboxes and other memorials of this celebrated spot" (*Black's Picturesque Tourist*, 1859, 376). Given the increasing popularity of tourism and the eternal desire for souvenirs, it is no coincidence that metonymic souvenir products are now, by and large, more common than synecdochic ones. This rhetorical shift empowered the modern souvenir, allowing souvenir production to function in an industrial, commercialized, and increasingly secular society.

However, in the mid-Victorian era, this type of metonymic logic was still new, and book publishers were learning new ways to apply it to their own products. Souvenir book publishers, experimenting book by book and series by series, found that they could draw on both old and new souvenir logic. They adopted many different tactics to design and sell new publications, taking advantage of available resources, new technology, and contemporary trends. The resulting editions could use synecdochic or metonymic logic—or even both at the same time.

The most popular Scottish souvenir commodity, by far, was mauchline ware. Beginning in the 1780s, several craftsmen in Scotland produced decorative wooden snuffboxes for sale to the tourist trade (Baker 6; Trachtenberg 21). Scottish snuffboxes had a particularly good reputation, because Scottish inventor James Sandy of Alyth had developed an airtight hinge that would protect the snuff inside

from air and damp (Trachtenberg 21). The resulting boxes were made of wood—most often plane, but occasionally oak or cedar (11). They were then decorated, with several layers of clear varnish over the decoration to make the final product highly durable. In 1810, the Smith family of Mauchline began producing razor hones in the same styles, and subsequently added more trinkets to their product line (26). Eventually, mauchline ware manufacturers produced an enormous variety of objects, including (but not limited to) cases for pills, eyeglasses, needles, and thread; pen knives, fruit knives, egg cups, and brooches; and, eventually, book bindings and book boxes (190-1). Scottish manufacturers like W. & A. Smith and the Caledonian Box Works manufactured souvenirs for locations around the world (28).[14] These items were popular throughout the nineteenth century, and even into the twentieth: the Smith family stayed in business until 1939, only closing after a factory fire (27). Overall, mauchline ware was perhaps the most popular Scottish souvenir product in the Victorian era. Its use on books can reveal interesting things about the reception and production of Scottish souvenir books.

Mauchline ware came in a handful of recognizable decorative styles. Decorations of various kinds could be applied to the wood and then covered with varnish. The most common mauchline ware is decorated with printed transfers. This is a process whereby images and brief texts were printed from an etched plate onto a thin piece of paper, and then transferred to the wood (36-41). The transferred decorations were usually small, detailed vignettes of tourist attractions, and short texts—usually captions or verse quotations. Stylized ornamentation and fern decorations were also popular. Other mauchline ware items could be decorated using different technologies: occasionally, trinkets would be hand-painted and then varnished. More commonly, paper decorations could be laid down onto the wood under the varnish. These could be printed images, usually chromolithographs, or albumen prints (57-64). Boxes could also be covered with tartan-patterned paper, created using a special ruling machine called an Apograph (41-47).[15] This subset of

[14] It is important to note that although the examples of mauchline ware discussed in this project will all be souvenirs of Scotland, Scottish manufacturers actually produced souvenirs for many places outside of Britain, from the U.S. to South Africa. Most of these souvenirs were decorated with transfer images depicting notable tourist attractions.

[15] In fact, it was extremely difficult to print a tartan design using other available printing methods, such as relief, intaglio, or lithography (Trachtenberg 41-47). Printers couldn't achieve the fine register

mauchline ware is often called tartan ware. Other styles included fernware and black lacquer ware, but most souvenirs were decorated with transfers, photographs, and tartans—sometimes in combination.

Many souvenir books were sold with mauchline or tartan ware bindings, beginning around the 1840s. In many cases, the bindings provided the strongest link between the book and tourist sites. The texts were almost always popular titles, which would be suitable as gift books for a wide audience. Some of the texts in mauchline ware were relevant to Scottish tourism, but some were not: editions of *Marmion* or collections of poetry were sold in varnished plane bindings, but so were birthday books, or extracts from the *Imitation of Christ* and the *Book of Common Prayer* (for examples, see Scott, *The Lord of the Isles…*; Gibson, *The Burns Birthday Book*; Kempis; *The Golden Text-Book*).[16] Many were texts that a tourist could easily find at home, as well as on tour. In most cases, then, the mauchline ware bindings are obviously the necessary additions that allow these books to function as souvenirs. They are the features that guide the reader's memory back to their travel.

Tartan ware, as a subset of mauchline ware, usually functioned as a symbolic representation of Scotland. Unlike early synecdochic relics, it did not provide a piece of any Scottish tourist sites. Instead it offered a reproduction, using plaid patterns as an accepted symbol of Scottish culture. Tartan was, and is, an evocative sign of Scotland and Scottish history. It was proscribed after Jacobite rebellions, as a symbol of Scottish nationalism. It was revived for use in the pomp and propaganda of George IV's visit to Edinburgh in 1822, and it subsequently became both a popular pattern and a popular research subject for antiquarians (Trachtenberg 41). Eventually, mauchline ware manufacturers appropriated this symbol for their own wares, developing the Apograph. W. & A. Smith even produced a splendid catalogue of tartans, showcasing their new technology while catering to public interest (42-44).

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necessary to produce such close-set lines in different colors. Furthermore, when lines of different colors were layered over each other at intersections, the inks muddied each other, rather than remaining distinct as colored threads would. The Apograph was the best technology for reproducing tartan patterns. Illustrated books about tartan in the mid-nineteenth century either had to be illustrated with the Apograph or include actual swatches of fabric—or have deeply unsatisfying illustrations. This scarcity may have contributed to the desirability of tartan ware realia.

[16] Birthday books are a form of date book, with a blank space for every day in the year where the owner can record birthdays and other anniversaries. Victorian examples often also featured poetic quotations, illustrations, and other decorations. They were popular as gifts.

Tartan ware trinkets do not actually incorporate any pieces of true tartan (which, properly speaking, is a fabric, not a design), so tartan ware is not a synecdochic representation of Scotland. The manufactured commodity speaks symbolically, rather than through its own Benjaminian aura as an artifact or relic (see Benjamin 323-7). However, the tartan patterns on mauchline ware books and boxes were a powerful visual representation of Scottish culture.[17] Tartan ware objects often bear the name of the clan associated with the pattern, in gold on a small piece of black paper (Trachtenberg 45). Thus, they suggest an integral connection to Scottish history (which may or may not have been invented), without the originary evocative quality of an antiquarian artifact.

Other styles of mauchline ware bindings functioned differently. Photos and transfer ware employed representational logic that occasionally did approach the meaning-making of early relics. Mauchline ware could be manufactured using wood from notable tourist sites—thus allowing the souvenirs to function synecdochically, like early relic-souvenirs. A book bound in wood from Abbotsford, or from plantations at Dunkeld, is functioning object to object, in Stewart's vocabulary (*On Longing* 136). Its connection to Scotland depends on the wood's origin in Scotland. The bindings connect the books to the original site by their very nature, in a synecdochic relationship. For tourists, they are a tangible connection to the tour, a piece of Scotland carried away with them. However, the decoration on mauchline ware objects and bindings often allowed them to function metonymically at the same time. Thus, these souvenir commodities had the capacity to signify different things about Scotland in multiple ways simultaneously.

The commodification process, the transformation of wood into a souvenir book or trinket, added both value and intellectual meaning. If a tourist-reader wanted a piece of Scotland, they could presumably have picked up sticks or stones at Abbotsford and carried them home, in lieu of purchasing expensive books. The creators of mauchline ware trinkets and bindings leveraged the wood's appeal as a

[17] One might also argue that the tartan ware production process was a Scottish invention. Mauchline ware in general was recognized as a Scottish product, so tartan ware objects and bookbindings might be considered not only symbols of Scottish history, but also physical products of its industry, indexical souvenirs. However, mauchline ware souvenirs of other countries were also popular, so mauchline ware was probably not uniformly received as a Scottish product—though tartan ware, more localized in its decoration, perhaps was.

relic to market the object, but they simultaneously transformed it into a distinctive, contemporary consumer product with more complex informative or representative content. The process added value to the new artifact, beginning with increased utility: unlike a stick, mauchline ware bookbindings contained books that could be read, displayed, and enjoyed. The process also added aesthetic value to the product: decorated mauchline ware bindings had significant visual appeal. Most interestingly, the process of commodification added layers of meaning to the wood, providing new information to this representation of Scotland for tourists to interpret.

Mauchline ware souvenirs made from wood from notable sites were marked with the source of the wood, making the consumer product appear both scarce and authentic. The site where the wood was collected was identified with a short, transfer-printed caption, if it was noteworthy. For example, a copy of *The Dunkeld Souvenir* has a transferred caption reading "From the Athole Plantations Dunkeld" at the base of one board (Burns 1869). A souvenir of the Scottish borders was made from wood "grown within the precincts of Melrose Abbey" (*The Scottish Border*). Captions like these confirmed that souvenir items were existentially linked to the places they commemorated. They suggested that these books were original artifacts, with "unique existence" and presence "in time and space"—unique auras, that differentiated them from mere mechanical reproductions (Benjamin 322). For a tourist in a bookshop, these declarations enhanced a mauchline ware binding's appeal considerably, making it seem like a more potent stand-in for Scotland itself. It also allowed the books to function as semi-public souvenirs: when tourists returned home and displayed these books in their drawing rooms, their Scottish origins were legible, marking their owners as well-traveled. Just as tourist sites are understood when they are marked by plaques, the identification on a piece of mauchline ware marks the binding as a souvenir, and enhances its ability to function as a sign of Scotland.

The way publishers advertised the wood clarifies how they perceived its value. Usually, manufacturers like W. & A. Smith would produce only the trinkets themselves. For mauchline ware bookbindings, they would produce the bindings, but

were not involved in the publication of the rest of the book.[18] Instead, publishers would print a text and commission mauchline ware bindings. In one such book, a souvenir guide titled *The Scottish Border* published by the Rutherfurds of Kelso, the publishers included an extensive advertisement that detailed the process of acquiring local wood for the binding. The advertisement lists the other "fancy wood work" the publishers sold; the titles of other books they kept available in "wood and clan tartan boards"; and the source of the wood they claimed to use (advertisements 1-2). The book claims that its boards were made of wood "grown within the precincts of Melrose Abbey," and the advertisements provide an account of how that wood was acquired:

> Several years ago, when the town drain was being taken through the 'Dowcot' Park, […] a fine beam of black oak was discovered about six feet below the surface of the ground. It is now being taken up […] by Mr. Rutherfurd, stationer, Kelso, for the purpose of being turned into souvenirs. […]. –Scotsman. Messrs. R may state that most of the "fine beam of black oak" […] split into fibres when exposed to the air and dried. Of the portions remaining good they have had the honour of preparing a box for Her Majesty in which to hold the Photographs of the district specially taken at the time of her visit. (2)

The wood was found on ground situated between Melrose Abbey and the Tweed, exhumed, and transformed into souvenirs. The introduction to this quote from a local newspaper actually refers to the books as "Melrose Abbey Relics" (2). But these publishers characterize the wood itself as waste, which disintegrated into useless "fibres" when exposed to air. In part, this advertises the publishers' responsible attitude in using a fallen log, rather than wood from a structure. By the 1860s, some tourist sites like Alloway Kirk had already been stripped of wood for mauchline ware souvenirs (*Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, 1859, 376). This advertisement also exaggerates the appeal of the processed commodities, the souvenir books. These publishers present themselves as having transformed organic waste into a valuable luxury good, rare and fine enough to present to the Queen. The organic material added potency to the souvenir, but the process of commodification

[18] The Smiths did publish a handful of books, but they are the exceptions to this rule. Most frequently, publishers or booksellers would commission wooden boards for a special issue of a title, not for an entire edition. Many books sold in mauchline ware boards can also be found in cheaper bindings. For example, the *Guide to Doune Castle* can be found in mauchline ware boards (Dunbar 1889), but it was also sold in plain, limp blue cloth (Dunbar 1884).

added value and intellectual interest to the relic. The wood's appeal lay partly in its natural origin at a tourist site, but partly in the way it had been shaped and given purpose.

The wood's transformation into mauchline ware lent fresh significance and meaning to the artifact: the transfer decorations or photographs provided markers and additional symbols for tourists to interpret. Like most nineteenth-century souvenir ware, including glass and ceramics, mauchline ware bindings often included decorations that identified the object as a souvenir—typically, depictions of tourist sites. Generic decoration was also popular, but on souvenirs, tourist-specific scenes were most common (Trachtenberg 40). Usually these views would depict specific sights or attractions: a survey of Scottish views on mauchline ware includes, for instance, views of St. Andrews Cathedral, St. Andrews Castle, and St. Andrews from the links (229). Views of Edinburgh include panoramas of the city, but also more detailed depictions of sites like the Tolbooth, John Knox's house, the Albert Memorial, and the Forth Bridge (220-231). Similarly, photo ware souvenirs often featured pictures of places or portraits of famous figures. These decorations could appear on boards made from identified or unidentified wood; the images alone were enough to function as attractive souvenirs. These images assisted the tourist with the imaginative leap back to memories of the tour, working in place of or in tandem with the authority of the identified wood. The books use visual depictions to represent Scotland, to strengthen the reader's awareness of the book's origin, and to create an imaginary sense of proximity.

However, the images could not convey much detail about the experience of a particular location, and were too few and too general to represent the specifics of any individual tourist's experience. The material technology used to decorate the books limited the range of available decoration. Photographs and transfer images came in wide but not infinite variety. Hundreds of locations were commemorated on transfer ware, but there were only a few scenes of any given location, in proportion to the size and importance of the site. There were, for example, many views of Edinburgh, and *many* views of Mauchline, but few of Iona (40, 220-231). Moreover, sourcing new images was a laborious and expensive affair. A new transfer design required a new engraved plate; a new photograph required the photographer to produce a new

negative. In decorating bookbindings and other objects, mauchline ware manufacturers worked with a limited number of available images and texts. These bindings, then, had a limited array of icons with which to communicate a sense of place.

In addition, the transferred images and texts had to be relatively generic images. They needed to be durable for long-term use: once a transfer plate was engraved, it could last for years. Images designed for transfer would not be cost-effective if they were inflected by rapid trends, or if they included details that might go out of date. In addition, an image, once printed, could be transferred to a wide range of souvenir objects, not just books. Therefore, it needed to be suitable for different contexts. It would be very expensive to create a transfer image specifically for bookbindings, and creating images for specific titles was usually cost-prohibitive. Transfer images had to be generic enough to suit a book of poetry, or a needle case, or an egg cup. Thus, the signs that represented Scotland to tourists were chosen within the constraints of technological circumstances.

Frequently, mauchine ware bindings were the key elements connecting the book to its souvenir location. Therefore, the transferred images and other decorations took on significant roles as signs. Cheaper transfer ware bindings might bear only a single image, with an identifying caption. The books' contents might relate to the binding, but did not need to bear a close relation. One souvenir book depicting Fingall's Cave at Staffa on the front board is a collection of excerpts from Thomas à Kempis, titled *Golden Thoughts from the Imitation of Christ* (see figure 4). The religious text could have been paired with this image in reference to the awe that many tourists experienced when visiting the Cave, which was (as many caves were) often compared to religious buildings like cathedrals (Fletcher 16). Publishers might have found it reasonable to link devotional reading to a potentially devotional tourist experience. But Kempis' text had no direct or overt relationship to Scotland: the binding itself was the souvenir, and the image of the cave the only detail it conveyed.

Souvenir volumes could also feature multiple images that worked together to form a richer representation of an attraction or region—sometimes working in tandem with the book's text, as well. One souvenir edition of *Marmion*, for instance, features a transfer view of Abbotsford on the front with a caption identifying the

wood ("From the Banks of Tweed, Abbotsford"), and a transfer view of Melrose Abbey on the back (Bdg.s.939). The book has a contemporary ownership inscription to confirm its use: the purchaser, Sara M. Shafter, has written her name and "Souvenir de Abbotsford 1875" on the front free endpaper. This is clearly a souvenir of Scott country, combining views of Scott's home and nearby haunt with one of his most popular works. Other bindings could represent a region, rather than a specific place. A work on *The Battle of Flodden Field* is a general souvenir of a small Borders area near Coldstream. It is decorated with a transfer image of Ford Castle (an old military tower) and "Flodden Field in the distance" on the lower board—but the upper board shows the Hirsel, a stately home a few miles away, first constructed about a century after the battle of Flodden Field was concluded (Jones; see figure 7). These combined images identify the book as a more general souvenir of an area, rather than one specific place. The bindings present interpretations of the areas, highlighting places of interest. The Coldstream souvenir emphasizes stately homes as much as military history; the Scott souvenir could include pictures of places mentioned in the poem, but instead caters to interest in the author.

Bindings could also feature transferred texts as well as views. Again, these signs could layer together to evoke a richer but still more generalized representation of Scotland. Multiple images on a binding could reference several key figures in Scottish history or culture simultaneously, and short texts could provide additional references. One excellent example of combined images and texts can be found on an 1869 edition of *The Lady of the Lake*, printed by A. & C. Black (Scott, Bdg.S.171). The front board of this book has a photograph of a painting, *Mary Queen of Scots with Holyrood Palace Beyond,* by John Horsburgh (see figure 9). Above it are a few lines of text, identifying the source of the wood and quoting a verse from a Jacobite ballad, "Cam' Ye by Atholl." The rear board has another photograph, captioned "Falls at the Rumbling Bridge, Dunkeld" (see figure 10). This array of images and texts invokes multiple aspects of Scottish culture. The painting and the song recall important historical figures: Mary, Queen of Scots, and Bonnie Prince Charlie. The ballad references the Scottish musical tradition, which was in vogue at the time. The verse quoted here is almost a "travelogue," mentioning several locations (*The Lads Among Heather*):

Cam' ye by Athole, lad wi' the Philabeg,
Down by the Tummel, or banks o' the Garry
Saw ye the lads, wi' their bonnets an white cockades,
Leaving their Mountains to follow Prince Charlie. (Scott, Bdg.S.171)

These place names cue the reader's knowledge of Scottish geography. The photograph of the waterfall on the rear board evokes memories of sublime Scottish landscapes (as might the wood, sourced from the "Athole Plantations"). All in all, this binding comprises several different foci of tourist attention: history, music, literature, geography, and landscape. The mauchline ware also serves as an example of Scottish manufacturing, while the wood from Atholl represents contemporary agricultural innovation.[19] All these icons and associations were made available to the reader before he or she opened the book. Therefore, when she reached the text, she had been primed to let Scott's descriptions and references evoke even more memories of recent (or not-so-recent) travels.

However, these numerous references do not necessarily correspond to a single place, or to each other. The photograph of the waterfall, the verse quotation referencing Atholl, and the source of the wood identify the binding as a souvenir of Dunkeld, but the text inside is set far away in the Trossachs. The image of Mary, Queen of Scots has little to do with either *The Lady of the Lake* or Dunkeld (aside from one brief visit there). Instead, these decorations and the book as a whole represent a capaciously conceived vision of Scotland in general, not a specific tourist experience. In fact, all of the souvenirs described above function better as general, evocative memory aids than as highly specific records. The nature of mauchline ware production encouraged this generalization; publishers could only produce a limited range of designs. To produce a souvenir of a specific spot, they had to be able to sell enough souvenirs of that spot to make a profit. It was left to the reader to link personal memories to the book. Souvenirs could be broadly representative or

[19] The Atholl plantations were known for extraordinarily successful tree cultivation, specifically larches. The fourth Duke of Atholl had been recognized as an agricultural innovator. With his ancestors, he had approximately 14,096,719 larch trees planted on his estates ("Account of the Larch Plantations…" 178). He discovered several ways to improve contemporary tree-planting methods, and he showed that larch wood could be useful in shipbuilding; an overview of his work notes that these were "very important discoveries […], even in a national point of view" (178). The history of the Atholl plantations hints at an evolution in Scottish culture: two sons of the first Duke had been lieutenant generals in Bonnie Prince Charlie's army in 1745, but the fourth Duke was known for his larches (Pittock). This supports Durie's description of Scotland's evolution from "the land of the rebellious" to "the land of the respectable": trees supplanted war as an elite pastime (36).

location-specific, but eventually the tourist was left to connect the offered depictions to their own ideas and experiences.

This was an important act of interpretation. Mauchline ware souvenir books could invoke both synecdochic and metonymic logic, drawing on traditional and industrial ideas about souvenirs. But in the end, it was the tourist's job to unpack that logic. To tourists using them to memorialize their journeys, these books offered new representations of Scotland and its culture, new signs to be interpreted in an extended tourist process. In order to understand how these books could be read, we need to consider not only how their structures of meaning were contextualized by the history of souvenir production, but also how they fit into a larger process of semiotic tourism.

**The Semiotics of Victorian Tourism**

Souvenir books in the Victorian era were involved in a touristic system that was profoundly interpretive. Modern scholars have frequently characterized tourism as a semiotic quest, a process not only of discovery but of analysis and narrative construction. Tourists can often look at the sites they visit as signs, trying to derive a broader understanding of the place they visit. Victorian tourists were as semiotically active as modern tourists. Contemporary guidebooks trained them to consider the sites they visited as indicative of larger truths about cities, countries, or cultures. In some ways, travelers were trained to "read" Scotland as they might read a poem or analyze a painting. This interpretive analysis continued after the end of the tour. In that final phase, tourists had to base their interpretations on their memories—and on the souvenirs that they used to frame their memories. Thus, souvenirs could become the foundation for their owners' reminiscences. In this role, souvenirs and souvenir books helped tourists construct narratives out of their memories. The details of published souvenir books shaped those memories, and, in turn, the narratives that tourists developed about themselves and about Scotland.

This concept of tourism as an active semiotic process, in which tourist sights are interpreted as signs of a complex culture, relies on the work of Jonathan Culler

and Dean MacCannell. Both have argued that modern tourists undertake semiotic quests for tourist sights that can grant deeper understanding (Culler, "Semiotics of Tourism"; MacCannell, *The Tourist*). Culler in particular has called tourists the "unsung armies of semiotics" ("Semiotics of Tourism," n.p.). It is a truism in tourism studies that travelers often want some glimpse of the "real" place they visit, some grasp of its essence. Culler identifies this desire when he describes the tourist quest for "the real Spain, the real Jamaica, something unspoiled, how the natives really work or live" ("Semiotics of Tourism"). What tourists are really seeking, he says, is access to the essence of the foreign, familiarity with a motivating force or local character behind every sight.

One way to access this essence is through semiotic interpretation. Culler and MacCannell both argue that tourists visiting various sites view them as signs to be interpreted. As an example, MacCannell details how a tourist sight like the Empire State Building can be understood as a symbol for Manhattan (131-2). To the tourist, the word "Manhattan" denotes the city as a physical place, a collection of buildings, but also an intangible culture and history. To understand the latter, tourists can interpret sights like the Empire State Building. To do so, they need context supplied by historical markers, the "information" that demonstrates an attraction's significance to tourists (110). Without markers—plaques, brochures, anything that conveys the Building's historical importance—the tourist does not recognize the Empire State Building, or any tourist sight, in this semiotic process (110). But once the sight can be placed in a broader context, once it is assimilated along with its markers, then it can function as an indicative sign of local culture—as an attraction (110). A contextualized tourist sight like this can be interpreted as what MacCannell calls a "model"—that is, a "representation of an aspect of life" (24). In other words, marked sights provide evidence about what "Manhattan"—its buildings *and* its intangible nature—is really like. Visiting and learning about the Empire State Building offers tourists a chance to form ideas and make guesses about New York City as a whole. Overall, he says "it is through the attraction that the tourist apprehends society" (56). Souvenir books could offer markers, enabling tourists to recognize certain sites as touristically significant. A vignette of Melrose Abbey on the binding of an edition of Burns' poetry depicts two handsomely dressed people

strolling in the foreground—possibly tourists, conducting an appropriately contemplative visit to the site (*The Poetical Works*; see figure 11). This depiction, as well as its very appearance on the binding, identifies Melrose as a site significant enough to be one of MacCannell's models, a representation of Scottish life.

Tourists exposed to signs like these worked to interpret them as part of a coherent whole. The assumption of coherence is essential. Given that, tourists can interpret each sight and its markers as integral elements of an abstract whole. That integrity allows the system to be interpreted through its signs, and the signs to be understood in the context of the system—Scotland through its views, and vice versa. The tourist's project is to interpret these sights as integral elements of a cultural system and, through them, to achieve what they perceive as "an *authentic* and *demystified* experience of an aspect of some society" (MacCannell 94; author's emphasis). "Scotland," to the tourist, signifies the fusion of contemporary culture, environment, architecture, history, and the habits of daily life—an imagined, abstract sense of a cultural system, in which all these disparate elements are interlaced and interdependent. This is a simplified understanding of culture, but the simplification allows the tourist to avoid being overwhelmed by details, instead integrating each new piece of information into an evolving fiction. MacCannell writes that sightseeing is an attempt "to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience" (13). Susan Stewart puts it more elegantly: the "function of the tour," she writes, is "to make what is visible, what is surface, reveal a profound interiority through narrative" (*On Longing* 146). The tourist puts details together to form a whole.

Souvenir books could encourage this search for coherence. Rolf Potts suggests that souvenir collection, in the modern, Western world, can be "a way of convincing ourselves—and […] others—that we have […] grasped the behind-the-scenes essence of a place" (149). Victorian souvenir books encouraged the tourist-reader to expect coherence and generalization by bringing together representations of several sights or signs. For example, consider the edition of *The Lady of the Lake* described above, which brings together disparate references to multiple aspects of Scottish culture: picturesque waterfalls at Dunkeld, Mary, Queen of Scots, Jacobite ballads, and Scott's poetry (Bdg.s.171; see figures 9-10). The juxtaposition of all

these references in the single volume encourages the tourist to interpret them all together. This example suggests that souvenir books were working to represent Scottish culture in general—a broad, touristic summary, that relied on literary touchstones, historical monuments, and scenic views.

Another edition of Scott also blurs references to various cultural touchstones, creating a generalized impression of Scotland, rather than a detailed record of a tour. One copy of *Marmion* sold "in the Douglas Room of the Royal Palace of Stirling" features a photograph of the Wallace Monument on the front board, and a transfer view of Stirling Castle on the rear (Scott, 1873, Bdg.s.924; see figures 13-14). The verse caption below the photograph reads "Ye towers! Within whose circuit dread / A Douglas by his sovereign bled." Confusingly, this quotation comes from *The Lady of the Lake*, not *Marmion*; and while it is visually associated here with the Wallace Monument, it actually apostrophizes Stirling Castle. This book is certainly a souvenir of Stirling—but it too combines references to different local attractions and associated elements of Scottish culture, attaching them to a text that draws in yet more divergent threads of Scottish history. The reader of this book can easily be led to assume that the poem, the castle, and the monument all share some important meaning—not just geographical proximity, but cultural coherence. Less complex souvenir books could bring together multiple views, or even simple descriptions of multiple places. Even if the tourist's experience of the original site was isolated from local culture, souvenir books can reposition the site in a broader context, as part of a narrative of Scottish culture or history.

That narrative is the tourist's own creative product, formed partly from the sights, partly from the infrastructure of markers (plaques, tour guides, guide books, souvenirs) that surround them, and partly from the tourist's own invention. The "real Scotland" with which tourists familiarize themselves is a fiction, built over the course of a journey as each sign or sight contributes to the tourist's constructed narrative of an internally coherent culture. John Frow, summarizing Culler's description of tourism as semiotic, points out this complex relationship to the real and the ideal: the sites and details of a space that a tourist observes "are understood not as given bits of the real but as suffused with ideality, giving on to the type of the beautiful, or the extraordinary, or the culturally authentic" (67). "Their reality," he

writes, "is figural rather than literal" (67). The touristic concept of Scotland may bear little relationship to self-determined Scottish identity, but the fiction—the individual construction—is what the tourist understands about Scotland.

Though MacCannell's and Culler's works focus on twentieth-century tourism, their theoretical models are nevertheless relevant to the nineteenth century. Victorian tourists could also practice similar semiotic decoding. In *The Beaten Track*, James Buzard describes travelers searching for moments of "sublime synthesis"—a phrase he borrows from Henry James, and defines as

> a successful matching of images stored in the memory (from reading, listening to traveller's tales, viewing paintings and sketches, and otherwise preparing oneself for the object) with scenes as they are encountered. The 'original' becomes itself when the viewer perceives that it suits its representations. (196)

MacCannell would describe this process as "[*c*]*onstructed recognition*," when tourists "recognize sights by transforming them into one of their markers" (123). These originals could then be understood as representative attractions that could "express the essence of 'whole' places'" (Buzard 10). The moment of sublime synthesis is the moment in which a building becomes an attraction—in which a sight becomes a sign, loaded with meaning to be decoded. This process can be repeated with souvenirs, when tourists match a depiction of a monument to their memories of it. A mauchline ware binding on *The Lady of the Lake* with a photograph of Ellen's Isle would help the tourist recall a visit to Loch Katrine and the Trossachs (Bdg.s.923; see figure 8). Simultaneously, the book marks the loch as a significant tourist site, glorified in Scott's poetry. Souvenirs like these could function as signs of Scotland, as easily as tourist attractions visited in person.

It is impossible to be certain that the average Victorian tourist adopted any of these semiotic models, but they had many examples to follow. Nineteenth-century travel writers offered examples of this type of reading, including the Scottish poet and travel writer Alexander Smith. In *A Summer in Skye*, Smith wrote of Edinburgh's Old Town: "If we but knew it, every crazy tenement has its tragic story; every crumbling wall could its tale unfold. The Canongate is Scottish history fossilized" (36). Smith encouraged the reader to imagine the Canongate as a physical representation of intangible history, where the site's markers (historical information) fused with its stones: history, fossilized. This enabled the tourist to consider the site

as a sign, and to form generalizations about Edinburgh by extrapolating from his or her interpretation of the Canongate. In addition to this, Smith has the Canongate embody not only its own history, but "Scottish history" more generally. Smith was a popular author whose works drew tourists to Scotland (Berry). This particular description was quoted in guides to Edinburgh (*The City of Edinburgh* 54). Smith's work thus offered a widely accessible model of semiotic interpretation to tourists in Scotland.

Victorian guidebooks also encouraged readers to practice this kind of meaning-making in their tourism. James Buzard writes that prolific guidebook author James Murray consciously attempted to write guides that showed "things European" as "signs of themselves," in this same semiotic model (*The Beaten Track* 175). Many guides argued or implied that the details of local landmarks possessed hidden interiority. One guidebook stated clearly that "the associations of the place are suited to its natural character" (*The Trosachs and Loch Katrine*). Therefore, tourists could believe themselves justified in inferring regional or cultural characteristics from local sights and markers. In a different guide to *The City of Edinburgh*, the anonymous author writes that the "radiant dwellings" of the New Town are

> declaring, by their regular but not monotonous magnificence, that the same people whose 'perfervid genius' preserved them by war unhumbled among the nations in days of darkness, have now drawn a strength as invincible from the beautiful arts which have been cultivated by peace in the days of light. (49)

The buildings of the New Town act here as signifiers of contemporary Edinburgh art and architecture. When placed in the context of local history, they also indicate the typical "perfervid genius" of the city's inhabitants (which the author may or may not have invented). By intellectually juxtaposing local architecture and local history, and allowing one to speak to the other, the author composes a portrait of a national Scottish character (the accuracy of which is beside the point). Thus, the tourist, too, is led to leap from sites and sights to cultural identity.

This method of interpreting a country or a culture from its details parallels the interpretation of a work of art. Tourists and readers both expect significant internal consistency, in cultures and in works of literature. James Buzard writes that for the Victorians, "genuine cultures possess[ed] the integrated wholeness of the

work of art as classical and Coleridgean-romantic aesthetics imagine it" (*The Beaten Track* 194). This wholeness was the essential quality that makes "a way of life systematically readable"—intelligible through tourism (195). Victorian tourists could imagine Scottish culture as a poem or a painting, and interpret its details using the principles of artistic or literary analysis. In fact, some guidebooks explicitly encouraged this process. Picturesque tourism, which concentrated on the search for views that adhered to principles of composition for visual art, was popular throughout the century. Buzard indicates that some tourists turned to "picturesque" tourism in their search for moments of sublime synthesis (10). But guidebooks could also model a type of semiotic interpretation that considered tourist sights as works of art in more general ways, depending on what Buzard calls "integrated wholeness," rather than specific principles of visual composition (195). Here is one example from a guide to *The City of Edinburgh*, which explicates a view of Edinburgh Castle:

> From whatever point of view you look down upon Edinburgh, the Castle and its rock become the central attraction and focus of the picture—to which everything else seems naturally to converge, as all the thoughts and feelings of a poet's song gather towards one predominant and overmastering motive. It would be difficult to exaggerate its effect in an artistic sense, so great is the dignity, so sublime the depth, which it lends to the scene; but undoubtedly it owes a portion of its influence to what we may call its moral and intellectual conditions—to the contrast which it visibly and perpetually embodies between the commonplace present and the romantic past—to the strange associations of legend and history, of old chivalrous times and of men and women whom we are also accustomed to regard as chivalrous, which it evokes from the shadows of dim centuries, like the shapes that flit across a magic mirror.
>
> All the history of Edinburgh is more or less intimately connected with the Castle. (49)

Here, the city is presented metaphorically as a work of art (both a poem and a drawing). The author compares the view of the city to "a poet's song" because the view, like a poem, "gather[s] towards […] one motive." The guidebook argues first that the castle is visually, aesthetically central to the city: the physical city center, and also the "central attraction and focus of the picture." In addition, the castle is also at the center of Edinburgh's history—so that the meaning a tourist makes from this sight depends on the castle's aesthetic impact, and on the numerous associated anecdotes "of legend and history." The castle's antiquated appearance allows it to function as an icon of past times and events. Additionally, the onlooker's knowledge

"of old chivalrous times and of men and women" provides further historical markers. The relevant stories are so numerous that the author can claim that "all the history of Edinburgh" is connected to the castle, and therefore evoked by the sight of that one building. For the tourist, these anecdotes connect the building to Edinburgh's culture, making it represent both the place and the people. The castle is an emblem for the entire city, in physical, visual, and historical terms. This is not strict picturesque tourism, in William Gilpin's model: the reader here is not considering how to frame a sketch of Edinburgh Castle for a sketchbook. Instead, the view is considered using methods we might locate in literary analysis. Buzard notes that tourism in general "fundamentally engages and tests cultural *representations*," and therefore studies it using the tools of literary analysis himself (13). Models of literary interpretation applied to tourism also encouraged semiotic interpretation of sites. Furthermore, if tourists were told to read a city as a poem, might that not encourage them to consider the details of a poem as a stand-in for the city—especially when those details were supplemented by a photograph or vignette of the city on the binding?

Tourists interpret cultural representations for themselves. Following examples like these, they could construct their own interpretations of major sites, and find considerable freedom developing their ideas about Scotland. In other words, tourists performing semiotic interpretation are developing their own, individual understandings of the world, not discovering objective representations. These understandings would be heavily influenced by the books that framed their encounters.

In Jean Baudrillard's view of tourism, this moment was part of a larger cultural evolution, a particular stage in the development of simulacra when "sign and reality simply become equivalent" (Butler 9).[20] In other words, the signs (or books) representing Scottish tours could be interpreted as the tours themselves would be. However, when "the sign […] wants to be the *same* as" the reality, "it no longer resembles the real at all" (9). Indeed, I will go on to argue that the signs of Scotland in souvenir books were constantly reshaped by the circumstances of their production.

[20] This, says Baudrillard, is the moment of Benjamin and McLuhan, the moment when the medium becomes the message (Butler 15).

Nevertheless, these were the tools that tourists were using. The image of Oban on a mauchline ware binding was the version of Oban that a tourist would carry away with them, mentally and literally (Scott, *The Lord of the Isles*…; see figure 12). The depiction might not resemble the full reality of Scotland, but the books still sold. The ideas embedded in them, and the ideas that the Victorians constructed from them could be wildly inaccurate, woefully simplistic, or fantastically romanticized. Still, tourists continued to make meaning from these souvenir books, just as they had made meaning from everything they saw on their tours.

Tourists made meaning from books in advance, in the moment, and in retrospect. In advance, literary tourists framed their travels through poems and novels. It was during the nineteenth century that literary tourism became common enough "to attain commercial significance" among Anglophone tourists (Watson, *Literary Tourism…* 2). These tourists organized their visits around their reading, motivated by a desire to see the places where favorite authors worked, or the places they described. Works of poetry and fiction provided not only itineraries, but interpretive context for tourists, supplementing existing travel narratives and offering new ways to understand reality. Ann Rigney calls the phenomenon "a thorough-going materialization of literary practices" (Rigney, "*Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century* Culture (Review)" 368). Novels, poems, and songs became glosses on sights and culture; and vice versa, locations became context for stories.

In the moment, tourists could be heavily influenced by guide books. Modern research on guidebooks has considered how ideas embedded in guides can influence the reader. Nicholas Parsons' history of the guidebook, *Worth the Detour*, examines the cultural judgments and values embedded in guides, and the way they enabled the canonization of specific sites and routes. Paul Dobraszczyk, one of the few to contemplate guidebooks as material texts, analyzes the design of nineteenth-century London guides and how their presentation of information might skew a tourist's interpretation of the city. He notes that their complex blend of "narrative text, graphic configurations of information, and visual representations […] shaped ways of conceiving the city" (140-1). He goes on to discuss the conceptual frameworks offered by their maps and itineraries, and considers how certain individual tourists either "appropriated or bypassed these typographic cues" in the moment (138).

Anything in a guidebook, from geographical representations to subtextual cultural judgments, can influence the reader and mediate his or her experience. The same is true with souvenir books, but recent research on guidebooks often ignores what happened to those books after the tour. Dobraszczyk is one of the few to consider how a tourist might use a guide after a tour, but even he does not discuss how a guidebook's material form could shape that retrospective use.

Still, tourists could use souvenir books to interpret their travels in retrospect. Tourists were heavily influenced by the books that came last. Rigney refers to the act of travel as a materialization of texts, but texts could also materialize the act or the memory of travel. Many tourists did this for themselves, recording their travels in manuscript journals or sketchbooks. These mementoes were designated for the time after a tour, rather than the moment of travel itself. William Gilpin, champion of picturesque tourism, argued that there was "more pleasure in recollecting, and recording, from a few transient lines, the scenes we have admired, than in the present enjoyment of them"—that it was more pleasant to remember a sight from a sketch, than to see it in the first place (*Three Essays*, 51). This disrupts the traditional notion of the souvenir as a secondary source of pleasure, subordinate to the tour. The nostalgia of contemplating a souvenir sketchbook or perhaps sharing a travel narrative was a primary experience, dependent on the tour but equally enjoyable. James Buzard writes of a feeling of "*belatedness*" in both Victorian travel narratives and criticism about them (*The Beaten Track* 158). He points out that tourists were sometimes accused of having "toured solely in order to write tour-memoirs," engaging in travel for the sake of its aftermath (158). He depicts "a cyclic ritual" of travel and reading, "in which readers both shaped their expectations and relived their past travels, through texts" they wrote and read (160). Overall, it is clear that the tourism process involved a stage after the tour was complete, during which tourists continued to consolidate their ideas.

Commercially-produced souvenir books fit exactly into that moment. Like journals and sketchbooks, they offered tourists the pleasures of recollection, without the effort or time necessary to create them. Souvenir books could be approached with the same semiotic attentiveness that characterizes tourism itself (Culler, "Semiotics of Tourism"). However, when tourists turned to them as the foundation

for semiotic analysis, their interpretations could be shaped by the souvenir's depictions—which were shaped, in turn, by the circumstances of commercial production. Take again the mauchline ware souvenir bindings, decorated with multiple, layered symbols of different aspects of Scottish culture (see figures 9-10 and 13-14). These binding decorations were restricted by the nature of transfer technology. But the generic quality of the images, and the occasional concatenation of tangentially related images on a single object, permitted—even encouraged—tourists to form generalized ideas about Scotland and its history. These bindings, like the copies of *Marmion* and *The Lady of the Lake* discussed above, encouraged the idea of Scotland as an integrated whole, and offered opinions about what signs and historical moments represented it best.

Tourists developed their ideas about the world by reading before travel, by traveling, and by contemplating their travel afterwards. After their return home, they could continue to consider everything they encountered—and continue to identify signs, assimilate markers, and draw new conclusions about Scotland. Without Scotland itself at hand, tourists were forced to center their interpretive process around souvenirs, contemplating Stirling Castle by reviewing images or histories of it. Souvenir books replaced those sights as signs, becoming representations of Scotland that tourists could also interpret. Tourists could continue their interpretations focused on the limited information enclosed in whatever souvenirs they had purchased. The decorations—or the very wood—used on synecdochic mauchline ware bindings shaped tourist-readers' interpretations, as much as the books' contents. Thus, they helped to shape the national and international reception of Victorian Scotland.

## Chapter Two: One Person's Trash
## Recycled Illustrations and Repeated Ideas

During the 1860s, British book illustration went through what is often described as a golden age. For many book and art historians, this decade represented a zenith of aesthetic innovation. In contrast, many of the illustrations that appeared in Scottish souvenir books were profoundly unoriginal. Souvenir books were not usually high-end productions. Many publishers printed souvenir books as a sideline, and wanted to produce elegant, middlebrow volumes as cheaply and effectively as possible. However, mid-century Victorian readers demanded illustration, especially where travel books were concerned. To meet this demand, publishers took production shortcuts, planning editions with an eye to financial and technological expediency rather than artistic intent. Many of them illustrated souvenir books by borrowing images from other productions: reusing old printing surfaces and copying popular images into cheaper media. This chapter begins with an exploration of these recycling techniques, finding examples of reused wood engravings and lithographs.

It then compares that print environment to the developing conventions of photographic illustration, just emerging as a possibility in the 1850s and 1860s. Later in the century, after the inauguration of the Kodak camera in 1888, tourists could take their own snapshots, but in the mid-Victorian era, most tourists had to purchase souvenir photographs from professional photographers. In the 1850s, technological developments enabled the production of glass negatives, allowing photographers to take landscape photographs on-site and to produce numerous prints for commercial sale later on. This also enabled commercially viable photographic book illustration, which became popular in Scottish souvenirs. In the 1860s and 1870s, however, both technological limitations and publishing trends established strong visual conventions for the photographic depiction of Scotland.

The demand for images in souvenir books was understandably strong: tourists wanted depictions of the picturesque scenes they had visited. Due to the nature of the genre, images played a different role in souvenir books than in other illustrated books of the era. This chapter explores how images in souvenir books frequently did not function as paratexts, "illustrating" or expounding upon verbal

texts. Instead, images and texts were frequently equal foci of the reader's attention—or images predominated, with brief texts serving a paratextual function. This genre thus assists in the nineteenth-century evolution of the relationship between words and images.

With images playing a predominant role, the visual conventions established by image recycling had complex consequences for the reading audience. I argue that the repeated images and visual conventions served as common points of reference for an emerging reading community, similar to but in many ways distinct from the interpretive communities discussed by scholars such as Roland Barthes, Benedict Anderson, Gerry Beegan, and Jennifer Green-Lewis. Returning to examples of repeated illustrations discussed in the first half of the chapter, I will show how these images repeated particular concepts of Scotland, thus offering their readers common interpretations as well as common ground. Tourist-readers were linked by the way these images reinforced conventions and stereotypes about the nation. Through the reuse of photographs and prints, tourists repeatedly encountered the same depictions of Scotland.

The tourist-reader community I identify shares aspects with both Anderson's imagined communities and Barthes' and Green-Lewis' interpretive communities, but there are also several aspects of these models that do not apply to tourist-readers. The production and the circulation of souvenir books differed from the production and circulation of periodicals (Anderson's newspapers, Beegan's illustrated magazines). Souvenir photographs operated in specific conditions, not always corresponding to Barthes' and Green-Lewis' more general discussions of photography. The nature of the print environment that produced mid-Victorian souvenirs engendered differences in the reading community that encountered them—differences specific to the repetition of images in diverse books and media. When illustrations were recycled, they were altered: worn, changed, placed in new contexts, translated into new media. Each new iteration of a picture was reframed by new bindings, texts, contexts, and patterns of circulation, creating different reading experiences. Each change generated subtle but substantive differences in the way a view was presented, and prompted (or demanded) distinct methods of interpretation. Each change altered the reader's experience of the image, thus fracturing the

community that coalesced around them. Overall, this mid-Victorian tourist-reader community was very different from communities that developed around later mass media. It featured a tension between unification and division that was a direct consequence of the contemporary publishing environment.

**Reduce, Reuse, Recycle**

During the period which is the focus of this dissertation, the nature of cheap book illustration was determined by available printing technologies. While high-end illustration was achieving artistic heights, publishers of middle-brow souvenir books often needed to find economical shortcuts to produce appealing books that were still financially viable. Many Scottish souvenir books recycled images in a variety of ways. Wood engravings and lithographs could appear in different places in multiple books. By repeating the same image content, souvenirs circulated the same visual ideas to larger and larger numbers of tourist-readers. This section outlines the technological and commercial circumstances of mid-century souvenir book illustration, to demonstrate how those circumstances shaped the publishers' choices, and to emphasize how frequently production methods determined illustration content. This will serve as the background for further discussion about how the illustrations that were reused would have an outsized impact—for of course, to repeat an image was also to repeat that image's perspective of Scotland.

The Victorian era was a time of rich and prolific book illustration. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, wood engraving had become the dominant medium (Gaskell 266). The ease with which wood-engraved blocks could be printed with type allowed illustrated books to become more common, establishing a demand for images. By the 1820s, black and white lithography became prominent, and high-end color lithography was established by the 1840s (268). Though lithography had to be printed on a separate press, not with the relief text, it had its own advantages. It was faster to create a lithographic printing surface, as the design could be drawn on the stone rather than carved into it. Both lithographs and wood engravings could be printed in large numbers. This era also saw the arrival of photography as a

commercially viable medium for book illustration, not possible on any scale before the 1850s. (Photography will be discussed in greater detail in the next section of this chapter.) By the 1850s and 1860s, the widespread availability of these technologies meant that readers expected images as they never had before. Illustrated books were *de rigueur*—they were highly in demand, and printers had the technology to supply them.

However, all of these illustration processes had their own drawbacks, influencing how publishers would make use of them. The initial creation of any image, and the printing surface for it, required the investment of time and money. Wood-engraved blocks were particularly laborious to engrave. Lithographs, again, had to be printed on a separate press, which was a massive investment. The inclusion of lithographic plates in a volume increased the complexity of the product. Later in the century, from approximately the 1880s, new technology would introduce the photomechanical era, when printing surfaces—process line blocks, halftones, photolithographs, and photogravure—could be produced quickly from photographic negatives (Gaskell 270-2). These processes would make illustration exponentially quicker and cheaper than before. Prior to this era, illustration was more fraught. Photography was viable, but expensive; manual prints like lithographs and wood engravings could be printed in large runs, but they required a large initial investment. In this period, Scottish souvenir book publishers often made a habit of reusing and recycling illustrations from older editions. They reused different images in a variety of ways, according to the technology in question. Wood-engraved blocks and lithographic stones could be preserved and reused to illustrate other books; photographic images could be translated into different media to enable cheaper reproduction. Souvenir books, then, were plentifully illustrated, with a relatively small number of reused illustrations.

Publishers reused illustrations in multiple places for straightforward financial reasons: recycling printing surfaces saved money. Wood engravings were durable and easy to reuse. The initial production of a woodblock required a considerable outlay of time and capital. Adam and Charles Black spent £360 on wood engravings for their 1852 illustrated edition of *The Lady of the Lake* (Black, Minute book 38). However, once created, wood-engraved blocks were extremely durable printing

surfaces. In addition, it was common practice by mid-century to electrotype or stereotype a printed text, creating a duplicate from which to print. The Blacks indeed produced stereotypes for *The Lady of the Lake* (55). With the stereotype plates withstanding wear and damage from the printing process, the original wood-engraved blocks were preserved for later use. With stereotyping and electrotyping, wood-engraved blocks could last indefinitely (Gaskell 266). Printers could thus slowly recoup their initial investment by reusing the same blocks—the same images—in multiple publications. Again, the Blacks provide an example: the blocks that they used for a *Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs* in 1853 reappeared in a *Memento of the Trosachs […]* in 1854 (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs…*, 1853; *Memento…*). The two titles are very different productions. The 1853 *Picturesque Guide* is a relatively thick guidebook in publisher's cloth, dense with informative text and advertisements. The *Memento*, on the other hand, is a tiny, slim booklet with stiff card covers and almost no text. Yet the illustrations in these two volumes are the same, printed from the same blocks, altered only by minor wear and tear. In short, the durability of wood engraving allowed these images in that medium to circulate in different books, beyond the boundaries of the original illustrated guide.

Lithographic images could be reused just as easily. Such recycling became standard practice for cheaper lithographic souvenirs, a habit that persisted with some publishers to the end of the century. Publishers who did not immediately adopt newer photomechanical technology, but continued to use older technology and printing equipment, also continued older practices like recycling existing images. In Scotland, the Edinburgh publishers Thomas Nelson and Sons reused lithographic images in multiple books. Their 1891 *Souvenir of Scotland* is a compendium of 120 chromolithographic views of Scotland's "cities, lakes, and mountains" (title page; see figure 6). This volume comprises chromolithographs from numerous pre-existing publications. For example, the same images, printed from the same stones, had also appeared in *The Trosachs and Loch Katrine.* (This book advertised itself on the front board as both a guide and a souvenir, featuring "12 chromo views & guide book.") *Souvenir of Scotland*, with rich color on nearly every page, appears to be a high-end production. However, if the Nelsons already had every lithograph in stock from

guidebooks and smaller souvenirs, it would have been a relatively cheap compendium for the publishers to assemble. Printing complex color images certainly took more time than printing in black and white, but the Nelsons already had every printing surface ready at hand. Thus, they could produce the elaborate *Souvenir of Scotland* with relative ease. The Nelsons produced this impressive book by exploiting their previous supplies. Like the Blacks, they capitalized on existing investments. Both of these publishers, therefore, determined the content of their new publications by considering existing resources. They designed these publications according to commercial, rather than artistic, strategies.

Illustration technology also enabled more egregious recycling. Some illustrations reappeared in multiple books; some appeared multiple times in the same publication. The lithographic firm Brown & Rawcliffe[21] reused printing surfaces for multiple books, seeding different souvenirs with repeated images like the Nelsons and the Blacks. In one instance, Brown & Rawcliffe reused two pictures twice in the same book. Their *Album of Views of Inverness* includes two versions of "The Ness from Castle Hill" as well as two versions of "The Caledonian Canal at Fort Augustus" (*Album…*). Identical, tiny details in the images make it clear that these images are indeed printed from the same original printing surfaces: both versions of "The Ness" are from the same lithographic stone, as are both versions of "The Caledonian Canal." However, the images are cropped differently. One view of "The Ness" measures 79x260mm, while the second measures 160x260mm. Transfer lithography enabled this reuse: lithographic images like these could be drawn and stored on a mother stone. Such a mother stone was never used for printing a book, only for storing designs. When the publishers were ready to print a new book, they took proofs of desired images from the mother stone and transferred them to a daughter stone, from which the book was actually printed.[22] A design on a mother stone could easily have been transferred twice into the final book. It would have been simple to trim one version of that final image down to the smaller size during the transfer process: the paper with the transfer image on it would simply be cut

[21]Though Brown & Rawcliffe were based in Liverpool, not Scotland, they produced many souvenir books for Scotland and other locations throughout Britain.
[22] I am indebted for this information to Terry Belanger and his Rare Book School course "Book Illustration Processes to 1900," which I attended in 2008.

down to the desired size, with undesired material literally cropped away. The cropping made it harder for readers (or even publishers, perhaps) to spot the repetition. It is difficult to say whether Brown & Rawcliffe intended to reuse these images in the same book. This could have been an oversight, or an intentional choice to fill out the publication; either way, it was enabled by the kind of image reuse that was a frequent feature of cheaper Scottish souvenir production in the second half of the nineteenth century.

This example leads us to a general truth about recycled images: they were altered by reuse. Repetition did not mean exact duplication, as "The Ness" and "The Caledonian Canal" demonstrate. Though these two images were probably produced from the same original printing surface, the final prints are not identical. They are different shapes and sizes, with one showing only part of the original image. Repetition and recycling with this kind of technology could create images with derivatives, rather than identical duplicates. Similarly, when A. & C. Black reused wood blocks, the later publications often show a slight decline in printing quality. Of the *Memento* and the *Picturesque Guide* described above, the *Memento*'s illustrations are subtly but visibly poorer in quality—perhaps because the blocks were slightly worn, or perhaps because the printers of the later book took less care with the make-ready. The inevitable variation differentiates this era from the photomechanical era. Scholars of later eras talk about "mass media" culture, when identical images could be printed in enormous runs, or photomechanical facsimiles could reproduce fine details of an image. This earlier era is not the same: images could be reused outside their original context, but they would appear with slight differences.

It is also important to note that recycled images frequently appeared in dramatically different formats and contexts. Above, I describe the reuse of wood-engraved blocks and lithographic stones, with publishers printing the same illustrations in multiple books. The images therefore appeared in diverse textual contexts, despite all being part of the same genre. In other instances, publishers reused illustrations—or even entire printed sheets—from previous non-souvenir editions, so that illustrations were reused in multiple genres. In the 1860s and 1870s, some of the most interesting Scottish souvenir books were photographically

illustrated editions of Walter Scott poems, published by Adam and Charles Black, Thomas Nelson and Sons, John Ross, and R. S. Shearer. These editions also featured wood engravings by Birket Foster and John Gilbert that had originally been produced to lend prestige to completely different publications. Overall, this meant that while Victorian readers might encounter the same image repeatedly, those encounters would be different, shaped by different containers.

Again, these repackaging choices—decisions about aesthetic content—were often made to support commercial rather than artistic goals. The publishers of some photographically illustrated editions, for instance, had a very concrete financial goal in mind. In 1851, a concern led by the Blacks purchased the copyright to Walter Scott's writings, as well as the remaining printed stock; subsequently, the firm dedicated considerable energy to this investment (*Adam & Charles Black* 22-24; see also Goodman, "Copyright and Christmas"). In the 1850s, the Blacks produced Christmas gift editions of some of Scott's poems, including an 1852 edition of *The Lady of the Lake* illustrated by Birket Foster and John Gilbert (Black, Minute book 8). In the later 1850s, however, the Scott concern struggled, encumbered by bad debts and a slumping book market (85). Capitalizing on their earlier investment, the Blacks produced an economical gift edition of *The Lady of the Lake* in December 1863 that reprinted "all the woodcuts of the 18/- [Christmas] edition" (179). This gift book's performance was lackluster: only 42% of the copies sold (1,675 of 4,000) (179). Still struggling to improve their profits and break even on the original investment in the Scott property, the Blacks reissued the volume "with the addition of ten of Wilson's (of Aberdeen) photographs" to push the remaining copies out of the warehouse and off the shelves (185). This edition, pairing the poetry gift book with George Washington Wilson's popular photographs of Scottish landscape, was aimed at the tourist market. The photographs used in these books were probably selected from Wilson's existing stock, as the minute book makes no mention of what would have been an expensive commission. The Blacks advertised it as a "photographic souvenir of Scotland" (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1866, advertisements 22). Happily for them, the souvenir was, as they put it, "well received by the trade + the public" (Black, Minute book 185). The combination of recycled and fresh illustrations made the edition a success. The recycled editions

became fascinating multi-media productions, with contrasting sets of illustrations offering different interpretations of the text.

These editions were cobbled together from existing resources, with their creators concentrating on marketing strategy more than aesthetic intentions. In recycling existing poetry editions as souvenir books, the Blacks were capitalizing not just on their investment in Scott's copyright and Foster and Gilbert's wood engravings, but also on their established presence in the tourist market. At this point, the Blacks had published guides to several parts of Britain and Western Europe, beginning with *Black's Economical Tourist of Scotland* (*Adam & Charles Black* 6). Their guides were known "all over Britain and in many countries of Europe" (6). This provided them with a foothold in the tourist-reader market, as well as free advertising in their own guidebooks.

Thus far, this chapter has concentrated on instances where images were recycled when publishers reused existing printing surfaces or prints. Illustrations could also be copied from one medium to another, so that the image content was reused without the printing surface. By the 1860s, photographic albums were popular and desirable souvenirs, with publishers like George Washington Wilson and Francis Frith gaining ascendancy in Britain (Parr 18). But photographs were expensive to produce, so some publishers began to offer cheaper alternatives. A type of trompe-l'oeil lithographic view book arose that imitated the appearance of photographic albums and copied their contents directly from photographic originals. Above, I have argued that publishers recycling images were driven primarily by commercial strategies, at the expense of artistic or aesthetic priorities. In this case, however, publishers created an aesthetic in order to support their commercial priorities. The resulting prints are neither photographs, nor photomechanical prints. In a photomechanical print, the printing surface—the lithographic stone or relief block—is produced from a photographic negative through a chemical process. In contrast, images from printing surfaces shaped by human hands—wood engravings, drawn lithographs, engravings—have sometimes been called "manual" prints. These trompe-l'oeil albums were printed from surfaces (lithographic stones) created by hand, but based on a photograph; we might call them "photomanual" prints. With

these recycled images, the basic content was the same, but the context—and the price—were different.

Trompe-l'oeil souvenir albums enjoyed widespread popularity in the late nineteenth century in Britain and Continental Europe (for a Continental example, see *Rhein-Panorama von Mainz bis Cöln*). They approximated the appearance of desirable but expensive books produced using cutting-edge photomechanical technology. As Bamber Gascoigne puts it, by the late portion of the century, "the public wanted photographs but only the more sophisticated printers were as yet using the new process methods […]" (*How to Identify Prints* 56).[23] To fulfill this desire, the albums that borrowed views from photographs also consciously imitated the appearance of contemporary photography. The scenes in these albums have the characteristic blank skies of early photographs, which could not capture the subtleties of a cloudy sky (see figures 15-16). (Compare these images to the beautifully clouded sky in the drawn chromolithograph in figure 6.) Any people who appear in the photographs stand stiffly, as would photographic subjects enduring a long exposure. In more elaborate albums, images appeared layered onto each other, imitating photographic collage. Gascoigne describes the way some such albums feature "a white strip […] round each image, like the border of a photograph," with "a pink tint outside these borders to suggest the paper of the album" (56). Even the physical format of the volumes imitated photography: the lithographs were printed on one side of a long strip of paper and bound in an accordion-fold format that was also common in photographic albums.[24] This skeuomorphic format was reminiscent of the more luxurious albums, but it was also cheap: there was no need to perfect the sheet by printing the other side of the paper. The views were printed in shades of

[23] These albums also predate some of the technologies that Gascoigne lists. Dating these albums can be very difficult, as many include neither date nor imprint nor even the name of a publisher. However, one example I have found includes the inscription "Octr 30—1878" on an endleaf (*Tourist's Album: Views of the Land of Scott*). The trompe-l'oeil album thus predates photogravure, commonly used from the 1890s ("Photogravure"). It also predates cheap relief halftones, which were largely not used for book production until the mid-1890s (Gaskell 272). Commercially viable collotype processes, however, appeared around 1868-1870 (271).

[24] In some albums, including *Photographs of Edinburgh*, or *Photographs of the Land of Burns*, photographs on card backings would be mounted on a long strip of linen cloth, which would be folded like an accordion to produce "leaves"—really two different photographs, their backs against each other. In practice, the experience of reading such a book would be vaguely like reading a typical codex, where the leaves are bound into the spine of the book, except with thicker and more awkward leaves. The format was therefore distinctive and would have been associated with photograph albums.

black and grey, imitating the black-and-white tones of contemporary photography. Gascoigne describes these prints as "chromolithograph[s] in greys" (56). The lithographs could not, however, reproduce the smooth tonal gradations of photography. The fine detail of an albumen print was reduced to the simplified vocabulary of a drawn lithograph.

Souvenirs that copied photographic images were reproducing the work of a small number of creators. Many albums copied from the most popular photographers of the era. These albums did not conceal the fact that the views were reproducing photographs. Instead, they advertised it. One series published by Brown & Rawcliffe was named the "Camera" Series. Many albums cited their sources: a view of the "Bridge of Allan" in one souvenir is credited to George Washington Wilson (*Album of Stirling Views*). An *Album of Edinburgh Views* credits several photographs, including one of Newhaven fishwives, to A. A. Inglis of Edinburgh (NE.11.d.26). These credits added the cachet of famous names, increasing the appeal of the lithographic souvenirs. Even when the sources were not identified, it is sometimes easy to identify the photographs that were the basis for other views. Multiple souvenirs copy a Wilson photograph of Abbotsford from the river that features a man in a rowboat wearing a Derby hat (Wilson, *Abbotsford from the Tweed*, GB 0231 MS 3792/B1186; *Tourist's Album: Views of the Land of Scott*; *Tourist's Album: Views of Abbotsford*, NE.15.e.16 and APS.1.202.015; see figures 17-19). The recycling, then, was a source of the books' appeal: these albums reproduced high-quality images at an approachable price. Books of views made highly traditional souvenirs, with a distinguished history that reached back well before 1800; but these trompe-l'oeil albums, in copying both the content and the style of a novel technology, were modern and desirable. They were also copying the work of distinguished and respected artists, disseminating their images to a wider audience.

Overall, illustration recycling was an integral and important feature of this era in souvenir book production. Wood-engraved blocks and lithographic stones could be reused in new books; printed sheets could be re-issued; photographs could be copied into cheaper lithographs. Many images were repeated in different contexts, different formats, and different media. This practice, one common to several publishers, caused the same depictions of Scotland to circulate more widely,

becoming available to wider audiences than the print runs for individual editions would allow. Publishers selected these images not for artistic or aesthetic reasons, but because they already had them, making editorial decisions according to financial and technological strategies. Thus, these examples of repeated illustrations show that the commercial circumstances of production shaped the artistic content of these souvenir books—and, thus, the depictions of Scotland that they included. When these images were repeated, those depictions of Scotland became more and more prevalent.

**Photographic Families**

The third quarter of the nineteenth century was also notable for the introduction of photographs to book illustration. Photographs were, as they are now, highly desirable souvenirs. The souvenir book industry economized frequently, as discussed above, but photographs became extremely popular at the higher end of the market. Photography was a successful souvenir medium partly because of its apparently authentic depiction of a scene, its ability to fix a moment in amber. The Victorians praised photography for its truthfulness. These qualities became valuable for tourist souvenirs when photography became viable as a commodity, in the 1850s and 1860s. In this era, tourist photographs could be purchased individually, but they could also be used to illustrate souvenir books. This required the inclusion of actual photographs—albumen prints—rather than photomechanical prints, which only became commercially viable from the 1880s. While it was technically possible to produce enough photographic prints from a negative to illustrate a book with a small print run, photographic production was slow enough that souvenir publishers often took short cuts. When it was not possible or practical to produce sufficient prints from a single photographic negative, publishers illustrated their books with groups of sibling photographs, in ways described in detail below. This means that these apparent duplicates were not always identical. As with recycled wood engravings and lithographs, books illustrated with photographs featured illustrations that were extremely similar—but not quite identical. The way photographic images appeared

in books paralleled the way printed illustrations appeared in books: very similar images were repeated, without being exactly identical. These patterns of repetition and difference characterized the media culture of the era, shaping interpretive communities among tourist-readers.

The tourist's desire for photographs is so pervasive today it scarcely needs to be discussed. The Victorians shared this desire: contemporary publications claimed it as self-evident that both the traveler and the "Home-keeping Wit" wanted "faithful resemblances of […] other climes (Review of "The Exhibition of the Photographic Society" 49). Photographs could preserve a record of a site against the erosion of memory, with greater precision and objectivity than a print or sketch. In the mid-nineteenth century, photographic book illustration was still a rarity: Helmut Gernsheim's bibliography *Incunabula of British Photographic Literature* ends at 1875, suggesting that photographic illustration was in its cradle stage until that date. Daguerreotypes, popular primarily as portraits from as early as 1839, were unique objects which could not be sold in quantity. Additionally, since daguerreotypes are produced without a negative, they portray the world in reverse, as a negative does. In the 1840s, William Henry Fox Talbot invented the calotype: a photograph printed from a paper negative. The calotype process could produce multiple prints from a single negative, enabling Talbot and Hill and Adamson to illustrate their books. The earliest photographs of Scotland, illustrating Fox Talbot's *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, were calotypes: salt paper prints made from paper negatives (Simpson 130). But the texture of the paper negatives prevented the calotype from attaining the high detail of the daguerreotype (Newhall 48, 54). Though numerous books of photographs and books illustrated with photographs were produced, they were upmarket art books, not accessible on a commercial scale.

In the early 1850s, however, two technological developments enabled both photographic book illustration, and the production and sale of tourist views. As Stevenson and Morrison-Low put it, "[p]rofessional photography [came] of age" in this period (121). In 1851, however, Frederick Scott Archer developed collodion, a substance that could bind light-sensitive silver salts to glass (Newhall 59). This more transparent glass negative could capture finer detail than a paper negative. The wet-collodion process united the detail of the daguerreotype with the multiple copies and

the positive orientation of the calotype, replacing paper negatives completely. Around the same time, in 1850, albumen paper was developed (60). This paper was treated with a thin, light-sensitive coating that made it highly suitable for printing photographic positives. With both wet-collodion glass negatives and albumen paper positives, detailed, high-quality photographs could be produced in multiple, relatively stable copies—and photographs became a truly viable commodity (Taylor, "George Washington Wilson, Artist and Commercial Entrepreneur").

Most contemporary discussions of photography did not concentrate on its possibilities as a reproductive process. The Victorians most often focused "on the medium's originality" rather than "its capacity to produce multiple copies" (Marien 42). Even William Henry Fox Talbot, inventor of the calotype and the paper negative system, praised his invention for "the natural production of images" rather than its "reproducibility" (42). But reproducibility was a crucial prerequisite for photography's success as a commercial medium, including in the souvenir business. The ability to produce multiple photographic prints enabled the development of commercial tourist photography. Many early professional photographers operated portrait studios, producing images of customers on demand. However, tourist photographers like George Washington Wilson, the most successful Scottish landscape photographer, organized their businesses around the medium's capacity for reproduction. Wilson sold landscape photographs by exposing a single negative on location and subsequently producing multiple prints from the negative in large quantities, for sale to customers.

Photographs were sold as souvenirs in many different formats and packages. They were available as stereo views, as *cartes de visite*, as loose prints for incorporation into personal albums. Most importantly for this discussion, they were sold as commodities in numerous book or bookish formats: there were photograph albums, photographic portfolios, and books with photographic illustrations. These books were a small subset of a broader development, also enabled by the calotype and its capacity to produce multiple prints. Sir David Brewster, a scientist and inventor whose work centered on optics and photography, preferred the calotype to the daguerreotype for precisely this reason. Soon after its invention, he quickly pointed out that with the new process, "a single negative will supply a thousand

copies, so that books may be illustrated with pictures drawn by the sun" (Brewster, qtd in Stevenson & Morrison-Low 114).[25] Photographically illustrated books became viable in the 1850s, and began to flourish in the 1860s. A notable early example includes William and Mary Howitt's 1862 *Ruined Abbeys and Castles of Great Britain.* This book, with twenty-seven albumen prints, was not a high-end art book as *Sun Pictures in Scotland* had been, but a more accessible middle-brow gift book (albeit an expensive one). Verse anthologies with photographic illustrations became popular around the same time (Groth, *Victorian Photography* 8).

In Scotland, some of the most complex photographic souvenirs were editions of Walter Scott's poetry, bound with photographic illustrations. Such editions first appeared in the early 1860s: Adam and Charles Black began to issue photographic editions of *The Lady of the Lake* in 1863 (Black, Minute book 185). Also in 1863, A. W. Bennett published an edition of the same poem in London with photographs by Thomas Ogle and George Washington Wilson (Gernsheim, *Incunabula* 196). It should be noted that although Bennett is familiar to modern scholars as a publisher of photographic editions, the Blacks' early publications are less well known, not appearing in Gernsheim.[26] These Scottish publishers, then, ought to be considered fore-runners in their field (Goodman, "Copyright and Christmas" 476-479). These editions were popular enough across Britain that other publishers picked up the idea. By the 1870s, multiple Scottish publishers were producing photographically illustrated editions of Scott's poetry as souvenirs. The content of these editions will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter; for now, let us consider how these photographic editions circulated, sharing images with a growing audience.

Just as the ability to reuse printing surfaces expanded the audiences for manual prints, the capacity to print multiple positives from a single negative created a larger audience for photographic views. It took a long time to create a photographic print: from one glass negative, Wilson and Co. could produce six prints a day (Taylor, "George Washington Wilson, Artist and Commercial Entrepreneur").

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[25] Brewster's enthusiasm about photographic reproducibility need not disprove Marien's argument that reproducibility was not an "emphatic" element of the discourse surrounding early photography (Marien 42). Brewster was a specialist, and he shared these comments in a technical scientific article. They would not necessarily have found traction in popular or artistics discussions.
[26] Gernsheim's earliest entry for a Black publication is 1869 (*Incunabula* 455).

Consequently, in the 1850s and 1860s, edition sizes for photographically illustrated books were small: the first few photographically illustrated editions of *The Lady of the Lake* issued by the Blacks before 1868 sold only two and a half thousand copies over several years.[27] This audience was an order of magnitude smaller than the audience for a *fin-de-siècle* magazine illustrated with halftones—but still several orders of magnitude larger than the audience for the daguerreotype, the albumen print's predecessor (or for the personal snapshots that succeeded commercial photographs). Scholars discussing the media environment of the late nineteenth century stress the novelty of the possibility that many people "could see the same image at the same time," for example as photomechanical prints in illustrated magazines (Beegan 2). Such magazines had enormous runs, reaching what could truly be called mass audiences in a way that was not possible before. But mid-century photographic books could still reach more people than unique photographs from the 1830s and 1840s, albeit not simultaneously. The era of the albumen print expanded the viewership of souvenir images, to a midpoint between the daguerreotype and the photomechanical print.

Souvenir photographs were popular and successful, but their publishers achieved this success only through clever negotiation of production constraints. While printing a lithograph or a wood engraving took seconds, printing a photograph from a negative took hours. To illustrate 2,500 copies of *The Lady of the Lake* with photographs in three years, both George Washington Wilson and A. & C. Black had to develop strategies to maximize production. To keep up with the high demand for their views, Wilson and Co. made multiple sibling negatives for popular scenes: Roger Taylor notes that the Wilson archive at the University of Aberdeen still includes twenty-five different negatives depicting Ellen's Isle ("George Washington Wilson, Artist and Commerical Entrepreneur"). By printing from several negatives simultaneously, the firm could produce enough prints to meet the demand for views

[27] The Blacks' records of the Scott concern mention sales of 2,469 photographically-illustrated volumes of Scott up to the fiscal year ending in 1868: 581 copies in 1865 (Black, Minute book, 190); 848 in the fiscal year ending in June 1866 (190); 688 copies in the fiscal year ending in 1867 (195); and 352 in the fiscal year ending in 1868 (200). No later issues are mentioned, as the Scott concern was "transferred to A. + C. Black" upon the death of James Richardson and retirement of Robert Richardson in 1868 and the concern was dissolved (204). I cannot be certain how these sale numbers translate to edition, impression, or issue sizes.

of the island. Wilson and his photographers attempted to reproduce their own work precisely, producing multiple versions of images that matched as closely as possible. But in practice, exact duplication was not possible. Twenty-five negatives created twenty-five subtly different versions of the Wilson photograph of Ellen's Isle in circulation simultaneously—all very similar but none of them identical. These major photographs frequently found their way into tourist books, introducing quasi-duplicates into the tourist-reader's area. The photographs in the volumes sold by the Blacks were supplied by Wilson and Co. Prints from variant negatives almost certainly appeared in different copies of a single issue. Thus, tourist-readers of the same edition, the same issue, were still exposed to slightly different versions of the "same" image. This is almost the opposite of the recycling of a wood engraving: while the same identical wood engraving (altered only by age and the printer's skill) could appear in a range of publications, photographs featured in a single edition could vary from copy to copy. But both types of souvenir offered their readers similarity with variation.

Book publishers incorporating these photographs into their editions took further steps to accommodate the slow pace of photographic production. Different issues and even different copies of *The Lady of the Lake* from A. & C. Black do not feature the same exact groups of illustrations. The images included in these books adhered to a basic core group, but the actual photographs included varied slightly from issue to issue. Take, for example, the 1869 and 1870 Black issues. Of the numerous photographs in the two books, there are seven corresponding sibling pairs—that is, each book features a view of the same scene from almost exactly the same point of view. However, none of these pairs are exactly identical; none of the photographs were printed from the same original negative. For example, two views of Loch Achray are shot from the same angle, but variation in the sizes of the plants and foliage indicates that the two photographs were taken at different times (Bdg.s.171; SD 5628). These might be photographs printed from sibling negatives made of the same site. Similarly, two of the five photographs in the 1871 issue correspond to views in the 1870 issue, depicting the same scene from the same point of view without being identical prints from a single original negative.

Other prints in these editions are *almost* corresponding pairs, close but not quite siblings. Two photographs in the 1871 issue depict sites also featured in the 1870 issue, but show them from different points of view. A photograph in the 1871 edition shows the Silver Strand, depicted from a slightly different perspective in the 1869 edition. The publishers sought out images of the same key places but were not even able to include photographs from sibling negatives. This type of variation may have been the result of fluctuating stock. Wilson & Co. did not produce photographs specifically for book publishing. Instead, they were publishers and photograph sellers in their own right. They had to fulfill a wide variety of orders, and may not have always had available stock to supply matching pairs in the numbers required for these issues. This variation was almost certainly not the result of a deliberate aesthetic choice on the part of A. & C. Black, who may have ignored the distinctions between different views of Loch Lubnaig or the Goblin Cave. In short, though photographs could exist in multiple prints, the corpus of photographs used to illustrate souvenir books included a high level of variation.

However, the photographs in tourist souvenir books like these often adhered to stylistic conventions. While these photographs differed in detail, they were generically very similar. Scottish editions of Scott's poetry illustrated with photographs often included photographs of deserted landscapes (in *The Lady of the Lake*) or historic castles (in both *The Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion*). These trends become distinct when compared to London publisher A. W. Bennett's edition of *Lady*, which included more recent structures and more human beings. Scottish publishers also tended to use Scottish photographers, such as Wilson, whereas Bennett worked with Thomas Ogle. Moreover, local Scottish productions seem to have influenced each other. Thomas Nelson and Sons, John Ross, and R. S. Shearer, all of whom produced photographically illustrated Scott volumes, followed the stylistic example of the Blacks rather than Bennett. The 1869 *Lady of the Lake* published by Nelson and Sons (an Edinburgh firm, like the Blacks) includes views of the same places that the Blacks had often featured: Ellen's Isle, Stirling Castle, Loch Achray, Loch Katrine, and the Pass of the Trossachs (Bdg.s.923). These photographs also use similar compositions to depict these familiar locations: the photographs of Stirling Castle are taken from Ladies' Rock, a favorite point of view in the Black

editions (see figure 29). These editions will be discussed in detail in chapter three, but the point to emphasize here is that these publishers were supplying an established market, not striking out in innovative artistic directions. They adhered to, and thus reinforced, conventional depictions of conventional locations.

Having discussed this stylistic coherence, and the variation introduced by the use of sibling negatives, we can characterize this era in photographic souvenir production as a time of both imitation and variation. Similar views of the same scene would appear over and over, in different books and different editions; but those views would exist in multiple different versions. Readers in this audience would encounter similar images that imitated each other closely, but rarely would they see *identical* images.

The tension between similarity and difference characterizes a large proportion of souvenir book illustration in this era, not only photography. Souvenir books recycled, reused, and copied the same basic images, in processes and methods that introduced a certain amount of variation—be it the wear on a wood-engraved block, changing ink colors in different impressions of a chromolithograph, the slight differences between sibling photographic negatives, or the transformative translation from photography to lithography. This moment in illustration history is therefore distinct from the photomechanical era at the end of the century, when new illustration processes made it possible to produce printing surfaces without the intervention of the human hand, and when new presses could print those images more rapidly and in greater quantities. 1850s and 1860s souvenir books, and the images they contained, had smaller print runs; but the reuse of some images and the copying of others enabled the illustrations to circulate beyond the boundaries of the original edition. Thus, views of Scotland came to be repeated in different books, over and over. Before we can discuss the effects of this repetition, however, we must make some more general observations about the role of illustrations in souvenir books, and their relationship to the texts.

**The Ascendance of the Paratext**

Souvenir books offer an unusual model for the relationship between text and image, a relationship typically codified by the word "illustration." Strictly speaking, an illustration denotes an image that expands on a portion of a text. It is paratextual, and subordinate to the written word. However, as several scholars have pointed out, during the nineteenth century, the relationship between text and image evolved along with both printing technology and print culture. I will argue that in the souvenir book genre, images were neither paratextual nor subordinate, but frequently the center of attention and meaning. This was generally the consequence of genre and book design, rather than a function of technology. It was, however, supported by the publishers' ability to print books of views without texts, especially by reusing existing illustrations. Gerard Genette wrote that "[n]o matter what aesthetic or ideological pretensions […] a paratextual element" might have, it "is always subordinate to 'its' text, and this functionality determines the essentials of its aspect and of its existence" (269). But these mobile illustrations demonstrate that "paratext" is not a permanent status. When an illustration detaches from "its" text, it ceases to function as a paratext. When the image ceases to be "subordinate," its "aesthetic or ideological pretensions" can be granted more authority and more attention. These are not mere illustrations or paratextual glosses, but images worthy of attention and interpretation in their own right.

Gerry Beegan argues that at the end of the nineteenth century, the "increase in imagery" that resulted from the adoption of photomechanical processes "unsettled and complicated" the relationship between text and image (15). New interpretive and "relational possibilities" abounded:

> The written text could change the meaning of the image; the image could encourage the readers to see the text in new ways. The two could act to support, enrich, transform, or contradict each other. […] These conflicts between diversely authored texts and images created fruitful spaces of meaning for the reader. (14)

Beegan also adds that by the end of the century, photographs as well as relief blocks also sometimes "operated […] independently of texts" (15). But well before the photomechanical era, images in souvenir books offered the range of relational possibilities that Beegan describes. In souvenirs, images and text could operate independently of each other, or could mutually "enrich" or "contradict" each other.

This capaciousness is partly a function of the souvenir genre, which lacked the expectations of hierarchy that accompanied text-based genres like novels and poetry. But some of this more capacious relationship depended on the ease with which publishers could print images from pre-existing printing surfaces. In many cases (some of which have been described in previous sections of this chapter), publishers who illustrated souvenir guidebooks reused the illustrations in less verbal viewbooks. The detachment of these "illustrations" from the texts they illustrated demonstrates the ambiguity of their relationships with those texts, complicating their paratextual status.

For example, A. & C. Black reused wood engravings by Birket Foster, originally commissioned to illustrate guidebooks, in souvenir viewbooks with minimal texts. The original guidebook, *Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs […]*, is a hybrid production, designed for "guiding the Tourist" and for serving "as a memorial of the localities and scenery to which it introduced him" (1853, iii). To fulfill these multiple functions, it includes both text and image: a functional text with logistical, historical, and literary information for the traveler, and wood-engraved illustrations to assist the tourist-reader's memory. In this volume, the text is paramount; the illustrations are paratextual and subordinate. They decorate the book, attracting customers. They help trigger the reader's memory, but that is a secondary action, taking place long after the text shaped the original tour. But the Blacks reused the same wood engravings a year later in the *Memento of the Trosachs*, where they appear with almost no accompanying text. The *Memento* is instead a collection of images. The Blacks produced the *Memento* probably because it was cheap and straightforward for them to produce a predominantly visual viewbook. With the wood-engraved blocks handy, they didn't need to wait for an accompanying text to be written.

The resulting book reverses the text-image hierarchy, making the "illustrations" of primary importance. Two short passages of verse begin and end the book, each paired with a wood engraving. The opening image of Stirling Castle appears with a quotation from Hector MacNeill's "The Links of Forth," beginning "Grey Stirling! Bulwark of the North" (*Memento*, n.p.). (This poem was quoted frequently in descriptions of Scotland and Stirling.) The quoted text describes the

scene depicted in the illustration, mentioning "yon castle's princely brow." Its position physically below and partially framed by the factotum block gives the text the physical appearance of a caption. The eye, moving down from the top, perceives the image first, and the poetry second, allowing the poetry to become commentary. The text is clearly subordinate to the images: it has become the paratext.

Apart from these frames, the tourist-reader is left to contemplate the wood engravings with very little verbal context. The only other text in the book are the brief captions identifying each image, which are all limited to a few words: "Stirling Castle," for example, or "View from Callander Bridge." While these same images illustrated the original guidebook, providing support and commentary on the text, here that relationship is reversed: in the *Memento*, the textual captions clarify the illustrations. In general, illustrations are considered paratextual elements, and these wood engravings began as paratext; but in the *Memento*, they have become the central text. The close relationship between text and image has been redefined.

These two books could also have created different reading experiences—if we can call the experience of the *Memento* a reading experience, rather than a viewing experience. The focus on the visual element in *Memento*, the souvenir, prompts its readers to recall their travels in visual terms. The textual prompts in the souvenir-guide, however, frame the tour in historical, cultural, or literary terms, as well as visual. These different artifacts emphasize different types of memories. Thus, despite repeating the same images, the two books encouraged different styles of travel.

The illustrated souvenir guidebooks published by Thomas Nelson & Sons also offer new possibilities for the relationships between texts and images. The Nelsons included the same chromolithographs in both text-based guides and image-based souvenirs. Like the Blacks, they reprinted illustrations from existing printing surfaces in a souvenir viewbook, theirs called the *Souvenir of Scotland*. These illustrations were originally used in hybrid guide viewbooks with longer texts, but in this souvenir volume, the images are only accompanied by a table of contents. The Nelsons' illustrations have moved from the guidebooks to stand on their own, not paratext but text.

However, in their earlier guidebooks, unusual formats suggest new "relational possibilities" for these illustrations and texts (Beegan 14). In their guidebook *The Trosachs and Loch Katrine*, for example, the lithographs are accompanied by a guide text of several pages. However, the way the text and images are arranged in the book makes it seem incorrect to consider the chromolithographs as explanatory "illustrations." The lithographs in *The Trosachs and Loch Katrine* are physically separate from the text: they are printed on an accordion-fold gathering attached to the front board of the binding, while the text is in a separate gathering attached to the rear board. They are not intermingled with the text, as wood engravings could be. (The lithographs could also have been inserted into the main text on separate leaves, but the Nelsons elected not to do so, perhaps because it would have required a more labor-intensive binding process.) Instead, the lithographs come first, established in a primary position in the book. Some readers might nevertheless turn to the text first, seeking either verbal context or concrete information in the guide. But the text begins with a "List of Chromo Views," directing the reader back to the images. It is not possible to assign definitive paratextual status to the chromolithographs, but neither is it possible to assign paratextual status to the text. This is a book that can be read, or viewed, in multiple ways. Given what Beegan would dub this "unsettled and complicated" tension, each reader of *The Trosachs and Loch Katrine* must decide which medium to prioritize (15). Yet despite this tension and the physical separation of text from image, there is still a complex interactive relationship between the two halves of this book. The images and the text are clearly part of the same conceptual work. While the text prompts readers to look for "loveliness, grandeur, sublimity, and grace" in the Scottish landscape, the images offer such sublimity and grace with moonlit scenes (22). Both images and text together provide romanticized visions of Scotland, mutually reinforcing each other.

Photographic souvenirs also unsettle and complicate the image-text relationship, at least in souvenir books. The photographs in illustrated volumes of poetry from the 1860s and 1870s seem, at first glance, to elaborate on the poetry. However, at a second glance, it becomes clear that if an illustration's job is to contextualize and illuminate a text, these photographs are not performing their

function particularly well. The photographs inserted into these volumes were not always inserted in narrative order. In a copy of *The Lady of the Lake*, a photograph of Loch Katrine with a caption from Canto I is inserted in Canto III (Bdg.s.171, 128-9). In the same volume, a photograph of the "Pass of the Trossachs" with a caption from Canto IV appears in the middle of Canto VI (304-5). The captions pair these images with appropriate snippets of the poetry, but because the photographs are not placed near the relevant passages, they are not available as illustrations for those sections. The images are not integrated into the reading experience of the text. This intellectual distance between photograph and text breaks the narrative path of the poem, opening a non-linear path through the codex. Readers are able to choose whether to follow the poem's progression or the photographs' progression. They could potentially move back and forth between photographic image and cited passage. This randomization muddles the traditional text-image hierarchy. The photographs are not merely interpreting the poetry—nor are the poetic captions merely interpreting the photographs. Instead, both poetry and photography can function here as equal works of art. They are juxtaposed, but neither is what Genette would call ideologically or aesthetically "subordinate." The relationship between text and image is still close and complex: the photographs suggest a way to read the landscape as a key to the text, while the captions suggest a way to read the text as a key to the landscape. The relational possibilities here still include complex intertextual interaction, but that interaction is reciprocal, rather than hierarchical.

The production history of the early photographic volumes, and the expectations of the souvenir genre, dismantle the traditional text-illustration hierarchy even further. As discussed above, these volumes were originally sold as poetic gift books, and only sold as souvenirs with photographs in later issues. The Blacks' advertisements for their early photographic editions concentrated on the illustrations. One advertisement for *The Lady of the Lake* emphasized that it was "Profusely Illustrated with Woodcuts by BIRKET FOSTER and JOHN GILBERT, / and Photographs by G. W. WILSON of Aberdeen" (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs…*, 1866, advertisements 22). The tourist-reader's attention, then, was directed towards the images—which included both photographs and the early wood engravings. While Foster's and Gilbert's art might have functioned as more

traditional, supplementary illustrations, the photographs added a new dimension to the volume. Brian Maidment, in his work on Victorian wood engraving, writes that the medium "presupposed an intense relationship between an image and a written text" (15). This intense interplay depended, of course, on the ability to print wood engravings with type on the same press in a single impression. Illustrations and text could thus mingle and occupy the same physical space on the page, as they did in the Blacks' editions of Scott's poetry. The photographs, on separate, inserted leaves, opened up this intense relationship to new possibilities. As explained above, they offered new paths through the book. In addition, they allowed the volumes to transition into new genres, providing new interpretive options for readers. They enabled this edition to function as a souvenir, not a normal reading copy, by providing the essential connection between book and tourist site. Therefore, the tourist-reader who sought this edition for its vaunted purpose—as a souvenir—would be drawn to the photographs, perhaps more strongly than he or she would be drawn to the poem (which, after all, was available in many other editions). In addition, the tourist-reader's genre expectations might expand the intellectual distance between the photographic images and the text. Tourist-readers handling this book as a souvenir might focus on their own memories of travel, rather than immersing themselves in the fictional narrative. The genre and the social function of these volumes thus opened up the text-illustration hierarchy and offered readers an interpretive choice.

We might even speculate that the presence of these photographs intervened in the relationship between the text and the intermingled wood engravings. Clearly, the photographs were able to occupy a position of unusual authority in relation to the text they illustrated. In photographically illustrated Black editions, could the authoritative photographs interpose themselves as a counterpoint between the poem and the wood engravings—and might their presence reveal unsuspected distance in that other text-image relationship? We have seen that images in other media (including wood engraving) could shift from paratext to text when repurposed in different volumes. Must we assume that Victorian tourist-readers saw these wood engravings as paratextual? Or was it possible for them to read the wood engravings

not as subordinate interpretations of the text, but participants in a reciprocal exchange, either equal or ambiguous?

Setting speculation aside, we can see that these images played an important role in the reading process. In souvenir books, generically distinct from literary works, illustration operated with unsuspected flexibility, not necessarily constrained by dominant texts. In some cases, images could take priority over texts, or operate independently of the words they had originally been designed to illustrate. In other cases, the different elements of the book could interact more reciprocally, both images and text contextualizing each other. The souvenir book could be a true multimedia object, with a multitude of possibilities in the image-text (and text-paratext) relationship. But let us not forget that these images, operating in a variety of textual contexts, were often borrowed from different origins. Now that we understand the importance of the image in souvenir books, let us consider what these repeated images offered tourist-readers.

**A Community of Tourist-Readers**

As images reappeared in book after book, they became common points of reference for tourist-readers buying souvenirs of Scotland, helping to unite those readers into a community. Because the same images were repeated, different readers would encounter the same depictions of important scenes, eventually sharing the same mental images of Scotland with other tourist-readers without being aware of it. Recycled images made it easy for not only images but ideas about Scotland to circulate. The establishment of visual conventions helped to establish intellectual conventions, drawing readers together around common interpretations of their tourist experiences.

Several scholars have pointed out that print culture helps to develop cultural communities, by establishing a shared knowledge base and media experience. Benedict Anderson outlined the idea of an imagined community centered around common experiences of "print-capitalism," which enabled "rapidly growing numbers of people" to imagine themselves as cultural groups (36). Gerry Beegan, discussing

late nineteenth-century periodicals, argues that their readers were drawn into a community by their shared feeling of exposure to valued information. Other scholars have discussed photography's power to draw its viewers together: Jennifer Green-Lewis, referencing Roland Barthes, argues that photographs create "an interpretive community" by "bonding readers into […] a common vision" (Green-Lewis, *Framing* 112). In Victorian Scottish souvenirs, the "common vision" that Green-Lewis describes was literal. Recycled lithographs and wood engravings, and the establishment of photographic conventions, created reference points for communal visions of Scotland. These images acted as unifying force, pulling tourist-readers together, consciously or unconsciously, into a more coherent audience.

By repeating similar or identical depictions of Scotland, illustrations drew the tourist-reader community together around a shared visual canon. For example, one recycled lithograph depicting "Loch Lomond from Inchtavannach" can be found in two Brown & Rawcliffe souvenir books, *Album of Views of the Trossachs* and *Album of Stirling Views* (see figures 20-21). These two printed images reproduce a George Washington Wilson photograph (*Ben Lomond*...). The repetition of this image reinforced Loch Lomond's position in the accepted list of notable tourist destinations. By copying photographs that were popular already, these albums helped to perpetuate and define an existing visual canon, a series of iconic and standard images or views.

To their audience of tourist-readers, the repeated illustrations disseminated both images and ideas. The popularity of this particular image of Loch Lomond disseminated specific ideas about the loch. In many respects, the scene resembles other contemporary views of the loch: a peaceful lake, surrounded by mountains, with a few trees. However, this particular image also depicts a steamer boat progressing across the lake, an item not seen in any contemporary illustrated poetry volumes. This steamer transforms the loch from a scene of history and romance to a scene of contemporary travel, readily accessible to the contemporary tourist. One of the souvenirs includes a poetic caption, romanticizing the view; but even there, the steamer modernizes and domesticates the landscape for the tourist-reader (*Album of Stirling Views*). The image fixes the loch in a particular moment in time and depicts it as an active touristic landscape. This vision circulated both as a popular Wilson

photograph and in multiple lithographic souvenirs, spreading the depiction of the loch widely among tourists in Scotland. Thus, the repetition of souvenir images prompted tourist-readers towards certain interpretations of the scenery.

Another example of a repeated image speaks to Scotland's reputation as a literary culture. Three different lithographic albums repeat similar views of Abbotsford, the home of Sir Walter Scott: *Tourists' Album: Views of Abbotsford*, *Tourist's Album: Views of the Land of Scott*, and *Cabinet Album: Land of Scott* (see figures 17-19). These albums were published by different firms, and the views are not identical—that is, not printed from the same lithographic stone.[28] However, they all depict Abbotsford from a similar point of view, and they all include the same striking feature: a man in a Derby hat rowing down the river. The scene portrays Abbotsford as a space of bucolic luxury, frozen in a moment of active but gentlemanly leisure. Like the image of Loch Lomond with a steamer, the scene is occupied: the tourist-reader can imagine entering it easily. And also like the image of Loch Lomond, the repetition further solidifies Abbotsford's presence on a list of iconic tourist sites. The fact that it is depicted with active tourists reinforces its importance on that list. By recycling this image, souvenir books reinforced this vision of Abbotsford in the popular imagination.

These views were all derived from a George Washington Wilson photograph (*Abbotsford from the Tweed,* GB 0231 MS 3792/B1186). Obvious differences in the height of the trees and the placement of the boat demonstrate that these views were not printed from the same lithographic stone. Instead, different publishers chose to copy Wilson's photograph multiple times. The presence of this rower creates the illusion that this is a record of a specific, ephemeral moment—an illusion reinforced by the trompe l'oeil style of the lithographs, which invokes photography's ability to capture ephemeral moments. But Wilson's original photograph for these views would have been posed, not candid, to ensure that the boat could be captured in detail. Moreover, the multiple lithographic copies of this photograph transformed a supposedly unique moment into the standard depiction of Abbotsford. Reiteration

[28] In fact, all of these albums were published without imprints. Without precise publication information, I cannot be sure that these were in fact published by different firms. But they are designed in different styles, and the repeated lithographs are visibly different, suggesting that they originate from different publishers. The books are clearly not part of the same series.

and remediation rendered this "ephemeral" moment iconic, even generic, thus homogenizing the visual record.

Thus, the reuse of both printing surfaces and source material developed conventional depictions of Scotland. The pluriform recycling tactics of A. & C. Black demonstrate how these conventions could develop and spread. First, the picturesque wood engravings used in both the Blacks' *Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs* and their *Memento of the Trosachs* reinforced the depiction of Scotland as a land of lochs and mountains. The Blacks also reused a different set of wood-engraved blocks by repackaging illustrated gift editions of *The Lady of the Lake* as souvenirs, with the addition of photographic prints. These wood engravings also disseminated a similar aesthetic depiction of Scotland, concentrating on the same elements of its landscape. Both sets of wood engravings were based on designs by the same artist, Birket Foster (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1853, title page; *Memento*, title page). In fact, they were probably based on a single set of sketches: the guide book specifies that Foster took the sketches "on the spot, during the summer of 1852" (iii). The notes for the 1852 midsummer meeting of the Scott concern specify that Foster "is now engaged with the drawings" for the Christmas edition, which was recycled with photographs as a souvenir (Black 32). It is possible that Foster produced the sketches for both the Christmas edition and the guidebook on the same sketching trip. Thus, the same artistic attitude—the same artist's sketches—lay behind multiple sets of images. In addition to reusing the blocks directly, the Blacks also recycled Foster's aesthetic vision of Scotland. These illustrations repeated certain basic ideas and interpretations: the landscape illustrations underlined the cultural importance of Scotland's picturesque scenery, in addition to drawing attention to sites with literary associations. These illustrations offered readers of both the gift book and the guidebook the same ideas and visual conventions.

Photographic souvenir books did not duplicate or recycle images in the same way that souvenirs with manual prints did. However, photographic souvenirs did frequently reach for conventional or similar depictions, disseminating interpretative ideas as effectively as souvenirs that reused printing surfaces. In photographically illustrated souvenir editions, publishers did not always have access to identical

photographs, but frequently reused similar or sibling prints. As discussed above, the photographically illustrated editions of *The Lady of the Lake* published by A. & C. Black include numerous pairs of corresponding sibling photographs—prints showing the same scene, from the same point of view, but printed from two different negatives. The 1869 and 1870 editions include seven such corresponding pairs (Bdg.s.171; SD 5628).[29] These photographs are not duplicates, but they are minor variations on a common theme. Thus, they provide their audience with the same stylistic interpretation of Scotland, year after year. Moreover, also as discussed above, the general appearance of Scotland in these photographically illustrated editions is remarkably consistent—even when the photographs do not correspond with other views in different editions. In general, the photographs depict either natural scenes or ruined castles: a picturesque landscape, at the mercy of nature, without significant modern human habitation. By repeating similar views and by adhering to a general style, photographic images developed a visual convention as well as wood engravings and lithographs.

These conventions simplified the visions of Scotland provided for tourist-readers, eventually crossing the line from convention to stereotype. Late in the century, popular images in lithographic view books included a "Highland Piper" and "Highland Military Costumes" (see figures 22-24). These images appeared in different souvenirs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Stirling published by Brown & Rawcliffe—and potentially in more books that I have not identified (*Album of Stirling Views*; *Album of Views of Glasgow*; *Album of Edinburgh Views*, NE.11.d.26). Of these three locations, only Stirling is at all close to the Highlands. The use of these images in souvenirs of Edinburgh and Glasgow conflated Highland culture with national Scottish culture, eliding the differences between different regions of the country. As Trevor-Roper argues in *The Invention of Scotland*, this elision was an established habit (192). Still, these souvenirs reinforced the "sartorial myth" that construed tartan and kilts as key elements of Scottishness (189; see also Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition"). By taking shortcuts to produce these albums cheaply, the publishers of these lithographic albums restricted their ability to

[29] Each edition also had four further photographs that did not correspond to the photographs in the other edition.

represent Scottish cultural and geographic diversity, resulting in simplified representations.

Indeed, image repetition and imitation simplified the representation of Scotland as a whole. Nineteenth-century souvenir books repeatedly drew attention to the same places. They repeated visual representations of Scotland, just as much as they repeated literary associations with different sites. The illustrations feature the same unspoken emphasis on picturesque landscape, and eventually on "traditional" culture. The lithographic albums, perhaps more repetitive and derivative than the photographs or even the wood engravings, can be seen as compendia of symbolic scenery, rather than accurate records of various views. This both enlarges and reduces these images: they become less index than icon. As such, the lithographic images can be iconic, well-known, generically representative. They depict Scottishness, rather than Scotland itself.

Overall, these books disseminated conventional representations of Scotland to their audience community. Of course, not every reader would confront these books uncritically. Undoubtedly, some Victorian tourist-readers arrived at very different interpretations from those made readily available by these images. But there were likely many tourist-readers who did not read against the grain. The repetition of both images and ideas for these readers drew them together as a reading audience, by allowing them to share in the same restricted range of interpretive prompts. In fact, it drew tourist-readers together as an intellectual community, unified by shared exposure to recycled ideas. This was not an intentional effect. As argued in previous sections, the reuse of these images was a commercial tactic that publishers deployed when they needed to illustrate their books more cheaply. Image recycling was the effect of financial and technological pressures, not part of a cultural campaign; but it had the unintended consequence of drawing together a diverse reading community around a simplified portrayal of the Scottish nation.

Several scholars have outlined models of intellectual communities united by their reading experiences of material texts. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson identifies print media and shared reading as a precondition for the emergence of nationalism. For him, "print-capitalism" was the essential catalyst that enabled "people […] to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in

profoundly new ways" (36). According to Anderson, the act of reading a newspaper becomes a ritual in which "each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others" (35). "Print-languages" enabled communication "via print and paper," uniting unknown fellow readers into a national community (44). None of the members of this community needed to know each other; the shared reading experience and shared knowledge provided the source of the bond. Tourist-readers, too, were united by exposure to the same media and the same information. These readers were unified less by their shared experience of a reading ritual, and more by their intake of similar ideas from superficially different books. But the audience for these souvenir books also had the common experience of framing their experiences of travel through books. This habit, perhaps a textual ritual somewhat akin to Anderson's newspaper reading, allowed them to self-identify as literate travelers, an idea that will be discussed in further detail later on.

Other scholars have taken up Anderson's idea and identified similar community models structured around various media. In *The Mass Image*, Gerry Beegan identifies a reading community that coalesced around *fin-de-siècle* illustrated magazines. Where Anderson's community was united around shared experiences, both material and linguistic, Beegan's community was further solidified by its shared knowledge base. Beegan identifies a unifying attitude that he calls "knowingness"—a sense of shared "superficial, contemporary knowledge" that caused readers to feel informed (21). Like Beegan's model, the tourist-reader community bonded through shared information and interest. Tourists, too, could develop a sense of "knowingness"—not about popular jokes, but about the tourist experience in Scotland.

The tourist-reader community was also united by shared exposure to the ideas embedded in souvenir book illustrations. In this sense, it approaches the "interpretive communit[ies]" described by Roland Barthes and Jennifer Green-Lewis (Green-Lewis, *Framing* 112). These scholars describe the act of viewing and interpreting photographs as a social process. They identify the necessity of "photographic connotation"—the "crucial act of *reading*" and interpreting photographs, "constructing their significance" (Green-Lewis 112). This process of

connotation was based on shared social ideas and interpretive conventions. Barthes argues that photographic connotation was an "institutional activity," with meaning determined by community assumptions (*Image Music Text* 31). He writes that photographic "gestures, attitudes, expressions" are "endowed with certain meanings by virtue of the practice of a certain society" (27). The cultural and historical referents common to that group determine the codes by which the photograph is read. Subsequently, Green-Lewis, quoting Barthes, argues that photographic "connotation" gave viewers a sense of a "shared reality," uniting them in an "interpretive community" (*Framing* 112). The interpretive community that coalesces around photographs, then, does not derive only from the "shared experience" of encounters with material texts, as in Anderson's model (Green-Lewis 112).[30] Her model of an interpretive community also depends on shared intellectual approaches to these material texts.[31]

Barthes and Green-Lewis provide perhaps the best model for the audience for souvenir books. Tourist-readers, too, were engaged in contemplation and interpretation, not just of photographs, but of their souvenirs and their travel experiences both. Barthes' interpretive community offers social context to interpret photographs. The tourist-reader community, I would argue, used souvenir books as context for interpretations of Scotland. They would interpret the photographs in their souvenirs using both general social connotations for photographic interpretation, and genre-specific connotations reinforced by the visual conventions of Scottish souvenir

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[30] Green-Lewis describes the "shared experience" of photographic viewing in reference to photographic exhibitions, an experience that does not parallel the viewing of private souvenir collections. However, tourist-readers had access to repeated images, creating a shared experience of a different kind.

[31] "Interpretive community" is a phrase that may be familiar from Stanley Fish's book *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*. Fish's "interpretive community" is self-aware, critical, and explicitly analytical, and therefore very different from the tourist-reader community. He identifies communities of readers who participate in active discussions about their reading, in the formal activity and "business of criticism" (16). His interpretive communities are populated by those who "share interpretive strategies […] for constituting [the] properties" of texts (14). Certainly, reading a souvenir book can be an analytical process, a semiotic exercise akin to tourism (as Jonathan Culler and Dean MacCannell portray it). But the members of Fish's interpretive communities are known to each other, while the members of the tourist-reading community I identify do not know each other. Their reading might take place in intellectual isolation, unlike the academic and scholarly reading of Fish's communities. Finally, Fish's interpretive communities—composed of professional critics—conduct their reading and analysis with a professional gravity that was not mandated for Victorian tourist-readers. Although tourists could and did contemplate their travel seriously, tourism was predominantly a leisure activity, not a job. (My research focuses on the average tourist, not the professional travel writer.)

photography. This tourist-reader community, unlike Anderson's imagined community, would probably not recognize itself as a community; tourist-readers encountering souvenirs might not recognize them as signs of membership in a national group, as with Anderson's newspaper. Instead, souvenir books disseminated particular ideas, and tourists of Scotland, receiving these ideas, came to think about Scotland in similar ways without realizing it. Some readers certainly read against the grain, resisting the ideas embedded in souvenir books; but the same is true for the audience of any work. Beegan points out that the reading community he describes was a "collective, though by no means monolithic, consciousness" (6). Resistant readers aside, tourist-readers who accepted the interpretations offered by their souvenir books formed an interpretive community, one that was enlarged by the reuse and consequent spread of illustrations and ideas.

Beegan, discussing the readership of late nineteenth-century magazines, discusses the aspirational quality of a reading community that was formed by apparently privileged access to a shared knowledge base. Magazine readers shared a feeling of "knowingness" based on their ability to interpret caricatures and understand popular jokes (21). In this case, the magazines themselves were creating those jokes and then invoking them, inventing an informed inner circle for their readership to aspire to and then join. He argues that "[m]utual knowledge" acquired from reading the same magazines "turned a disparate and shifting crowd into a communal audience" (7, 21-22). Exposure to shared reading material helped to instill common knowledge, common points of recognition, and common values among the reading audience.

Souvenir books created a collective readership that was similarly aspirational. Guides and souvenirs often presented their contents as an entrée to an educated community of connoisseurs, which their readers could aspire to join. Therefore, tourist-readers had an incentive to assimilate the information contained in the books. Literary tourists had literary referents in common—Scott, Burns, Ossian, et al. Tourist-readers buying Scottish souvenir books were also treated to a common set of literary and historical referents. Finally, the illustrations, the depictions of popular tourist sites, were equally important cultural referents. All of these references implied the existence of an upper echelon of tourists, a group who

imbibed this information and gained some deeper knowledge about Scotland. Entering this community of connoisseurs was not merely a result of traveling, but of understanding both the factual context and the aesthetic judgments of any given tourist site. Tourists could do this by assimilating the information and value judgments contained in the tourist books.[32] Each image represented an evaluation of the scenery's picturesque beauty. Each literary, historical, and visual reference was part of a cultural education, a step towards connoisseurship. By reading these books, tourist-readers could begin to identify as literary tourists, as members of this educated community. Reading a souvenir book could, therefore, be an aspirational act; owning and displaying souvenir books could be a visible declaration of membership. As mentioned above, these interactions with print might perhaps resemble Anderson's newspaper reading ritual. Reading or owning a souvenir book might link a tourist to others owning the same books, all seeking to identify themselves as knowledgeable, traveled, and cultured. This use of souvenir books as both an intellectual and a visible tool for social positioning helped tourist-readers identify as a group much closer to Anderson's imagined community. Much more will be said on this topic in chapter four, which addresses the use of souvenirs as class markers more extensively. For now, it is enough to point out that such aspiration kept a notional community alive in readers' minds, just as Beegan's illustrated magazines fostered an in-crowd. The idea of connoisseurship reinforced the bonds of the reading community drawn closer together by repeated images.

The tourist-reader community that developed around souvenir books functioned differently from the communities that Anderson and Beegan describe. The periodicals on which Anderson and Beegan focus were more ephemeral than souvenir books. Anderson's vision of national identity centers largely on a newspaper-reading ritual (Anderson 35). Beegan's study focuses on late-century illustrated magazines, with up-to-the-minute cultural references. These reading communities were united by a sense of simultaneity, which Anderson discusses extensively (26). But the pace at which mid-century souvenir books were produced was enormously different from the pace of late-nineteenth-century periodicals,

[32] This meant, of course, that one could join this intellectual community by reading souvenir books without ever visiting Scotland. If the goal was educated insight, not just a pleasant visit, then books could substitute for actual tours.

which could be printed extremely quickly. Hot-metal composition with the Linotype machine increased the speed of typesetting from around 1890 (Gaskell 276). Rotary presses, which printed from curved stereotype plates, could produce "10,000 complete eight-page newspapers per hour" as early as the 1860s (263). Finally, and most importantly, photomechanical processes rapidly accelerated the production of an illustration printing surface, so that newspapers could include half-tone images from the mid-1880s (272). The souvenir books discussed in this chapter were produced without the advantages of photomechanical processes and hot-metal composition. They were also produced in a book environment rather than a periodical environment, meaning that there were different expectations about production pace.

Therefore, the tourist-reader community surrounding souvenir books operated with a different temporality than the community forged in the mass media environment of the later nineteenth century. Beegan writes of an era when "tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands of people could see the same image at the same time" (2). The less numerous readers of souvenir books were exposed to recycled images at many different times. The blocks used in A. & C. Black's Christmas editions reappeared in souvenirs over a decade later. Popular photographs (or imitations of them) might be printed and circulated year after year. Lithographic copies of those photographs might persist for a decade or more.[33] But the reappearance of the same images overcame this temporal diffusion, drawing the community together over the years by repeating the same points of reference and reinforcing the same aesthetic and cultural values. This tourist-reader community was smaller and more dispersed than the reading community shaped by later mass media periodicals. But this community was intellectually united by subtler bonds, by aspirational points of reference that repeated through time.

To summarize: the illustrations that publishers reprinted to produce cheap souvenir books also, unintentionally, furthered the circulation of ideas about Scotland. The visions of the area available in these recycled images were often simplified and sometimes stereotyped. The establishment of visual conventions also

[33] Most of the lithographic albums that feature Abbotsford with the rowing gentleman are not dated. Based on their style and binding design, I estimate that they date from the 1870s and 1880s, if not from the 1890s.

helped to establish intellectual conventions for tourist-readers, spreading not only pictures of Scotland but also interpretations of its character. These patterns drew the readers of souvenir books together, unifying them around shared visual and intellectual concepts. Tourist-readers formed an intellectual community that resembled the interpretive communities described by Barthes and Green-Lewis, and the imagined communities described by Beegan and Anderson. However, this tourist-reader community also differed from those communities in important ways. The recycled images were scattered through different books, across many years, offering stressors not present in the environments that Anderson and Beegan describe. Thus, while readers were drawn together by their exposure to recycled content, they were simultaneously pushed apart.

**Format and Fracture**

While the centripetal forces of repetition drew the tourist-reader community inwards, allowing it to cohere around repeated images and the ideas they sponsored, there were also centrifugal forces at work dividing that community. When images were reused, they re-appeared in a new context each time, and each new context altered the reader's experience of the image. The same image content could be encountered and then interpreted in different ways, framed by the changes in the surrounding context—and many changes were possible. Recycled images could appear for a range of prices, with a variety of texts, over the course of years. Identical pictures could be packaged in different formats, each subtly influencing the reader's encounter. When views were translated into different media, the translation could completely alter the tourist-reader's interpretive framework. All of these variations acted as subtle counterweights to the pull of repetition, fragmenting the reading community according to different reading experiences.

Reused images could be included in different souvenirs and sold at different price points, thus becoming accessible to different levels of the tourist market. The photographically illustrated souvenir editions issued by the Blacks cost 8s 6d each (Black, Minute book, 185). Therefore, they were less accessible than the 1863

reprint without photographic illustrations, which cost 5s (179). Both of these volumes also featured wood engravings based on drawings by Birket Foster; the *Memento* issued by the Blacks with other wood engravings based on Foster's sketches cost one shilling, or 1s 6d in cloth (*Memento*, rear pastedown). Similarly, a lithographic album cost substantially less than the photographs it was based on, but a single view might circulate both as an expensive photograph and as a cheap lithograph. Because of these price differences, different souvenirs were available to different segments of the tourist market, stratifying the reading community by wealth. Wealthier and less wealthy segments of the audience would have access to different variants of the same basic image, or they might encounter identical images in radically different contexts.[34] Tourist-readers were divided by the souvenirs they could afford.

The tourist-reader community was also divided by time. Benedict Anderson's imagined community is dependent on mutual recognition of simultaneous participation in an ephemeral reading process. Nations, Anderson argues, are constructed as communities "moving steadily down (or up) history," experiencing the flow of time together (26). The newspapers in his key example support this simultaneous experience: periodicals are an ephemeral form of print, connecting their readers to daily or weekly change. Souvenir books, on the other hand, were produced at a slower pace. Images might be repeated months or years after their original appearance, so that tourist-readers linked by those images are connected *despite* the passage of time. The wood engravings used in 1853 in the *Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs* were reprinted in the *Memento of the Trosachs* in 1854. George Washington Wilson & Co. listed the photograph of *Ben Lomond and Loch Lomond from Inchtavannach* in their 1877 catalogue (Wilson, *Ben Lomond…*). The Brown & Rawcliffe souvenirs reproducing that photograph in lithography date from the 1880s or 1890s.[35] A reader encountering this view in 1877 might have different context for it than a reader encountering the same view in 1886. First, there might be

[34] The souvenir audience was relatively wealthy to begin with; let us not forget that the souvenirs are still being sold to people with sufficient disposable income for leisure travel.
[35] The books are undated, so it is difficult to supply a more precise date. However, the Brown & Rawcliffe "camera" series have an advertisement for the publisher on the rear pastedown, including a mention of a medal at an international exhibition of 1886 (*Album of Views of Glasgow*).

many alterations in the cultural mood or moment; and second, the picture would be ten years out of date in the second encounter, even if the reader didn't realize it. Intellectually, these images drew the tourist-reader community together, connecting them even across the years, but the passage of time still pushed against that bond, creating a reading community very different to those that other scholars describe. Anderson's idea of simultaneity, so important to his imagined national communities, cannot apply to these tourist-readers. The tourist-reader community was linked by shared interest in, and knowledge of, Scotland's present and past, not by the sense that its members would share future experiences and destinies. Beegan's readers were united by their access to up-to-the-minute cultural gossip. Instead, this reading community is looser, shaped around the sense of these sites and images as shared classics, rather than shared ephemeral experiences. Moreover, this division by time reinforced the division by income: in general, the later versions of these images were cheaper than the earlier instantiations. Wealthier tourists could access these images first, while less wealthy consumers received the recycled scenes.[36]

In addition to these financial and temporal divisions, the changed physical formats in which illustrations appeared created more immediate fractures in the reading community. Recycled illustrations appeared in new contexts each time they were reused. The Nelsons used the same chromolithographs for guidebooks, such as *The Trosachs and Loch Katrine*, and for souvenir books like the *Souvenir of Scotland.* While these images were the same, printed from the same stones, the books in which they appeared were dramatically different: *The Trosachs* was a guidebook to a specific area, with an extensive factual and historical text. The *Souvenir of Scotland*, on the other hand, was a general souvenir, with lithographs of sites throughout Scotland, and without any further information about those sites beyond the table of contents. Readers of these two books would encounter the same images, with their embedded biases and interpretations, but the two encounters would be dramatically different. This variation created subtle fractures in the

[36] There were exceptions to this pattern. Because of their photographic content, the 1860s souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* issued by the Blacks were more expensive than the 1863 5s edition, even though the photographic copies were reissues of the 1863 printing—a very literal repackaging. Of course, that 5s edition was a reprint of the 1852 edition, which had cost 15 shillings (Black 55).

community, dividing it in a way not seen in Anderson's or Beegan's interpretive communities.

When images were repeated in different publications, the new format shaped the nature of the viewing experience, structuring a different encounter for new viewers around the same original image. Souvenir photographs provide an excellent example of this phenomenon. The same photograph (printed from the same negative) could be purchased in several different packages: individually, in stereo views, in portfolios, in bound albums, and in photographically illustrated poetry books. Régis Durand, trying to conceptualize photography as a medium, has argued that it is "problematic and plural" because these many and varied formats call for "many different ways of viewing" (146). In the same way, recycled souvenir images offered many, pluriform reading experiences. Alterations in format could change the linearity, the flexibility, and the social aspect of viewing souvenir photographs, creating a wide range of experiences for viewers of the same images.

A bound souvenir album, such as those sold by Wilson & Co., offered a relatively fixed and linear encounter. Take, for example, Wilson's albums *Photographs of Edinburgh* or *Skye.* In these albums, every image was bound into place, prompting readers to encounter the photographs in a fixed order. Turning over the leaves could eventually become a reliable ritual for the reader. The succession of one image after another could work its way into the reader's memory. However, Victorians could also buy the same photographs individually, or in groups of loose photographs collected for sale in unbound portfolios. Loose photographs could be shuffled into any order, unlike the leaves of a codex album. Photographs could also be purchased unmounted, for insertion in personal scrapbooks and albums. An advertisement for a Glasgow photograph seller notes that "Any of these Views many be had separately (unmounted, for Scrap-Books—the Large Views, 1s.; Small, 6d.) through any Bookseller, or post free from A. DUTHIE […] and at the Railway Stations" (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1866, advertisements 20). Such loose photographs could be mounted into a personal album in any order, with the viewer creating an entirely personal narrative around the image. These formats differed dramatically from the ordered experience of the bound album.

The codex format also prompted a more finite experience than loose photographs. A viewer looking through a stack of photographs reaches the last image in the stack and continues, only stopping when the first photograph reappears. The experience is circular; it loops. In contrast, when a viewer progresses through the photographs in a codex, the experience is delimited by the volume itself. There is a clear sense of progression, defined by the movement of leaves from the right to the left, and there is a clear end to the experience when the reader turns the final leaf and closes the book. Obviously, any reader can subvert that experience, for example by flipping randomly through the book, looking only at a handful of images, passing the book around the table, or even disbinding the photographs. But these reading methods are active acts of subversion, choices to reject the experience prompted by the codex format. Thus, a bound album and a stack of loose photographs offer radically divergent ways of interacting with their contents, even though they could contain an identical set of images.

That same set of photographs could also be encountered in a third format: bound into photographically illustrated volumes of poetry, usually narrative poems by Scott. This format is closer to the bound album than the loose photograph. As Beegan points out, the book is "comparatively linear," with a "uniform" reading experience (14). But it is important to note that the photographs were not always inserted in narrative order; as explained above, illustrations of sites mentioned in the poem could appear dozens of pages from the passage where the site is described. Even photographs with poetic captions were not always bound in near the quoted passage. This randomized presentation subverts the linear experience offered by the poetic narrative. A reader might flip to a photograph, then search out the source of the quotation in the caption, moving back and forth through the volume.[37] However, Scott's narrative poems continued to prompt linear reading. Souvenir volumes of poetry therefore created a space amenable to both linear and non-linear exploration, reading modes that were fundamentally different from either the bound photograph album or the stack of loose photographs. Even though a single photograph could be encountered in any of these formats, each experience with it would be different. The

[37] A reader who bought this souvenir while touring Scott country might already be familiar with *The Lady of the Lake* or *Marmion*, and therefore might not read the poems from beginning to end in these souvenir editions.

change in format changed the interpretive experience, subverting the ability of the repeated image to serve as a common point of reference for the reading community, even as it reinforced conventions in the visual depiction of Scotland.

These three photographic formats also supported different types of social experiences. Individual photographs could be passed around a group of people easily, with multiple people all viewing individual photographs from the set simultaneously. Bound photograph albums were more difficult to examine in groups, especially because these albums were often relatively small. Perhaps two or three people together could comfortably examine an album the size of an average octavo, and that shared viewing would be an intimate experience (Edwards, *Photographs Objects Histories* 11). The photographically illustrated volume of Scott, in contrast, offers an intensely solitary experience, organized for individual reading. But again, the same photographs by Wilson & Co. were featured in any and all of these three formats. Readers could encounter the same image in different circumstances and consider it differently each time—slowly or quickly, alone, in a small or a large group, as part of a linear or a non-linear narrative. The multiple available formats diversified the available encounters with a single image, weakening the sense of shared reading experiences that helped to unite the tourist-reader community.

When images were recycled in different media, this caused even more profound changes in the reading encounter. One could say that changing the medium changes the message; to be more specific, changing the medium changes the way the reader decodes the message. Each medium carried its own genre expectations. As Beegan puts it, "each reproduction technique suggests a particular way of viewing the world" (15). Wood engravings, lithographs, and photographs all had different reputations for authenticity (always a popular consideration for souvenirs). Victorian readers held assumptions about the objectivity of each different record of the original landscape. Because of the varying degrees of mechanization or human intervention involved in each illustration process, readers could interpret the accuracy of the visual information in each print differently. Therefore, these media all functioned slightly differently as souvenirs, because they represented the original site with varying degrees of objectivity and subjectivity.

In general, the Victorians considered photography to be a reliably objective transcription of visual facts. It was commonly assumed that "the photograph simulates experience in a way that" other illustration processes could not replicate (Marien 120). Marien writes that for the Victorians, "the photograph alloyed a mirror's fine detail with a window's view to the wide world" (39). The very physicality of the photograph reinforced this assumption: Green-Lewis has argued that the photograph's physicality, its ability to represent tone rather than line, without an intervening grain or screen, allowed Victorian viewers to assume that it was "more accurate" than other media, transparent as "a pane of glass between the viewer and the world" (*Framing* 109).[38] Its detail and objectivity could lead readers to approach a photograph with a certain degree of trust. Victorians saw the medium as a method of "facsimile"; consequently, photographs could "evade the charge of being counterfeit or deceptive" (Marien 120). Of course, photography was still a subjective process, and photographers composed their shots as they wished. The Victorians did take this into account, and the complexity of their attitudes towards photography will be more fully discussed in the next chapter. For now, we can generalize by saying that the process was significantly more objective, and was read as more objective, than manual prints like wood engraving or lithography that involved the intervention of human hands. As a result, information contained in a souvenir photograph would often be trusted. For a tourist, souvenir photographs would appear to refresh the memory accurately; for an armchair tourist, receiving a gift from a traveling friend, souvenir photographs would be the closest possible substitute for a real visit.

When the contents of a photograph were translated into lithography, however, readers had to approach the result with a new attitude. Trompe-l'oeil lithographic albums imitated the colors, the stiffness, and the blank skies of contemporary photography, but no Victorian reader would have mistaken these lithographs for albumen prints. For one thing, in many (though by no means all)

[38] Gerry Beegan argues that the "unbroken […] tonal surface" allowed Victorians to "overlook" the photograph's "mode of production" (15). I would argue that Victorian readers would still notice the unbroken (and unusually glossy) surface as a novelty, distinct from other methods of image creation. The presence of a photograph in a book would, at this era, not have been overlooked; the unbroken surface would have drawn attention to the virtues of the photographic production.

examples, the lithographic albums advertise their derivative nature by identifying the photographers responsible for the original views, by advertising the publishers as a lithographic firm, and by putting "Camera" in large letters on the front board (e.g. *Album of Stirling Views*; see figure 3). More importantly, even though the albums imitated the colors and the visual vocabulary of contemporary photography, they had a very different tactile quality from photographs. Albumen prints always had to be backed with card, to prevent the coated paper from curling, but the lithographs in these albums were printed on thin paper. Albumen prints also had a subtly glossy surface, visibly different from the surface of the lithograph. Therefore, the reader of a trompe-l'oeil album would recognize that these images were derived from photographs, but he or she would also realize that they were not photographic originals—introducing a soupçon of suspicion into the reading experience.

The viewer might not know how much the original photograph had been altered in the translation to lithography, but the intervention of the human hand was unmistakable. To translate a photograph into a lithograph, the print had to be redrawn by hand on the stone. The photograph could be exposed onto the stone to provide guidance, but in these albums, the human hand ultimately translated photographic detail and tone into lines that could be printed lithographically. Average Victorian tourists might not know the details of this process, but they could see the resulting changes in the image: these pictures imitate photographs, but they do so using the vocabulary of drawings. Every line in these trompe-l'oeil albums is one that could be drawn by a human hand. The human eye can recognize this. The lithographs lack the infinitely fine tone and detail that are the hallmarks of photography. Not all Victorian viewers were familiar with the complex technology behind lithographic printing, but they knew what drawings looked like. They would recognize this medium as a hybrid, somewhere between a relatively subjective sketch and a comparatively objective photograph. Generally, tourist-readers would stand a decent chance of recognizing this format, which was, after all, a relatively popular style.

Tourist-readers recognizing these photomanual prints as hybrids would then shift to a format-specific set of interpretive assumptions. Because human hands had intervened to create the new image, viewers could not expect the same accuracy or

authenticity they might expect from the original photograph. Anything could have been changed for the lithograph, either intentionally or accidentally. The variation among interpretations of the Abbotsford rower in the Derby hat—the photograph by George Washington Wilson, copied into lithography in several souvenir books—shows that the translation from photograph to lithograph was not exact (see figures 17-19). However, the lithographs were not derived from artist's sketches, as Birket Foster's wood engravings were. Their evident and well-advertised foundation in photography made them a slightly more reliable source. Viewers had to form their own opinions, assessing how well the images represented the views they remembered, or hypothesizing about how a scene might have been altered in the transition from photography to lithography. The shift to a new medium required its readers to assess the same image content differently. Even though the photograph and the lithographic copy might record the same basic visual information—the same building, with the same trees in the background and the same figures in the foreground—the reader would nevertheless encounter the two prints with fundamentally distinct interpretive attitudes in place.

Even though tourist-readers could encounter the same images repeatedly in different souvenir books, no two encounters would be the same. Slight alterations could substantially change the impact of an image. As a final example, consider two lithographs depicting "Loch Lomond, from Inchtavannach" (see figures 20-21). These two print appear in different publications (an *Album of Stirling Views* and an *Album of Views of the Trossachs*), reproducing a photograph by George Washington Wilson ("Ben Lomond and Loch Lomond from Inchtavannach"). The lithographs were probably printed from the same original stone, though one has been cropped down (figure 21). The basic view shows the loch bounded by mountains in the background and pine treetops in the foreground. In Wilson's original photograph, certain mountains appear paler than others, thus providing a sense of scale and depth to the image. His Loch Lomond goes on forever, an awesome display. But the reduced tonality in the lithographs reduces the depth of these images. The mountains are printed in very similar shades of gray, which brings the distant peaks forward into line with each other. The background in the larger image (which is particularly poorly printed) looks almost like a continuous ridge, with little to distinguish Ben

Lomond from other peaks (see figure 20). The photomanual prints flatten both the view and the sense of awe it could offer.

In addition, the direction of the steamer boat has been altered in the lithographs. In the original photograph, the wake and the cloud of steam both suggest that the boat is pushing forward into the image. This decreases the visual movement in the composition, but increases the apparent immensity of the loch. In the lithographs, however, the steamer moves horizontally across the space, with its cloud of steam and wake trailing out to the left. At the far left, along the coast, the lithographer has added a small dock, presumably the boat's point of origin. This change draws attention to the boat and to possible leisure activities, but reduces the apparent depth and inherent wonder of the scene.

The two lithographs also differ from each other, changing the impact of the image in each publication. These two prints were most likely printed from the same original stone: minor lines and details match. However, one of the two prints has been substantially cropped down, to share the page with others (figure 21). The larger print (figure 20) has a substantial foreground of pine forest, but in the smaller (figure 21), only one treetop is visible. In the larger print, the foreground distracts from the rest of the image. The mass of pine trees is monotonous at best, but dark enough to outweigh the mass of Ben Lomond at the upper right and to block the lighter expanse of the loch in the center. However, it does suggest the appeal of the onlooker's point of view. Inchtavannach, the point of view in these images, is a hilly island in the loch. Because it would take a tourist time and effort to access this island and climb this hill, this perspective has a special appeal. The expanse of trees in the larger lithograph at least imply something of the island's height. Without the trees, the cropped image retains almost no contextual information about Inchtavannach. It is impossible to deduce that this point of view is special. The pines no longer distract the eye, but the suggestion of height is gone. Wilson's original image struck a midpoint between these prints with a small but unobtrusive border of treetops. In this example, then, we see how the impact of the same basic image can shift through multiple iterations. Wilson's photograph indicated the glamor and immensity of Loch Lomond and Ben Lomond. These photomanual prints foreshorten the loch and make the steamer's movement horizontal, reducing the visual impact of both the loch

and the mountain. The loch appears more accessible—but less appealing. The differences between the two lithographs also change the apparent scale of the scene. Loch Lomond shrinks in these reproductions, becoming more accessible to touristic activity, but less interesting. Recycling altered the meaning of souvenir images, in subtle but important ways.

The fact of this centrifugal force is just as important as the nature of it: the tension between unification and fragmentation distinguishes this moment in print culture from later mass media eras. This heterogeneity is a distinct feature of this reading community, dependent on the distinct conventions and practices of souvenir printing. Barthes' community, and Green-Lewis', were both centered around photography; Beegan's and Anderson's were centered on periodicals. These communities experienced the same material texts, or identical copies of them, printed in numerous quantities for a vast audience—hence the importance of Beegan's *mass* image. In discussing interpretive communities, Beegan and Green-Lewis do not discuss fractures of this kind. Beegan's readers, of course, were all interacting with identical objects, so this stratification was not a factor in the audience he analyzes. The reading community of the period I discuss is unique in its opposing tensions: similar content pulled readers together, while different formats pushed segments of that community apart. This fragmentation made the tourist-reader community very different from the imagined and interpretive communities conceived by other scholars and outlined above.

The varied physical formats of these images created a range of approaches to the same content. The processes by which the images were created changed the way readers could expect those images to represent the reality of places and views. The material differences engendered intellectual, social, and material differences in the way readers experienced the same images. Additionally, variant versions of the same images were available to different sections of the tourist-reader community, divided by time and by disposable income. Thus, even as the reuse of images in different media and in different formats created a tourist-reader community, it also left room in that reading community for fractures, for stratification, for variety. Victorian souvenir printing was not a mass media environment, but an environment of themes and variations.

## Conclusion

Illustrations were one of the key features through which souvenir books spoke to their readers. Tourists looking for ways to remember their journeys were naturally drawn to landscape views. At this time in publishing history, however, the demand for affordable illustration could only be met through clever recycling. Publishers cut corners in a variety of ways to produce illustrated books: some reused printing surfaces from other projects. Others invested in new prints or printing surfaces but copied existing artistic content, inserting popular tourist photographs into books, or copying them in photomanual lithographic views. The choices and strategies specific to this moment in publishing history allowed a concentrated group of similar but not identical images to circulate. The ideas embedded in these images flourished as well, allowing conventions and stereotypes to spread. These ideas gained even more influence because souvenir books often upset the traditional image-text hierarchy. Their images were not secondary illustrations, commenting on a primary text, but were themselves the primary focus of attention—and therefore of interpretation.

Readers unaware of each other were nevertheless drawn together by their common exposure to the same basic images and to the concepts embedded in those images. These tourist-readers formed a distinctive reading community, related but not identical to concepts of imagined community and interpretive community. This was a version of the communities identified by Anderson and Beegan that would cohere at the end of the century around mass media like newspapers and illustrated periodicals. It was also akin to the interpretive communities that Barthes and Green-Lewis argue contextualized the reading of photographs. In this earlier technological era, the tourist-reader community was less strongly linked than later imagined communities. Though united across financial fault lines by the images of Scotland that they shared, readers were nevertheless fragmented by the differences in those images that emerged from their translation into different formats and media. The strongest link between these readers was their shared exposure to the ideas

embedded in the images that were repeated from book to book. Illustrations offered all kinds of interpretations of Scotland, depicting it as a modern, accessible, tourist landscape, a halcyon literary shrine, or the stereotypical land of kilts. More complex souvenir books offered more complex narratives, a few of which will explored more thoroughly in the next chapter.

## Chapter Three: Illustrated by the Sun
## Photographic Souvenirs of Walter Scott's Poetry

Literary tourists in Scotland who toured the Borders and the Trossachs after reading Sir Walter Scott saw the country through the lens of Scott's writing. They interpreted both their present experiences, and Scottish history, through his texts. Ann Rigney refers to Scott's poems in Pierre Nora's words as *lieux de mémoire*, which offered "imaginative engagement with the past" (*Afterlives* 129). When Scott's poems were sold in souvenir editions, his poetry helped readers to interpret pasts both personal and public.

This chapter examines a small number of souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* that were illustrated with photographs in the 1860s and 1870s.[39] The photographs and the literature offered complex, multivalent glosses on travel. The juxtaposition of text and image allowed tourist-readers to reimagine both literature and tourism, leaving the two experiences entangled long after the end of the journey. In brief, the photographs repeated work that Scott performed in the texts to manage narratives about Scottish history and create romanticized depictions of the country. The illustrations provided readers with immersive, imaginative reading experiences, making romanticized narratives seem vivid and real. Paul Westover has written of literary tourism as part of "an emerging, multimedia conception of the literary" in the nineteenth century (152). The photographs in these books added yet another medium to the mix.

These photographic volumes of poetry were new and unusual souvenirs in the 1860s. Even in its earliest days, photography was closely associated with travel in Scotland. Of the four earliest photographically illustrated books, two are collections of Scottish views: William Henry Fox Talbot's *Sun Pictures in Scotland* (issued in 1845 but begun before that) and Hill and Adamson's *Series of Calotype Views of St. Andrews* (first advertised in 1844) (Newhall 317).[40] When souvenir

[39] For a list of issues and copies examined, see the appendix at the end of this chapter.
[40] The other two earliest books with photographs are Talbot's *Pencil of Nature* (1844-5) and Anna Atkins' *British Algae: Cyanotype Impressions* (1843). Talbot's *Pencil of Nature* is often named as the first, but arguments can be made for the others. Atkins' book was the earliest, but her images of algae

photographs became commercially viable in the 1850s and 1860s, landscape views immediately became popular. Scotland was thoroughly photographed.

Tourists and armchair tourists both wanted travel photographs, and they wanted pictures of Scotland. At the end of the century, tourists could fulfil that desire themselves. Kodak sold the first hand-held camera in 1888. Before then, photography was not an especially portable hobby. Cameras and glass negatives were heavy and fragile. In addition, the wet collodion process commonly used in the 1850s and 1860s required the photographer to develop the negative immediately after exposure, before the wet collodion dried (Newhall 59). Therefore, a photographer needed to carry not only a camera and negatives, but a portable darkroom and dangerous chemicals. Amateur photographers existed, Julia Margaret Cameron being one of the best known, but the vast majority of mid-Victorian tourists skipped the back-breaking labor and purchased their scenic views from professionals.

Professional photographers were happy to supply them. The career of prominent photographer George Washington Wilson exemplifies the burgeoning market in Scottish landscape photography. Wilson was one of Scotland's best and most prolific landscape photographers, and his work illustrates many of the books discussed in this chapter. He began his career as a portrait artist in Aberdeen, shifting to photographic portraits as early as 1852, almost immediately after the invention of albumen paper and wet collodion glass negatives (Taylor, *George Washington Wilson* 14). Soon afterwards he began producing landscape views, issuing his first list of scenic views for the stereoscope in 1856 (64). That list included 44 views (64). By 1863, Wilson's new list offered 440 different stereo views for sale, three-quarters of which were Scottish landscape scenes (176). At this point, Wilson and other photographers had definitively moved into the tourist market. His views were carefully designed to correspond to tourist hotspots, and his photography firm began to sell these images throughout Scotland—in bookstores and stationery shops, but also "in hotels, on steamships and on railway bookstalls" (64). By the middle of the decade, 60% of his business was concentrated on landscape photography (Taylor,

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are sometimes classified as "photogenic drawings," rather than photographs: they were made without cameras, by laying the algae specimens on light-sensitive paper (Newhall 317).

"George Washington Wilson…"). Eventually, Wilson's views were available throughout Britain, in multiple formats: stereo views, cabinet cards, cartes-de-visite ("George Washington Wilson…"). He also gained international recognition in the 1860s, winning a medal at the 1862 International Exhibition (Taylor, *George Washington Wilson* 102). Wilson's success was extraordinary, but his career is indicative of wider trends: in the 1860s, scenic photographic views were exploding.

By the 1860s, consumers could buy photographs as individual images, in albums, or as book illustrations. Early photographs had circulated in extremely expensive, small-run books, but by the 1860s, book illustration was viable for costly middle-class gift books. Travel books were commonly illustrated with photographs. These editions presented themselves as a "decided advance" in the world of travel literature (Howitt, preface). Literary works also began to appear with photographic illustrations: enough photographic collections of poetry appeared in the decade to constitute a small publishing fad (Groth, *Victorian Photography* 8). Numerous examples of editions of Walter Scott and Robert Burns appeared with photographic illustrations, many by George Washington Wilson. [41]

Many of these editions—at least those produced in Scotland—were souvenir books, as well as gift books. Some were explicitly marketed and advertised as souvenirs. An advertisement for one of A. & C. Black's editions of *The Lady of the Lake* describes it as a "Photographic souvenir of Scotland," with "Photographs by G. W. Wilson of Aberdeen" (*Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs*, 1866, 22). This advertisement appeared in one of the Blacks' guidebooks, precisely directed at the tourist market. Other photographically illustrated editions of Scottish poetry can be identified as souvenirs from context clues. One copy of *The Lady of the Lake* was inscribed "in remembrance of Our Highland Tour" (Black 1869, SD 5628). Copies in mauchline ware bindings were likely also sold as souvenirs. Another copy of *The*

[41] Gernsheim's bibliography of early British photographic editions lists: 143 *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1861); 196 *The Lady of the Lake* (London: A. W. Bennett, 1863; second edition, 1865); 323 *Marmion* (London: A. W. Bennett, 1866); 424 *Scotland; Her Songs and Scenery […]* (London: A. W. Bennett, 1868); 455 *The Lady of the Lake* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1869); 538 *The Lord of the Isles* (London: Provost & Co., 1871); 541 *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (London: Provost & Co., 1872); 588 *Poems, Songs, and Letters, being the Complete Works of Robert Burns […]* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1875). My own research has turned up editions and issues that Gernsheim overlooked, including *Marmion* (Edinburgh: John Ross & Company, 1873), and several editions of *The Lady of the Lake* (London, Edinburgh, and New York: T. Nelson & Sons, 1869); (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1863); (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1871).

*Lady of the Lake* claims to be bound in "wood which grew on the field of Bannockburn" (RB.S.2720). These books were not exclusively sold as souvenirs, but they were purchased and read as souvenirs of Scotland, and it is necessary to interpret them in that context.

This chapter begins with an overview of the Victorian understanding of photography and its reputation for objectivity—a debate conducted by the Victorians themselves, as well as by modern Victorianists. Ultimately, photography was thought to offer the potential for authenticity, though it was not guaranteed. This reputation allowed photographs to catalyze intense imaginative reading experiences, which I describe through reference to the eighteenth-century notion of "ideal presence." Then, I move on to discuss the origins of photographically illustrated souvenir editions of Walter Scott, which were some of the earliest souvenir editions of literary texts to be illustrated with photographs. These illustrations entered a longer tradition of illustrations for Scott's poetry, which has often been analyzed in terms of a conflict between romance and realism. However, I argue that this characterization does not apply to these photographic editions, where the realist connotations of photography worked to support the romance of the narrative. In fact, this relationship between realism and romance parallels Scott's experiments in historical fiction, where factual detail and invented narrative merged to create stories that felt emotionally albeit not literally true. In *The Lady of the Lake*, the narrative that emerged from both text and photographs is one of timelessness, characterizing Scotland as a sublime and accessible landscape, available to tourism. In souvenir copies of *Marmion*, in contrast, the photography emphasized the passage of time, working with the poetry to keep disruptive history at a comfortable distance. All of these editions helped tourists imagine their way through fantasy versions of Scotland, generated both by the historical fiction of the poems and the realist-romantic photographs. I show that the physical editions carried forward ideas present in the poetry, and helped tourists conceptualize Scotland.

## Photography and "Super-Literary Vision"[42]

[42] Westover 21.

Photography was still a new illustration medium in the 1860s, and a relatively new medium in general. Victorian readers were still learning to recognize its capacities and limitations, especially its capacities for factual representation and authenticity. Its reputation for accuracy—though not uncontested—did prompt highly immersive viewing and reading methods. These could generate intense imaginative responses to the images and the volumes they illustrated, allowing readers to imagine that they were revisiting the "ideal presence" of the depicted moment or scene.

"Ideal presence" is an idea from eighteenth-century literary criticism that helps characterize a type of reading experience that Victorian tourists may have been seeking. It is an aesthetic effect described by Henry Home, Lord Kames in his *Elements of Criticism*, an overview of the principles of literary composition first printed in 1762 and frequently reprinted well into the 1880s.[43] Modern scholars like Mark Salber Philips, Stephen Bann, and Paul Westover have referred to the ideal presence effect and the desire of contemporary readers to achieve it, often in the context of historiography (Philips 108-9; Bann 46; Westover 18-26). In brief, the effect describes the sensation of proximity—"presence" of the people or places in a narrative—experienced while reading. Kames argued that when it was fully felt, "the reader, forgetting himself, [would] be transported as by magic into the very place and time of the important action, and be converted, as it were, into a real spectator" (qtd in Phillips 109). This illusion of immersion was an intense, imaginative experience. Phillips writes that according to Kames, "[v]erbal representations" could sometimes share the emotional "power of actual experience" (108). It was a state that readers decided to pursue, an active creative experience rather than a passive wash of emotion. Benjamin D'Israeli "describe[d it] as a creative faculty, a psychosomatic state, and a morbid, visionary enthusiasm" (Westover 23). It depended on the reader's "willed belief" and "imaginative projection" (Westover 24, 26). It could not exist without a "wholly receptive" reader (Phillips 108). As Westover points out, "the quest for reality" that was literary tourism "promoted

[43] A search of WorldCat reveals half a dozen editions from the 1860s alone.

belief" (24). In other words, a knowledge of the truth behind the fiction could only increase the poetic faith necessary to produce this intense aesthetic response.

But in addition to the reader's will, ideal presence also required effective prompting—which could stem from a text, but which could also emerge from an evocative tourist site. In many cases, the prompt would be a powerful, well-written text. Kames was describing a reaction to literary texts, but Phillips argues that "he did not recognize any limit to the principle of ideal presence" and "could apply it with equal force" to any textual genre (109). Other scholars have argued that the effect could also be generated by objects and places. Westover writes that it could be inspired by "the power of material remains" (26). Tourist sites functioned as such material remains. He depicts literary tourism as a quest for this effect, arguing that the "main distinction between reading and literary tourism was that tourism assumed ideal presence would occur most intensely at specific physical locations" (26). Both reading and literary tourism, however, could center on similar efforts to "move between the sensory experience and the glow of associated ideas, to combine the perceived and the ideal in a powerful super-literary vision" (21). Westover in *Necromanticism* argues that readers were questing after the ideal presence of favored dead authors, but literary tourists searching for the effect might also be striving to imagine their way into the historical past or into literary fiction.

In addition, the ideal presence effect could be identified as something tourists expected of their souvenirs. The notion that, as Westover puts it, "books can mentally transport readers into the presence of any person" or any tourist sight, "transcending time and place," would encourage shoppers to turn to souvenir books to preserve the magic of their tours (18). In the literal presence of a tourist sight, tourists might feel the ideal presence of the past; later, in the real presence of a souvenir, they might recall the ideal presence of sites visited on tour. Westover argues that when readers experienced ideal presence, the act of reading "obliterate[d] distance" for them (18). Souvenir books, then, could help readers re-imagine their travels—especially highly detailed souvenirs. Discussions of ideal presence suggest that it was more easily inspired by vivid, detailed objects. "Minute" details were necessary to "carry the sense of actuality" (Phillips 109). The item inspiring ideal presence had to possess "a degree of vividness that results in a loss of critical

distance" (108). Given this, I will argue that photographic souvenirs had a particularly strong capacity for inducing the ideal presence effect—or at least intensely imaginative viewing experiences—for their readers.

Mid-Victorian authors and publishers of photographically illustrated books treated the ideal presence effect as a possibility, without specifically naming it. Take, for example, Hugh MacDonald's *Days at the Coast,* an undated travel narrative first published in 1857 with photographs by Thomas Annan. The book conducts its readers along vicarious journey up and down the Clyde. The introductory text provides historical context and aesthetic judgments in a professed attempt to "be [the reader's] guide into many a lovely, many an impressive scene" (7). *Days at the Coast* is not a guide book: the volume is large and unwieldy, designed for consultation in a parlor rather than on tour. The text never implies or assumes that the reader will ever make this journey in reality, and the book provides no useful logistical travel information. Instead, the author proposes to serve as guide for a virtual tour, promising to "(so to speak) circumnavigate with thee the glorious Frith [sic]" by means of text and illustrations (7). All that is required of the reader is to "vouchsafe us thy welcome companionship" (7). The narrator-cum-tour guide expects the reader to make an imaginative leap towards the ideal presence of the Clyde. MacDonald writes in the first person plural throughout. At first, this seems to be an editorial "we"; but as the work continues, "we" begins to refer to the author and the reader, exploring together in imagination. Here, the ideal presence effect is almost demanded by the author. Clearly, this imaginative, immersive response to photographically illustrated travel books was available to mid-Victorian readers.

At the time, photography had a reputation for authenticity that would have made it easier for readers to pursue an "ideal presence" reading effect. Contemporary discussions of the new medium often credited it with a unique capacity for objective accuracy. In its early days, it was often described as an "infallible" method of reproduction (Root 150). This infallibility was ascribed to the absence of human intervention: photographs were often "presented as apparently authorless texts" (Green-Lewis 4). Jonathan Crary writes that in the nineteenth century the camera was seen as "an apparatus fundamentally independent of the spectator" (136). Contemporary sources often described photographs as the creations of the sun, rather

than the creations of photographers. American photographer Marcus Aurelius Root mentioned the "solar pencil" (151). In the title of his first photographic book, Talbot alluded to the "pencil of nature." Reviews of photographic societies referred to "the immediate offspring of the solar rays" (qtd in Stevenson and Morrison-Low, 104). In the 1860s, this perspective was still common: reviewers commented on the "value arising from the truthfulness of a sun-delineated picture" ("Photography, as employed…"). If photographic images were created by the sun, then they were not subject to human intervention and mediation.[44] This belief in their objectivity fostered trust in photography's accuracy and its evidentiary possibilities. When Talbot photographed his first building, he described it, full of pride, as the first building "ever yet known to have drawn its own picture" (*Pencil of Nature* 44). How could such an impartial, unmediated reproduction be faulty? Even detractors of photography frequently granted it extraordinary capacity for objective, infallible reporting. In 1859, Charles Baudelaire wrote a passionate critique of photography's capacity as an artistic medium, saying that its tendency towards "absolute factual exactitude" made it unsuitable for true art (125). On the other hand, its facticity enabled it to "enrich the tourist's album and restore to his eye the precision which his memory may lack" (125). In souvenirs and travel books, such reliability was highly desirable. An 1861 article on photographically illustrated books in the *Art Journal*, referenced by Helen Groth, argues that the main appeal of photographic illustrations lies in their "delightful truthfulness" ("Photography, as employed…"). Therefore, the traveler could give "the reader of his travels a realization" of the places he visited, with a degree of realism impossible to achieve in another medium ("Photography, as employed…"). In short, Victorians could understand photographs as incontestable, visual facts.

Modern scholars have argued that the photographic medium is not only accurate but authoritative. Both Susan Sontag and Roland Barthes have argued that the direct connection of the photograph to its subject gives it authority, allowing it to authenticate the information contained in the image. Sontag argues that a photograph is "directly stenciled off the real, like a footprint or a death mask […]—a material

[44] Members of the public who had had their photograph taken were thoroughly aware of the importance of light, having had to sit in the full glare of the sun (Stevenson and Morrison-Low 59).

vestige of its subject" (154). Barthes suggests that because a photograph was (in some senses) created by its referent, the picture and referent are inseparable (*Camera Lucida* 5-6). In this he follows Talbot's logic, allowing buildings to draw their own pictures. This material dependence can appear to authenticate the information in the image, just as a tourist would wish. Photographs are verifiable proof that the camera and photographer stood in a particular spot, at a particular distance from the subject, at a particular point in time. A photographic negative is created from the light present at a particular moment. Thus, a photograph has some of what Walter Benjamin might describe as the testimonial power of an original, while maintaining the mobility of a reproduction. That authority, that authenticity, did not rely entirely on the photograph's facticity, but on its sheer existence. Photographs were synecdochic souvenirs, directly and existentially linked to the subjects they depicted.

The sense that photographs could capture instantaneous moments reinforced the medium's reputation for authenticity. As the *Art Journal*'s review of the first exhibition of the Photographic Society pointed out, the earliest daguerreotypes required twenty minutes to take an image of a building, and any moving features of the scene (such as pedestrians) would vanish; but by 1854, a photograph of the ocean could catch "the waves […] ere yet the crest could fall […] or the breaker cast its foam upon the shore" (Review of "The Exhibition…" 49). The Victorians were impressed when photographs could appear to preserve the details of a point in time, as well as a point in space.

However, photography's strong reputation for accuracy and authenticity was not absolute; it was contested. The medium was thought to have the capacity for accuracy and authenticity, but not every photograph fulfilled the medium's potential. There was also room for trickery. Jordan Bear has described nineteenth century photography as "a vast visual environment that daily challenged the credulity and judgment of its citizens" (5). Photographic objectivity, he argues, was ambiguous and "deeply contested" (5). Photographs might appear to be "representations that compel belief," but in fact viewers had to decide after a visual and contextual analysis whether or not to confer belief on the photograph in question (12). Therefore, viewers were compelled to learn and practice "visual discrimination" (15). Photography necessitated analysis, deliberation, and discernment.

Victorian figures agreed. Henry Peach Robinson, a popular Victorian photographer, frequently argued that photorealism was an insignificant virtue. In his 1890s book on photography, Robinson argued that considering the photographer as "a mere mechanical realist" was unjust and reductionist. Instead, photographers could "add truth to bare facts" ("Idealism…" 92). Robinson was well-known as the creator of controversial "combination prints": photographs produced from multiple negatives, collaged to make a single print. This process, he averred, allowed the photographer "greater facilities for representing the truth of nature," even though it also created "a wide latitude for abuse" ("Pictorial…" 161). Not every photograph could be trusted—but in Robinson's view, combination printing, among other techniques, allowed the medium to move beyond exact realism to idealism. To him, the artistic alteration or mediation of a photograph allowed it to represent more fundamental intellectual truths than the mere visual details of a scene (Robinson, "Idealism" 93). (As will be discussed later, a similar distinction would be important for the historical fiction included in the editions that are the main subject of this chapter (Rigney 26)). As Bear points out, Robinson expected his viewers to be able to discern those truths, while simultaneously understanding that the truthful photographic portrait had been mediated (58). In short, both Robinson's colleagues and his audience were expected to discern the difference between what William Ivins calls visual reporting and visual expression (Ivins 177).

Victorian readers therefore needed to assess photographs as connoisseurs, on grounds of authenticity as well as aesthetics. Contemporary reviews rated photographic images on both scales. Travel photographs especially were evaluated for fidelity as well as composition. An article on photographic book illustration specifies that a "*good* photographic picture" needed "delightful truthfulness" ("Photography, as employed…," italics mine). A bad photographic picture, in contrast, might be "weak and wanting in detail" (Review of "The Waverley Series…"). The best photographs were "both truthful and picturesque copies of nature" ("Photography in Scotland"). These comments indicate that although photographic accuracy was possible, it was not guaranteed. This supports Bear's hypothesis that photographic fidelity was recognized as a relative quality.

Photographs could be more or less accurate in their representations of reality, and the quality of the representation determined the quality of the image.

Aesthetics and truthfulness were both important, and faithful photographic representations were not necessarily valued over illustrations in other media if they were not equally picturesque. Reviewers questioned the necessity of photographic travel views, if those views were aesthetically inferior to the wood engravings they would replace. The *Art Journal* review of the 1863 Bennett edition of the *Lady of the Lake* comes down *against* photography:

> It is questionable whether photography employed to such a purpose can successfully compete with wood engraving; certainly the examples here given must decide the question against the former. They are not good in themselves; undoubtedly far inferior to those issued last year by the same publisher in Mr. and Mrs. Howitt's 'Ruined Castles and Abbeys of Great Britain.' (Review of *The Lady of the Lake*, published by A. W. Bennett)

Photographs had to be judged on their artistic merits: composition, execution, taste. A photograph needed to be a *good* photograph—truthful, certainly, but also beautiful.

Victorian readers, weighing the accuracy of an individual photograph, might take high detail as evidence of reliability. Talbot wrote in *The Pencil of Nature* that a photograph could include "a multitude of minute details which add to the truth and reality of the representation, but which no artist would take the trouble to copy" (33). Those details appeared to be depicted with minimal distortion because there had been minimal human mediation. As Oliver Wendell Holmes put it, the "frightful amount of detail" in successful photographs offered "the same sense of infinite complexity which Nature gives us" (107). The detail present in photographs substantiated the images as visual "facts" and provided substance for leisurely investigation.

A high level of detail could not only reassure viewers of a photograph's reliability: it could also help encourage the ideal presence effect, by providing material for a slow, thorough examination. Talbot wrote that readers could and should inspect his photographs with a magnifying glass to appreciate the minutiae of the scenes (*Pencil of Nature* 40). In general, photographs in the mid nineteenth-century were often thought to warrant close examination. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote that "[t]heoretically, a perfect photograph is absolutely inexhaustible" (107).

New delights could be discovered in a good stereo view even after one had viewed it "a hundred times" (108). He provides an anecdotal account of just such a discovery: unexpectedly deciphering the lettering on a tombstone in a photograph of Alloway Kirk (whence the demons who chase the eponymous character in Robert Burns' poem "Tam O'Shanter"). The vividness of this tombstone, he says, was doubtless an unintentional inclusion; nevertheless, it reinforced the reference to the poem, and its narration of a brush with death. Details like this created a more extensive and emotionally complex viewing experience, enriching the immersive power of the whole.

Holmes' account of viewing the photograph of Alloway Kirk suggests a particular approach to photographic viewing: unhurried contemplation, intensive inspection. This was a popular option for Victorian photographic reading. Helen Groth has argued for the prevalence of this slower reading pace, which she dubs "photographic time" (*Victorian Photography* 44). She cites an article in the *Art Journal* that recommends reading photographically illustrated books at "a loitering pace" (Groth 44). She points out that major critics such as Ruskin equated "deceleration with attention" (105). Slow reading, then, was no mere coping mechanism, but a responsible attitude, a pace suited to those important texts and images that merited attention. The juxtaposition of image and text created prime opportunities for reading at this pace, even more than photographs on their own. The "painstaking literal matching" of photograph and poem in some editions forced the reader towards a referential style of reading, a hunt for connections and overlaps between text and image (4). This mode naturally encouraged creative interpretation and imaginative analysis of both the poetry and the photography.

Mid-Victorian photographers composed their works to encourage slow reading, in part because many contemporary landscape photographs were first designed for stereoscopic viewers. As Roger Taylor has also pointed out, stereo viewers created a uniquely immersive viewing experience ("George Washington Wilson…"). A stereo card has two images, taken of the same subject from very slightly different perspectives. The card is slotted into a stereoscopic viewer held up to the face, rather like a pair of binoculars or a modern virtual reality headset. The brain combines the two images into one scene, with the illusion of three dimensions.

In the viewer, the image fills almost the entire field of vision (precluding interpretive captions such as those present in some photographically illustrated books). The reader's eye can then wander through the three-dimensional scene, which becomes in Taylor's words a "space […] as big as your imagination" ("George Washington Wilson…"). Photographers who worked in the stereo view medium, such as George Washington Wilson, strove to create highly mobile images, which would support visual wandering through this space. Wilson wrote that he was "never satisfied" unless his viewer's eye could be "led insensibly around the picture" (qtd in Groth, *Victorian Photography* 86). Stereo views became scenes to explore.

This slow exploration could create a powerful illusion of proximity—an ideal presence effect. Contemporary reviews of stereo images describe the viewer imagining entry into the worlds they depicted. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote that "[t]he mind feels its way into the very depths of the picture" (107). He indicated his delight in certain views by describing his imagined interactions with the landscapes: "I creep over the vast features of Rameses […] and then I dive into some mass of foliage […]. I stroll through Rhenish vineyards, I sit under Roman arches" (109). A review of views of Java states that the stereographs "seem either to take us to Java or to bring Java to us in a manner that is absolutely startling" ("Review of Negretti and Zambra's…"). An 1862 notice of stereo views of Paris by the London Stereoscopic Company states that "[w]hile looking into the stereoscope it is not very difficult to imagine oneself mingling in the throng" ("Minor Topics" 30). These reviewers are all describing the ideal presence effect: active, imagined interaction in the depicted scene, provoked by slow reading and intense detail.

The techniques that photographers used to compose images for stereo views also appeared in souvenir book illustrations—either because photographers were trained in those techniques, or because photographs in souvenir books were prints from negatives actually composed for stereo views. Many of the photographs of Scotland used in early Scottish souvenir volumes were taken by George Washington Wilson (Black, Minute Book 185). A large part of Wilson's business consisted of stereoscopic views (Groth 105). His first landscape views were all designed for the stereoscope (Taylor, *George Washington Wilson* 61). His early books of landscape photographs for tourists, *Photographs of English and Scottish Scenery*, were

assembled from the negatives for existing stereoscopic prints; he took no new negatives for the new medium, but reused old material (129). Roger Taylor has argued that all of Wilson's compositions should be considered in this context ("George Washington Wilson…"). The production context of these photographs heavily influenced their style, and consequently their consumption.

The influence of stereoscopy can easily be seen in the George Washington Wilson photographs used in 1860s poetry volumes. Helen Groth has detailed the meandering composition of a frontispiece in an A. W. Bennett edition of *The Lady of the Lake* (not a souvenir book, but a contemporary edition). Her analysis highlights the "dynamics" of the image, the way the viewer's eye is drawn from point to point around the photograph, exploring it thoroughly before coming to rest (84-86). Wilson's photographs used in souvenir books have similar wandering compositions. In a photograph of Stirling Castle, on the title page of an 1870 edition, the viewer's eye is first caught by the stark white paths in the foreground, standing out against the darker background (Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, Bdg.s.171; see figure 25). Those paths lead the eye to a group of statuary at the lower right, surrounded by the paths. The tall, white statues direct the eye up the slope of the hill on which the castle is perched. There, the battlements on the upper right of the image lead to a curving path that circles around the center right, and a wall that slopes through the trees up from the lower left. From the battlements on the right, the eye drifts to the left, over the wide expanse of the castle itself. A downward diagonal on the left follows the edge of the castle and a rooftop, sloping down to the left end of the wall. This either leads back up to the battlements on the right (repeating a loop around the castle), or to an intersection with a white path, which directs the viewer back to the statues. Even in a depiction of a far sparser scene, like the photograph of Norham Castle in an 1873 *Marmion*, the eye drifts back and forth between the castle in the upper right, the abandoned rowboat in the center left, and the river banks on the lower left and center right (Bdg.s.924). In the "Pass of the Trossachs," the viewer's attention moves from the detailed ferns in the foreground, the drama of the small waterfall in the center of the photograph, and the looming outline of a mountain in the background (Scott, *The Lady of the Lake* Bdg.s.171). This type of slow, rambling examination could push viewers toward intellectual and imaginative immersion in the scene.

Photographs like this could help tourist-readers reinvigorate their memories of travel, because this viewing mode resembled the touristic mindset of exploration and discovery. For Groth, the movement in Wilson's photograph of Scott's tomb "endlessly repeats the tourist's movement through space towards the monument" (86). In Wilson's other photographs, too, the movement of one's eye through the image imitates a tourist's ramble through the grounds of Stirling Castle. Instead of moving "into the poem and the familiar landscape it invokes," the reader can move into a memory from her personal past (Groth, *Victorian Photography* 86). The photographs not only evoke the places a tourist visited; they imitate the specific experience of exploring those places, replicating some of the atmosphere of travel. Therefore, these photographs have the potential to be highly efficacious personal souvenirs. For armchair tourists, too, they provide not only information, but an imitation or reiteration of the tourist experience.

In general, photography and the slow reading mode it often prompted in the Victorian era encouraged readers to imagine their way into the scenes depicted in photographic illustrations, as much as they imagined their way into the settings of the texts they read. Roland Barthes wrote that when he looked at an effective landscape photograph, it felt "as if *I were certain* of having been there or of going there"—whether he had in fact been there or not (*Camera Lucida* 40, author's emphasis). A successful landscape photograph can "annihilate itself as medium, to be no longer a sign but the thing itself" (45). This description sounds a great deal like Kames' ideal presence. Both experiences are founded on the realistic (but not real) feeling of proximity that a work of art can provide, when approached with sufficient imaginative intensity.

Multimedia, photographically illustrated souvenir editions of poetry move towards precisely that effect, helping their readers combine memories of reality with the representations in the souvenirs. Contemporary assumptions and interpretations of photography encouraged readings that sought ideal presence effects. The lingering pace of "photographic time" allows readers to imagine themselves in the presence of the sites and scenes depicted. The compositions of photographs in souvenir editions—images originally destined for stereo viewers—encouraged meandering, immersive viewing. Photography's generally accepted potential for accuracy,

reinforced by its intense detail, recalled and confirmed the specifics of tourist sites. Overall, photographs in souvenir volumes offered their viewers platforms for immersion, evidence for poetic faith. However, the powerful role of imagination in this process allowed tourists to develop complex creative narratives from these photographs, reimagining Scotland based on the information supplied by souvenirs. The next section explores what imagined narratives tourists might construct from these particular photographic editions of Scott.

**Realism in Service of Romance**

Examining specific photographically illustrated editions allows us to consider more specific interpretations of Scott, or of Scotland, that emerged through this type of slow reading. This section begins an analysis of editions of *The Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion* that were published as photographically illustrated souvenir editions in the 1860s and early 1870s (see the list at the end of this chapter). In this section, I provide some publication history, explaining why these books are bibliographically unusual, and then place them into a longer context of illustrated editions of Scott's poetry. Some scholars have argued that Scott illustrations (these in particular) represent a conflict between realist and romantic images, and between aesthetics and commerce. At first glance, these editions appear to perpetuate that dichotomy—especially because many of them pair "realist" photographs with "romantic" wood engravings. However, the combination of these illustrations with decidedly romantic texts allows their realist detail to build toward a romantic effect. In addition, the complex publishing history of some of these books reveals that the illustrations functioned both aesthetically and commercially at the same time. Victorian readers too assessed these images in terms of both accuracy and elegance. Understanding how these illustrated editions combined realism with romance will permit more detailed discussions of the immersive reading experiences provided by these volumes, and the fantasies of Scotland that they represented.

The books I am describing in this chapter were editions of Scott's poetry illustrated with photographs specifically for the tourist market. These books

represent an unusually early use of photographic illustration in literary souvenir books. As discussed in previous sections, book illustration was becoming more common in the 1860s. Photographically illustrated gift books, and books of poetry, became a trend (C. Armstrong 281; Groth 8; Goodman, "Copyright and Christmas" 476). However, few of these were issued specifically for the souvenir market. The Scott volumes, published first by Adam and Charles Black and later by Thomas Nelson and Sons, John Ross, and R. S. Shearer, were all specifically souvenir productions. The Blacks advertised their earliest photographic issues directly to the tourist community in editions of their own guidebooks, calling them "photographic souvenirs of Scotland" (*Black's Picturesque Guide to the Trossachs* 1886, 22). Many issues were available in mauchline ware bindings, also targeting them to the tourist community (Goodman 473-4). This marketing decision appears to have been an innovation of the Blacks, who were the first in Scotland to produce these photographic editions (477). Similar photographic editions of Wordsworth's poetry became popular in the 1880s, with only a few editions appearing in the 1860s and 1870s (477). Similar editions of Scott's poetry published, for example, by A. W. Bennett in London, were not directed at the tourist market. The famous Tauchnitz editions of English-language novels extra-illustrated with photographs as Italian souvenirs were prevalent later in the century (477-8; see also Mills 79, 83; S. Williams, 124; Sweet 40; and C. Armstrong, 345). The Scottish volumes also differed bibliographically from the Tauchnitz editions: where Tauchnitz volumes appear to have been assembled ad hoc for individual tourist commissions, the Scott volumes I discuss in this chapter appear to have been published in batch issues. Some even include printed lists of the photographic contents, which would be impracticable for individual commissions (see Scott, *The Lady of the Lake*, T. Nelson and Sons 1864, reissued by Shearer). Thus, these Scott volumes appear to exist in multiple copies—an important distinction.

Different issues of the same title could include different suites of photographs, but the images from most souvenir issues of a title generally adhered to certain visual conventions, meaning that issues of a particular title can usefully be analyzed as groups. Though other contemporary photographically illustrated books were high-end productions, the focus of considerable editorial attention, these

souvenir editions were sometimes cobbled together. They were released in small issues across several years, and issues of the same title can differ from each other in minor ways, perhaps according to the available stock. Adam and Charles Black began to release photographic souvenir editions in order to glamorize unsold copies of Scott's poems that they had printed in the 1850s (Goodman 468-72). For an example showing how different issues could include various photographs that nevertheless resembled each other, we can examine several issues of *The Lady of the Lake*, published with photographic illustrations in the 1860s and early 1870s (see the list at the end of this chapter). Some of these were published by Adam and Charles Black; some were published by Thomas Nelson and Sons; and some were published by R. S. Shearer, who reissued editions published by the Blacks and Nelson and Sons with George Washington Wilson's photographs. [45]

[45] The exact dates and circumstances of the Shearer issues are difficult to assess. I have examined three Shearer reissues. In two cases, Shearer has added photographs to sheets printed by A. & C. Black with an 1863 imprint (Phot.sm.35 and RB.S.2720). In the third case, Shearer added photographs to an edition by Nelson and Sons, dated 1864 (author's private collection). It is possible that Shearer was working with the Blacks, but no mention of an active partnership with Shearer appears in the minutes for the Scott concern led by the Blacks until from 1851 to 1868 (Black, Minute book…). It seems more probable that Shearer acquired sheets from the 1863 imprint from the Blacks and reissued them at a later date, without changing the year in the imprint (see Goodman, "Copyright and Christmas" 479). This is only confirmed by the fact that Shearer reissued editions from two different publishers, the Blacks and the Nelsons.

Shearer was not acting alone: the reissued Nelson volume also lists John Menzies of Edinburgh and D. Bryce & Co. of Glasgow in the imprint. Shearer's name is by far the largest, but it is worth noting that Bryce especially was also involved in the souvenir book trade, publishing books in mauchine ware boards (see *The Lady of the Lake*, Glasgow: David Bryce; *The Lord of the Isles*… illustrated in figure 12; Burns, *Poetical Works*; Scott, *Scott's Poetical Works*).

It is probable that these illustrated reissues were published a few years after the original publication of the sheets. RB.S.2720 has an 1863 imprint, but a gift inscription dated 1867. The reissue of the Nelson imprint is dated 1864 on the title page, but the ownership inscription is dated 1866—from Stirling. The Blacks did sell remaindered editions from the Scott concern (minute book 166). It is plausible that Shearer and his cooperators acquired two- or three-year-old editions that they reissued in 1866 or 1867.

N.B. The two Shearer reissues of the Black edition appear to be from two separate issues. The printed captions on the inserted leaves with photographs differ considerably: in RB.S.2720, they are printed with Wilson and Shearer's names and a caption in red, in a printed red frame. In Phot.sm.35, Shearer's name and the decorative frame are omitted and the text is printed in black. There are also differences in the photographs used in those two volumes. The photograph captioned "Loch Katrine, Perthshire" in RB.s.2720 depicts a man reclining at the edge of the lake shore. The man is absent in the photograph of the same scene and title in Phot.sm.35. A large batch of photographs supplied to Shearer or to the Blacks for a single issue might have included variant photographs, but the differences in the printed texts suggest that these two copies are from separate issues.

The inserted leaves in the Nelson reissue may match those in Phot.sm.35, but I have not had the opportunity to conduct a sufficiently thorough comparison. If the leaves in the Nelson and one of the Black copies are from the same setting of type, it would confirm a great deal about Shearer's publication methods.

Each of these volumes includes a different suite of photographs, but there are common threads among the selected images. All the issues include certain essential views, including Ellen's Isle, Stirling Castle, Ben Venue, Lochs Achray, Katrine, and Lubnaig, and views of the Trossachs. These scenes are all unoccupied: though one or two shores might include abandoned rowboats, no people stroll through the images. The compositions of the photographs are strikingly similar from book to book, across time and even across publishing firms. For example, Ellen's Isle is usually depicted from the shore of Loch Katrine, through an opening in a frame of foliage (see figure 26). Despite strikingly consistent patterns, the photographs are not identical—they have clearly been taken at different times, sometimes by different photographers. Only once is a specific photograph duplicated in a different publication: the same photograph of Stirling Castle appears in both the 1863 and 1869 A. &. C Black issues (RB.S.2720; Bdg.s.923; see figure 29). These appear to be prints from the same negative. No other photographs are identical, even if the subjects are repeated (three other photographs in both the 1863 and 1869 issues show the same views, but the photographs are not identical). The publishers in question were not using the exact same photographs over and over again. They were purchasing *similar* images, thus developing—or preserving—a visual convention.

These books stand out in the tradition of illustrated editions of Scott's poetry. They do not resemble contemporary, photographically illustrated editions of the same titles that were not dedicated for the souvenir market. The visual conventions visible in Scottish souvenir editions of *Lady* and *Marmion* were related to tourist activity, as can be seen through comparison with an 1863 edition of *The Lady of the Lake* from a London publisher, A. W. Bennett. The photographs for that book, taken by Thomas Ogle, are strikingly different. Part of the difference is stylistic: Ogle's views are sparser, with less foliage and more tourists. Ogle also photographed a wider variety of locations. I have not found Scottish editions that depict (as the Bennett edition does) Lanrick Mead, Glen Finlas, or Coilantogle Ford, although these spots are both relevant and important to the poem. Coilantogle Ford, for instance, is the setting for Fitz-James' and Roderick Dhu's combat in the fifth canto. However, these were not popular tourist sites. The Scottish editions, as souvenirs,

focus on places that were popular with tourists. They include more generic views of Loch Katrine, at the expense of highly specific shots of the Ford.

The souvenir editions also stand out in a longer tradition of Scott illustrations. These photographs do not follow in the footsteps of the earliest photographs of Scotland, those included in William Henry Fox Talbot's *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. As both the first photographs of Scotland, and the first published travel photographs, Talbot's volume could have established a standard. His photographs can also be interpreted (as Gillen D'Arcy Wood has done) as illustrations to Scott's poetry, although they were never published with any edition or excerpts of the poetry. Talbot's interest in Scott is clear from the contents of the book, which includes views of Abbotsford, the Scott Monument, and even the effigy of Scott's dog, Maida. Both Talbot and the souvenir editions include views of some of the most relevant landscapes. Talbot took seven views of Loch Katrine and its environs, which is (unsurprisingly) one of the favorite subjects in souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake*. However, the similarities end there. Most of the other photographs in Talbot's collection are buildings and monuments, rather than natural landscapes. Furthermore, the photographs differ stylistically: the scenes in souvenir editions of *Lady* are almost entirely unoccupied, while Talbot's views occasionally include people. In souvenir volumes, abandoned rowboats may hint at the presence of unseen people, but Talbot's first photograph of Loch Katrine actually includes a man seated in a docked rowboat.

The souvenir views also defy scholarly accounts of illustrations for Scott's poetry. Gillen D'Arcy Wood and Helen Groth have both differentiated between photographic and non-photographic illustrations for the poetry, identifying the photographs as realist or documentary and the steel and wood engravings as romantic or dramatic. This dichotomy does not apply to these souvenir editions. Even in cases where the souvenir editions include both photographs and wood engravings, scholars have misunderstood their creation and overlooked their contemporary reception. Instead of operating along an opposition between romance and realism, these editions blend the two modes, as Paul Westover has briefly argued.

In *The Shock of the Real*, Gillen D'Arcy Wood surveys important illustrations of Scott's poetry and presents Talbot's photographs (which he interprets as illustrations to Scott) as realism's opposition to J. M. W. Turner's romantic steel engravings, published from 1832-1834. To characterize Turner's illustrations, he focuses on the distorted magic of their perspective—demonstrating that in one example, Turner depicted a view as it would appear from thirty feet above ground, an impossible point of view (Wood 182). Turner's scenes are also occupied by tourists: in his frontispiece to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, he includes himself, his publisher and even Scott, picnicking in the foreground (178). Wood contrasts this romantic and occupied landscape, domesticated by tourists, with Talbot's "denuded" photographs, which lack not only "text [and] tourists," but also "the Romantic aura of Scott mythology" (192).[46] He argues that *Sun Pictures in Scotland* presents the "'real' of the Scottish Highlands, devoid […] of historical or narrative reference" (190). Talbot, he says, he says, "insists on the sheer facticity of a landscape where, for Scott"—and for Turner—"every valley ha[d] its battle and every stream its song" (190). Where Turner's views are picturesque and charming, Talbot's views are stark and scientific.

Wood's division between romance and realism is compelling, but Victorian accounts of these images do not present documentary detail as the opposite of aesthetic charm. Instead, the Victorians saw opportunities for single images to provide both accurate detail and elegance. A review of a later illustrated edition of *The Lady of the Lake* refers reverently to Turner's illustrations, and praises their "mingled charm of fidelity and poetic beauty" ("Illustrated Edition…" Review, *Cromarty* [?]). Turner offered not only picturesque magic but *also* reliable detail, and the appeal of his illustrations lay in that combination.

Victorian photographs were also expected to combine reliable detail with aesthetic quality. Reviews of early photography, such as those quoted from the *Art Journal* in the previous section, assessed style as well as substance. An 1869 article in *London Society* asserts that

[46] It must be pointed out that Talbot's photographs are not always denuded or vacant. His first view of Loch Katrine, for example, includes a seated figure in a rowboat (*Sun Pictures).* As stated above, *Sun Pictures in Scotland* included more people than most souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* did.

> … beauty resides in the mind rather than in the object, and we bring to a landscape more than a landscape can bring to us. There are mental moods in which sweet sights and sounds are merely mockery, and others where the simplest landscapes are invested with a meaning deeper than can be given by any interpretator [sic]. ("Musings Among Photographs" 415)

Effectively, the article states, that even documentary photographs can have powerful and varied emotional impacts, depending on the mood of the "interpretator." In the case of the Scott editions, the photographs emerge from a realist tradition, but they could easily be viewed in a romantic mood. Moreover, the photographs are disposed to prompt a romantic mood, as they have been composed by the artistic eyes of George Washington Wilson, and paired with the poetry of the "Magician".

Other modern scholars have also argued that Victorian photography should be understood as merging romance and realism. John Frow agrees in *Time and Commodity Culture* that photography "unites in a dramatic way […] detached witnessing and aesthetic appreciation" (93). Jennifer Green-Lewis argues persuasively in *Framing the Victorians* that the "imaginative life" of a photograph in the "minds of its readers […] owe[s] as much to romance as […] to realism" (8). Paul Westover, discussing literary tourism specifically, agrees with Green-Lewis that "we should discuss photographic realism not as the polar opposite of romance, but as a variant of it" (167). In the case of these souvenir volumes, then, these "photographic illustrations […] also serve romantic vision" (163). Westover in fact discusses some of these very volumes briefly. He argues that "even as it offered documentation, photography could promote literary imagination" (168). Specifically, the documentary accuracy of these photographs "substantiat[ed] and extend[ed] the reach of Scott's texts," giving the setting a greater sense of realism, and "connect[ed] texts to places," providing a literary flavor for the contemplation of the images (155). Westover described literary tourism as an effort "to infuse the physical world with romance," but also "to make the book world more sensory" (53). These souvenirs contribute to that double mission, blending romance and reality from both ends of the spectrum. Instead of perpetuating a dichotomy, these volumes prompted imaginative receptions and the ideal presence effect. When all the different illustrations combined with the text in a single book object, realism and romance could work together to create an idealized portrait, as Robinson might describe it—

that is, a portrait of Scotland that appeared to unite precise and accurate details with higher, deeper truths about the subject.

More specifically, these souvenir editions of Scott complicated the opposition between documentary photography and "romantic" illustrations because several examples included both photographs and wood engravings. The juxtaposition of these different images seems at first to support the romance-realism dichotomy, but the presence of both illustration processes in a single book object helped to align them. In the photographically illustrated editions published by Adam and Charles Black, the photographs accompany extensive wood engravings scattered throughout the text. This was yet another consequence of financial circumstances, rather than a purely aesthetic design choice. Briefly, the Blacks were reusing old printed stock that was otherwise selling too slowly. In the 1850s, they had acquired the copyright to Scott's works from Robert Cadell—at great cost—and subsequently published new editions of several of the narrative poems (McAdams 102; Goodman, "Copyright and Christmas," 452, 455, 462). The 1850s editions, with elaborate publisher's bindings and wood-engraved illustrations by Birket Foster and John Gilbert, were issued as Christmas gift books (Goodman 455; see figures 27-28). A review of *The Lady of the Lake* is included in an overview of holiday gift editions in the 1852 *Dublin Evening Mail* ("Christmas Literature"). A decade later, the Blacks were still struggling to pay off the debt they had incurred in purchasing the Scott copyright (Goodman 468). In 1863, they reused the same wood engravings in a reprint edition of *The Lady of the Lake* (468-9). When that edition sold too slowly, they re-issued it for the souvenir market with photographs by George Washington Wilson (469).[47] These editions included Foster and Gilbert's wood engravings interspersed through the text, and Wilson's photographs on inserted leaves. This aesthetic choice was intended to spur sales by appealing to the new photographic trend, as well as to the Blacks' established customers in the tourist market (469, 472-3).

[47] The Blacks had also attempted to direct some of the original stock of the Christmas editions toward the tourist market, before adding photographs. They advertised their illustrated editions of *Lady* and *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* as "Mementos of the Land of Scott" in one of their own guidebooks to Scotland (*Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, 1859, *Advertiser* 13).

Contemporary reception of the Christmas editions emphasized the realism and artistry of these illustrations, suggesting that opposition between the two concepts first played out in the wood engravings alone. The Foster and Gilbert illustrations were well-received, with long reviews in *The Art Journal* and numerous mentions in other periodicals. *The Lady of the Lake* was the first of the Christmas editions published, in 1852. It received the highest praise and greatest degree of attention. Subsequent editions of *Marmion* and *The Lord of the Isles* received fewer column inches, either (as some reviews asserted) because these productions were less impressive, or because *The Lady of the Lake* was a more popular work—or perhaps merely because it came first. The wood engravings for all the poems were divided into two sub-groups: landscape scenes, which were drawn by Birket Foster, and character tableaux and portraits, drawn by John Gilbert. In a review of the illustrated *Marmion*, a reviewer refers to the "excellent division of artistic labour" by which Gilbert illustrated the "story or plot" and Foster "the scenery" ("Marmion." Review). The blocks were engraved by Edmund Evans, one of the most respected names in wood engraving at the time. In 1852, these illustrations were praised "both as works of art, and as characteristic representations" ("Illustrated Edition…" Review, *Cromarty* [?]). Gilbert's figures came in for occasional criticism, but Foster's landscapes were lauded for both their "exceeding fidelity" and their "exquisite" picturesque beauty ("Scott and Scotland"; Review of *Lady*, published by A. & C. Black, *The Scotsman*). Foster's images for *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, published in 1853, were praised as "designs at once truthful in detail and poetical in effect" (Review of *The Lay*…). One reviewer even wrote of the *Lady of the Lake* that "no series of engravings illustrative of poetry" were ever so close "to the ideal pictures which the poem suggests in the mind of the reader" ("Illustrated Edition…" Review, *Edinburgh Advertiser*). In short, the illustrations—Foster's especially—were appreciated for their union of realist detail with romantic beauty.

At first glimpse, the photographically illustrated souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* do appear to accord with Wood's dichotomy: the photographs appear to offer documentary details, while the wood engravings are romanticized. Helen Groth, discussing these editions briefly, argues that the juxtaposition of the wood engravings and photographs clarifies the wood engravings' status as "dramatic

realizations" (*Victorian Photography* 91). Gilbert's character tableaux are clearly based in imagination, but Foster's landscapes also include fictionalized details. A wood engraving near the beginning of the text depicts not only the mountains around Loch Katrine, but also the hunt that Fitz-James follows (see figure 27; Bdg.s.171, 34). In the foreground, at the left edge, a stag bolts away with hounds close at his heels, while a mounted member of the hunt rides over a bridge at the central focus point of the vignette. As Groth points out, none of the photographs included any action elements like this. Simultaneously, the scientific and realist connotations of photography could not be escaped. The photographs could not reproduce Turner's hovering perspectives. Instead, the photographs offer detailed and grounded depictions of waterfalls, lakes, mountains and the occasional castle, seen from ground level. The foreground is frequently occupied by ferns, growing on the forest floor. This detail fuels the sense of photographic realism and authenticity discussed earlier.

However, the way the photographs are incorporated into *The Lady of the Lake*, paired with poetic captions, prompts more romantic readings of these images.[48] The specific pairings of captions to photographs cue romantic, emotional reactions to the photographs. The photograph of Loch Achray in one 1870 edition is accompanied by three lines of apostrophe (see figure 30):

> Farewell to lovely Loch Achray,
> Where shall we find, in foreign land,
> So lone a lake, so sweet a strand. (Bdg.s.171)

The caption prompts a particular emotional response in the reader: it adds a nostalgic dimension to the reader's appreciation of the beautiful scene. The photograph here is to be read as a picturesque scene, not merely a data-filled report. Another caption, below an illustration of the woods "In the Trossachs," reads: "Boon nature scattered, free and wild, / Each plant, or flower, the mountains' child" (Bdg.s.171; see figure 31). The caption anthropomorphizes the landscape in the image, assigning familial relationships to mountains and plants. Scott references the idea of a "free and wild" nature goddess, strewing plants about to create picturesque scenes. The forest is depicted as a mythical zone, while the photograph tethers that mythos to reality.

[48] While the photographs were on inserted leaves with printed captions (see for example figures 29-30), the wood engravings were embedded in the main body of the text, without captions (figure 27-28).

Thus, the captions romanticize the photographs by linking them to the text, encouraging readers to interpret the views in aesthetic, dramatic, or emotional contexts. The presence of a realist medium served an imaginative or romantic purpose.

Furthermore, the publication and reception history of these volumes disrupt Groth's interpretation of them. Groth's analysis relies on an 1866 copy of *Lady*, which she says was "co-illustrated" by Wilson, Foster, and Gilbert (*Victorian Photography* 90). She describes the "delegation of topographical illustration to Wilson" and the "narrative realization" to John Gilbert and Birket Foster (91). This division of labor, she states, means that the photographs represent "the commercial side of the volume," while the wood engravings are aligned with "the more aesthetic realization of Scott's poetic vision" (91). But given the dates in question, the creative division of labor that she describes could never have been planned: Gilbert and Foster provided the illustrations for publication in 1852, almost a decade and a half before Wilson's photographs were inserted into the 1866 copy that Groth examines. Her analysis makes no mention of the provenance of these wood engravings, or of the Christmas editions. In addition, these wood engravings should not be interpreted as a single artistic effort. Groth notes that two illustrators worked on the volume, but she does not take into account the actual division of labor between Gilbert and Foster (who she refers to at one point as "Birket and Foster") (91). As noted above, contemporary readers and reviewers drew strong distinctions between Foster's landscapes (figure 27) and Gilbert's character portraits (figure 28), and assessed them separately. Finally, Groth's line between commercial photography and aesthetic wood engraving ignores the publication context of both the Christmas and the souvenir editions. Certainly, the photographs were selected as part of a marketing maneuver—but so were the wood engravings. The Blacks, having purchased the copyrights to Scott's works at a large sum in 1851, published both the Christmas and the souvenir editions as part of a prolonged struggle to recoup their initial investment before the copyrights expired (Goodman 449; McAdams 104-7). They commissioned the wood engravings from Foster and Gilbert as part of a deliberate commercial strategy to attract public attention to their editions of Scott's works (Goodman 455-7). Later, the appearance of the wood engravings in the souvenir

editions was not, by any means, an active choice: at that point, the sheets had already been printed, and the wood engravings were inseparable from the text. Only the photographs were new. In general, in book production, no element so expensive as an illustration can be included without some consideration of financial factors.

The three sets of illustrations in these volumes—photographs, wood engravings of landscape, and wood engravings of characters—were all created with both commercial and aesthetic purposes. The photographic illustrations in souvenir editions do not sit comfortably in a dichotomy between realism and romance, or between commerce and poetry. Contemporary reviewers saw both the ideal and the real in the same images. Groth wrote that the wood engravings provided "the more aesthetic realization of Scott's poetic vision" (91). However, the photographs also did considerable work to forward Scott's vision, and to metabolize certain ideas from his work. By yoking romance and realism together in the slow reading atmosphere described in the previous section, the photographs offered complex, immersive interpretations of both Scott's poetry and Scotland, which will be explored in detail in the rest of this chapter.

**Photographic Fact and Historical Fiction**

Photographically illustrated volumes of Scott approached in the slow reading style described earlier in this chapter allowed readers to explore this blend of romance and realism. These books could create an excellent space for Victorian readers to access an ideal presence effect. In the case of *The Lady of the Lake* specifically, the illustrations blended fact and fiction, verification and imagination, in a way that mirrored Scott's use of historical fiction.

These volumes—especially in a tourist's hands—could inspire imaginative exploration, paralleling the tourist's actual exploration. Roland Barthes writes that the *punctum* of a successful photograph has a metonymic "power of expansion" (*Camera Lucida* 45). This is the *punctum* that Barthes attributed to erotic photographs: the idea of a "subtle *beyond*—as if the image launched desire beyond what it permits us to see" (59). For attentive readers, these photographs might

expand the reach of the poem they illustrated, allowing Scott's narrative to encompass the reality of the scenes depicted. *The Lady of the Lake*, and the illustrations attached to early Scottish editions of it, gave readers the sense that they were exploring Scotland's past. The photographs demonstrated the reality of Scotland but attached it to the romantic narrative, blending them in a material reading experience that carried forward the achievements of the text.

Scott's poems—*Lady* and *Marmion* both—were explorations in the nascent genre of historical fiction. The real, historical setting of *The Lady of the Lake* resembles other early historical fiction settings in its potential for exploratory reading. As Paul Westover points out, the genre "thematized the overlap between the romance and history of life," thus also thematizing "the intercourse between the book-world and the worlds of facts" (22). Ann Rigney, in her study of Romantic historicism, writes that those worlds are "by definition real and hence *complete*" (*Imperfect Histories* 100). A reader of a fictional narrative might contemplate questions about the setting—inquiries for detail about the fictional world—that would be not only "unanswerable," but "inappropriate" (100). On the other hand, similar questions about the world of historical fiction would be both appropriate and answerable, since the narrative is grounded in historical reality. Such questions were even desirable—and encouraged, in this case, by the author. Scott was invested in the historical reality of his settings, as the "accretion of footnotes around Scott's text[s]" in the Magnum Opus and later editions demonstrates (Rigney 43-44). These footnotes answered questions just as, or before, the reader posed them. Evidently, the historical context of *The Lady of the Lake* encouraged intellectual exploration and curiosity.

In these editions, that thematization was not only literary but physical, expressed by the incorporation of photographs that reinforced the reality of the poem's setting. In *Image Music Text*, Barthes discusses how travel photographs operate to reassure the viewer of the reality of the photographed place. He argues that a photograph makes its viewer conscious of the subject's "*having-been-there*"—confirmation that the subject was real and present at some point for the creation of the image (Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image" 278). He pursues this argument in the context of debunking the idea that photographs create an almost magical sense of the

subject's presence in the moment: "the photograph is never experienced as illusion, is in no way a *presence*" (278). He states that the "*here-now*" of the copy or the "*being-there*" of the subject are fundamentally illusory (278). But the "*having-been-there*" is a profoundly useful idea for the tourist. In the case of a souvenir photograph, the viewer's awareness is not of the subject *having been there*, but an awareness of the viewer oneself *having been there*—not "it," but "I." The process of recognition that takes place with a souvenir photograph—the matching between the scene in the viewer's memory and the scene as represented in the document—culminates in the cry of "I was there!" This permits an imaginative re-iteration of what it was like there, a memory whose intensity is doubled by the visual exploration cued by the photographs' compositions. This is not the fallacy that Barthes describes—not a "magical" sense of real access to the original through the representation of it (278)—but an empowered recollection of real access in the past. Drawing on their memories, Victorian readers might greet souvenir photographs with a sense of the ideal presence of a place they had been. If the photograph depicted a site they had not visited, it nevertheless reinforced the reality of that place—an important effect in the context of illustrated historical fiction.

The photographs in souvenir editions of the *Lady of the Lake* verify the reality of the Scottish setting. Like Scott's footnotes, they accommodate the reader's historical curiosity in the reading experience by depicting the Trossachs in highly accurate detail, both complementing and authenticating the setting of the poem. These images are illustrations in the strictest sense of the word, elucidating and making visible the world that Scott described. Like footnotes, they confirm Scott's descriptions and explicate his references for uninformed readers. In the 1869 and 1871 A. & C. Black issues, the inclusion of a photograph of the Goblin Cave (Coir-nan-Uriskin, where Roderick Dhu spends a night) allows the reader to imagine the discomfort of that night much more vividly (Bdg.s.171; ABS.1.75.297). The photographs of Bracklinn Falls present in the 1863 and 1869 Black issues clarify Ellen's comparison of Roderick Dhu to the Keltie: like the tumultuous waterfall, Dhu is chaotic and possibly dangerous (see figure 32; Bdg.s.171; RBS.s.2720). Scott originally wrote a footnote to explain the simile, but the photograph provides a more efficient and appealing explanation. The photographs act as a gloss for the text,

adding detail and interpretive complexity. The documentary aspect of "Bracklinn Falls" specifies the metaphor, but also intensifies its emotional impact.[49]

The specific photographs included in souvenir copies of *The Lady of the Lake* provide a sense of a wider world surrounding both text and artifact. Certain photographs reach beyond the setting of the poem by depicting peripheral scenes: photographs of Stirling Castle in the Nelson issue and the 1863 and 1869 Black issues depict the Castle from the nearby Old Town Cemetery (also known as the Holy Rude Kirkyard), which is not mentioned in the poem (Bdg.s.923; RB.S.2720; Bdg.s.171; see figures 25 and 29). Some larger landmarks—lakes or mountains—are depicted in numerous photographs. Including multiple views of (for example) Loch Katrine from different vantage points gestures at the extent of the landscape beyond the photographs, the sheer amount of terrain open for exploration. Rigney argues that history was "imaginatively appealing" in the nineteenth century because there was "*more* to [it] than is told in a single text" (*Imperfect Histories* 119). The multiple witnesses integrated into these souvenirs parallel that imaginative appeal, demonstrating the complexity of the world represented in the book, and provoking the reader's curiosity.

In addition, the composition of some images reinforces what Barthes called the "subtle *beyond*" of a photograph: tree branches straggling into the edges of a frame must be attached to tree trunks, even if those trunks are not visible within the frame (*Camera Lucida* 59; see figure 26). A boat that appears in one photograph must be used to cross a large lake (ABS.1.75.297, "Silver Strand, Loch Katrine"). As Talbot pointed out, no artist creating an engraving or a wood engraving captures every detail (*Pencil of Nature* 33). The resulting image is always, perforce, an interpretive selection. Some photographs, on the other hand, appear to have seized a slice of reality. Straggling branches prove the existence of a larger scene which the tourist could visit. Albumen prints like these authenticated the text and verified the wider world behind it, the larger Scotland through which their tourist-owners traveled. In general, then, the photographs incorporated into editions of the *Lady of*

[49] This factual quality could also restrict the interpretation of the narrative. The photographs reveal subtle meanings in the text, but they also limit the range of potential interpretations. The presence of a photograph means that a reader cannot imagine a setting freely: the near-obligatory photographs of Ellen's Isle, for instance, specify the size, shape, position, and even the number of trees on the islet.

*the Lake* often fostered an exploratory reading experience, encouraging readers to imagine their way beyond the confines of the narrative.

In addition to the general sense of a large, explorable setting, described above, the arrangement of photographs in a non-linear order in the books encouraged a meandering reading process. Frequently, in these souvenir editions, photographs are not inserted at relevant points in the text, but at convenient spots between gatherings. In one 1870 Black issue, a photograph of a Trossachs stream is bound into the middle of Canto VI, which takes place at Stirling Castle—so the illustration has nothing to do with the narrative at that point; its caption quotes from Canto IV (Bdg.s.171, between 304-5). Similarly, a photograph of Loch Katrine with a caption from Canto I appears in the middle of Canto III. Some editions have more appropriately placed illustrations; but for those that do not, the randomness could justify a distracted, meandering path through the book. A viewer flipping from photograph to photograph might be encouraged to flip back to the source canto for a caption; or the reader of the text might cease reading to explore an intriguing photograph (rather than assimilating its information and moving on, as with a footnote).

This exploratory attitude would have fostered, and been fostered by, the photographic reading pace that Groth identified. While readers visually explored the photographs, they could imagine—or recall—exploring the depicted landscapes. A reader who meandered slowly through these photographs mimicked in some ways the physical exploration of these scenes: the viewer's eye can wander through a photograph of Stirling Castle along footpaths where he or she would walk, as discussed above (see figure 25). Meanwhile, the insertion of the photographs into the middle of a romantic narrative overlaid this contemplation with romantic appeal and a romantic attitude. For an armchair tourist who received this book as a gift, and substituted reading for travel, the verisimilitude of the photographs created the sense of a large arena for imaginative exploration—or perhaps eventual physical exploration. In a souvenir, this reiteration of touristic movement helped the tourist-reader access half-forgotten memories of a sight. It could also help them reinterpret those sights in the context of their completed tour—or in the context that the souvenir book provided. These souvenir books could organize sights for their

readers, using Scott to define important tourist sites and prompting readers to decode those sites partly in terms of their literary import. They brought the experience of reality closer to the romantic fiction, and to the act of reading (itself a creative process). This juxtaposition of realism and romanticism paralleled the similar juxtaposition at the heart of Victorian tourism.

By providing realist verification of both historical and topographical detail, the photographs (and the footnotes) offered readers support for intellectual exploration as well. The detail and the hints at a larger world justified the reader in deriving more general conclusions about Scotland and the poem's setting. As a text, *The Lady of the Lake* demonstrates how historical fiction could blend fact and fantasy both for purposes of the narrative and for more general characterizations of a place or time period. *The Lady of the Lake* includes certain historical figures (King James V and the Douglas family), but the events of the narrative, and many other major characters, are fictional. Victorian readers would not have been convinced that it was historically accurate. However, they could have believed it had truths to reveal. Rigney uses Nancy Partner's distinctions between two types of narrative truth to clarify her discussion of historical fiction: Partner differentiates depictions that are "true-to-actuality" from those that are "true-to-meaning" (qtd in Rigney, *Imperfect Histories* 26). The characters and events in Scott's narrative are not true-to-actuality, but the setting is. More importantly, the setting is authenticated—historically by footnotes, and physically by photographs. Rigney points out that Scott's other works "question any easy separation of fictional narrative and historical fact, of invention and representation" (16). Factual detail animates the imagination; and vice versa, fictional narratives illuminate history. As Westover argued, "[t]ruest history […] was vivid"; it "carried the charismatic idiom of ideal presence into the nineteenth century" (21). With the photographs apparently "true-to-actuality," thus grounding the books in reality, the texts in these editions can be read as "true-to-meaning."

In chapter one, I discussed a semiotic attitude towards tourism that involved drawing general conclusions about Scotland based on details of sites and monuments. The conclusions that tourist-readers drew while contemplating these souvenirs would be supported by their inclusion of historical fiction: generalized interpretations could be read as true-to-meaning, bolstered by the factual accuracy of

the photographs. As Ann Rigney says, an essential characteristic of representations is "the idea that the understanding of that which is presented is a possible way into understanding that which is absent" (*Imperfect Histories* 25). These souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* gesture at Scottish culture, while the photographic details authorize those gestures and provide an arena for close, interpretive reading. The photographs, the poem, and the other features of the book object—all manufactured in Scotland—can be incorporated into the tourist-reader's personal stock of symbols, as she creates her own mental version of Scotland through imaginative interpretation. The authority of the book as a symbol depended on contemporary expectations of photographic authenticity; on memories of actual visits; on the power of the original text; and on the perceived potential for spatial and intellectual exploration *through* and *in* the volume. Because of these qualities, these books encapsulate the project of literary tourism: understanding a work through its setting, and a setting through its work. The souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* blend factual data with artistic vision. They bridge romantic and realist visions of Scotland and of tourism, allowing their readers to accept and pursue this idealized brand of cultural exploration.

**Timeless Landscapes in *The Lady of the Lake***

These souvenir editions of Scott thus provided physical inspiration for tourist-readers to explore fictionalized versions of Scotland's history—fictionalized either by Scott himself, or by the tourist's imagination. The photographic illustrations in these volumes helped to prompt specific types of imaginative narrative. The imaginative exploration tourist-readers could conduct through editions of *The Lady of the Lake* was described in the previous section as geographical, but it was preoccupied with both time and space. Photographic editions of this text helped to create a narrative of timelessness, of continuity over centuries. This narrative combines effectively with souvenirs, which themselves offer the tourist resistance to the passage of time and its erosion of memory.

Souvenirs are inherently retrospective. They help tourists to access memories of their own pasts. In some cases, souvenirs were also expected to provide access to the historical past, as tourism itself could do. Paul Westover writes that tourists sometimes "described their experience in terms of time travel, as if a ruin or artifact were a portal to a vanished era" (19). A souvenir could provide tourists with equivalent portals to their own pasts. Westover also points out that contemporary authors worked to use the "presence-generating powers of text" to "counter a sense of the past's distance and insubstantiality" (26). Simultaneously, the attempt of both souvenir and text to trigger such an ideal presence effect could be significantly assisted by photography. The places, moments, and cultural details depicted in souvenir books provided access to, and perspective on, the past.

Photographs were powerful tools in this effort, as the Victorians noted photography's ability to capture a single moment in time. Fox Talbot himself pointed out that a photograph could accidentally document the time it captured by including a clock or sundial, "unconsciously" displaying "the hour of the day at which the view was taken" (*Pencil of Nature* 40). As photographic processes improved and exposure times grew shorter, negatives could be both "accurately and *instantly*" produced (Root 151). The near-instant production of a pictorial representation was unprecedented, and this ability reinforced arguments for photographic authenticity. A photograph always (and only) shows "the fugitive moment of its own production" (Wood 218). For Victorians like the French photographer Nadar, and for theorists like Roland Barthes, such "*vision*[*s*] *fugace*[*s*]" were mournful, and photographs were layered with sorrow about ephemerality and mortality (Wood 218; *Camera Lucida* 107). Barthes identified this captured past as a *punctum*, a painful detail that secures the viewer's attention through the pain it induces (96). But some Victorians, including photographers Talbot and Root, saw the new technology more optimistically. The way photography "preserved […] shadows […] of things which are lost" rendered it an "enchanter's mirror," said a reviewer in the *Art Journal* ("Photographic Exhibitions" 50). Photography offered an otherwise impossible opportunity to preserve an apparently objective record of a lost moment. This reminds the viewer of the ephemerality of the present, but also provides a uniquely powerful link to the past.

That link becomes complex, however, when photographs are combined with historical narratives. A photograph can only *depict* a single time—its own moment of creation—but it can reference another era in time. Barthes, regarding a picture of the Holy Land, wrote that "three tenses dizzy my consciousness: my present, the time of Jesus, and that of the photographer, all this under the instance of 'reality'" (*Camera Lucida* 97). Each of these three eras is invoked and held in the imagination during the act of "reading" the image. Similarly, a historical narrative can evoke multiple different times. *The Lady of the Lake* might lead its reader to contemplate: the time of the events in the narrative; the time when Scott wrote the poem; the time the copy at hand was printed; any previous times the reader read the text; any other times the reader handled the physical volume in question; and the reader's present—not to mention the relationship between any of these.

Tourist-readers attempting to form general interpretations of Scottish culture, or pursuing imaginative, ideal presence effects, might become invested in the connections between these different times, hoping that they would be mutually informative—that awareness of one would grant awareness to others. Such readers would be eager to interpret the past as context for the present, the present as the culmination of the past. When these temporalities are all associated with a single book-object, it is easier to believe that all the different eras are relevant in some way, and that a recollection of a past visit to modern Scotland might bring insight into the distant past. These editions of *The Lady of the Lake* offer a particular interpretation of the relationships between multiple past moments. In these books, the differences between these temporal layers blur, as both poetry and photographs create a narrative of timelessness, or of continuity over time.

Specifically, both Scott's text and the illustrations for it emphasize the continuity of the natural Scottish landscape. In *The Lady of the Lake*, Scott minimizes the importance of time as a force for change. In the first stanzas of the poem, Scott highlights the passage of time: in the very first line, he describes the harp that "mouldering long hast hung" (Scott, *Poetical Works* 188). Yet though human activity (namely, song) changes over time, and though historical memory fades, nature remains as a point of continuity. The harp has hung "on the witch-elm" for a long time, "mid rustling leaves and fountains murmuring"; the trees and

fountains remain throughout that time, sheltering the instrument. Even though individual plants die, nature is renewable: the harp is overgrown with "envious ivy," a self-renewing resource. Time passes, but its effect on the environment is elided. Scott makes use of what Jonathan Culler terms the lyric present, a tense that is "not outside of time […] but not located anywhere in particular in time" ("The Language of Lyric" 174). If Scott portrays landscape as either static or self-renewing, the reader can conceptualize it that way, too. A tourist visiting the Trossachs in the mid-nineteenth century could ignore developments since Scott's time in search of the "ideal presence" of the narrative or history.

The photographs used in Scottish souvenir editions of *The Lady of the Lake* frequently supported Scott's vision by depicting a landscape unaffected by human habitation. Helen Groth argues that George Washington Wilson intended "to reinforce a sense of temporal continuity, whilst also reminding the reader of the irrevocable passage of time" (*Victorian Photography* 105). (Wilson was not, of course, commissioned as an illustrator to Scott; rather, the Blacks and other publishers purchased photographs from his pre-existing stock to insert into souvenir editions.) The waterfalls, lakes, mountains, and trees that Wilson photographs generally seem untouched by the passage of time: Ben Venue grew no taller and no shorter. Smaller-scale scenes could have changed in insignificant ways: the ferns depicted in a photograph of the forest were a renewable resource, just like Scott's envious ivy (see figure 31). They would die, but only to be replaced by similar ferns. Leaving aside photographs of Stirling Castle, these images depict the lyric present again—universally accessible, from any point in the future. Such is the impact of illustration, especially when buttressed by photography's reputation for authenticity: a modern photograph of an apparently untouched landscape, illustrating a description of a historical space, can seem to represent both the present and the sixteenth century (regardless of whether it has the authority to represent the latter). The reader can imagine that these depictions show the landscape not only as it appeared to the tourist-reader in person, but also as it might have appeared to Scott himself, or even to his characters.

The timelessness of this landscape was a fiction, though one that tourist-readers seemed licensed to accept. Some topographical features did change: in 1855,

the water level in Loch Katrine was increased by six feet, so that it could provide a steady water supply to Glasgow (Simpson 130). Islands like Ellen's Isle could have been dramatically altered by this change. However, the souvenir books provide no commentary about this change. As Barthes put it, photographs do "not necessarily say *what is no longer*, but only and for certain *what has been*" (*Camera Lucida* 85). The 1860s photographs offer misinformation about the appearance of the lake in both the 1810s and the sixteenth century. Instead, the photographs evoke the continuity of these landscapes, eliding and ignoring any changes that took place between the various moments evoked by the book. The focus is on the places themselves; their placement in time is unmarked, and therefore unimportant. Scott himself ignored the possibility that changes might have taken place between the historical moment he described and his own lifetime. He wrote *The Lady of the Lake* partly because of his love for the "scenery of Loch Katrine," where he stayed "every autumn"—as a visitor, arguably as a tourist (ABS.1.75.297, 4). In a preface, he wrote that he "took uncommon pains to verify the accuracy of the local circumstances of this story" (ABS.1.7.297, 10). He did so through personal exploration. His attention was devoted to creating accurate descriptions of the Trossachs *as he saw them* in the early nineteenth century—ignoring the different conditions that may have existed in the seventeenth century. Therefore, readers were licensed to ignore the passage of time, and imagine the Trossachs as a static space. Photographs taken in the 1860s could be interpreted as relevant representations of Scott's sources of inspiration.

These souvenirs seem therefore to participate in the failures of representation and authenticity frequently discussed by scholars of tourism and souvenirs. These representations are inaccurate, and can never be perfectly accurate: a photograph can never depict any time other than the moment of its own creation. Even that representation will be limited or skewed in some way. Representations of the past are, as Carlyle says, "Hyperbolic-Asymptotic" (176). No matter how close a representation approaches to reality, there is always an impassible distance between the subject and its depiction. Susan Stewart described this inevitable gap more broadly, as one that grows inevitably "between signifier and signified, between the material nature of the former and the abstract and historical nature of the latter" (*On*

*Longing* 23). She termed the resulting paradox of representation the "crisis of the sign" (23). Indeed, in terms of the aesthetic success of the work, this can be a crisis: if the gap is wide enough, and visible enough, it can shatter poetic faith—or the ideal presence effect—or one's general analysis of Scottish culture.

Thus, souvenirs participate in a larger problem of authenticity that surrounds tourist sights and their function as signs. Jonathan Culler explains that "to be experienced as authentic [a tourist sight] must be marked as authentic, but when it is marked as authentic it is mediated, a sign of itself and hence not authentic in the sense of unspoiled" ("Semiotics of Tourism"). In Frow's words, the touristic search for authenticity can only defer the "vanishing horizon of authenticity," eventually forcing a recognition of the "paradox" of that concept (70, 74). He briefly discusses the souvenir as a response to that paradox (94). The souvenir marks a sight as authentic; it also marks its own contents as authentic; but, of course, it is a thoroughly mediated commodity. Its authenticity is compromised by its commercial origins, its creation "for acquisition by members of another culture" (Frow 72). Yet these souvenirs sold. Jonathan Culler points out that one response to this is the proliferation of cheap souvenirs that function as innumerable markers, creating an inescapable interpretive framework for the sight and fending off disappointment ("Semiotics"). I argue that these particular souvenirs fended off disappointment by offering representations stylized enough that accuracy became a secondary concern.

In fact, Victorians might have been more inclined to accept generalized depictions of the past, recognizing history as massive and sublime. The failure of a photograph to offer historical detail directs our attention to what Ann Rigney calls the "unrepresentability" of history (*Imperfect Histories* 8). Any awareness that photography cannot depict Scottish scenery at every moment in its history indicates the immensity of that history. By accepting that immensity, tourist-readers could enjoy a sublime aesthetic response to the idea of "Scotland." Rigney outlines this sense of the sublime as a Victorian response to Carlyle's historical writing in a chapter of *Imperfect Histories* (99-120). She argues that Carlyle's "evocation of the limits of our historical understanding" and "the vastness of the field" of history led his readers to imagine and "to reflect upon what [lay] beyond their purview" (114). Eighteenth-century conversations about the sublime shaped Carlyle's depiction of

"the almost unimaginable complexity of the past," so that his writing took part in "a sustained attempt to transfer" the sublime from nature "to the domain of history" (115). In other words, Carlyle offered a "positive valorization of a confrontation with something that exceeds our capacity […] to comprehend it" (115). Rigney adduces other examples of this attitude from other eras, quoting medievalist Gabrielle Spiegel on "the desire for history" that also "marks the inaccessibility of that absent other" (Spiegel xxi; qtd in Rigney 130). This interpretation of the inaccessibility of the historical past as sublime would have been available to the Victorians (certainly to those who had read their Carlyle). Those who were dissatisfied with the accuracy of their souvenir books could instead accept the ineffability of the past, defusing touristic disappointment and forgoing precise information for wonder.

Without concern for the inaccuracies of historical depiction, Victorian readers could freely appreciate the romantic narrative, served by whatever realist detail could be provided. If the details could not universally be true-to-actuality, the Scotland in these souvenir books could still be true-to-meaning—or so tourists-readers could tell themselves. In *The Lady of the Lake*, specifically, Scott's text and Wilson's images imply that time is unimportant and the Scottish landscape is timeless. These books, then, could perhaps be received as (more or less) truthful representations of the landscape's past, meaningful records of both personal tours and Scottish history. The books *could* be read as "true-to-meaning" because they depict verifiable, contemporary truth: the truth of the moment of the photograph. These souvenirs represent an atemporal, aestheticized Scotland, an illusion conjured through professional photography and vintage historical narrative and observed through contemporary tourism. This vision compresses the dizzying distinctions of past and present into a single impression of a nation, essentially constant over time. Perhaps this is not the perfect reality, but it is a rich approximation of it—a narrative of Scottishness that tourist-readers could explore at leisure, supplanting the more detailed memories of their tours.

If, as Wood and Green-Lewis have indicated, the mid-nineteenth century was a time of complex negotiation of the real and the ideal, or realism and romance, then these souvenir books offer ways to connect the two. These souvenir books mingle "fact" and "fiction," uniting verse romance, photography, and (often) mauchline

ware bindings into single souvenir objects. Their physical presentation reiterates ideas in Scott's poetry, a turn away from the present to an imagined past. The photographic illustrations repeat the dynamics of historical fiction and of tourism itself, materializing both and combining them with the reading process. Their appeal to memory is founded on assumptions of photographic authenticity. This applies whether the books are interpreted by tourists or by armchair travelers. These portrayals, and the complex imaginative interpretations performed by their readers, depicted "Scotland" as a real land of romance. The experience constructed by and through these books could be more than a backward glance over traveled roads; it could be a satisfactory aesthetic and literary experience of its own, as well as a meaningful narrative of travels in Scotland, real and (re)imagined.

**Timeworn Castles in *Marmion***

Photographic editions of *Marmion*, however, provided a more complicated perspective of history, though they were less common. This section considers one souvenir edition of *Marmion* illustrated not with landscape views, but with photographs of castles and palaces—some dilapidated, some rehabilitated for contemporary tourism. This book does not present the timeless Scotland of *The Lady of the Lake*. Here, the lyric present is unavailable, and the reader must reckon with the passage of time that he or she could overlook in *The Lady of the Lake*. Nevertheless, readers could re-imagine their experiences with a nostalgic attitude, using souvenir books to transform the narratives of their journeys. Instead, they construct an edited version of Scotland, with alarming historical moments distanced and pleasurable tourist possibilities foregrounded. This Scotland is accessible not because it offers portals to the past, but because it offers a glamorized or sanitized version of upsetting historical moments—a Scotland readied for tourism.

One souvenir edition of *Marmion* reveals time as a powerfully disruptive force (Bdgs.924). In this volume, a clash of different photographic "tenses" destroys the notion of timeless photographic representations. The photographs in this copy of *Marmion* all depict Scottish castles—subjects suited to the poem, which deals with

the Battle of Flodden. Photography, despite its ability to preserve records of past moments, nevertheless "captured loss with a special poignancy" (Westover 169). These illustrations, intentionally or unintentionally, depict the centuries of destruction that occurred after the battle but before the photograph. One image depicts Tantallon Castle, which Scott described as "impregnable in war" one page before the inserted leaf (Bdg.s.924, 181; see figure 33). In fact, the castle was ruined in a siege during the British Civil War—a century after the events of *Marmion*, but two centuries before George Washington Wilson. The illustration perforce portrays the "impregnable" castle in ruins, with a damaged tower plainly visible at the focal point of the image. Half of the tower's outer wall has been destroyed, and the camera peers through it into empty rooms. For an attentive reader, the contrast between the Tantallon of the past and the Tantallon of the present is obvious; the destructive powers of war and of time are on display. Another photograph depicts Holyrood Palace and Abbey (see figure 34). The palace stands strong, but the abbey behind it is a ruin: the roof collapsed during a storm in 1768 and was never replaced (Mackie 34). This damage is easily visible in the photograph and in other contemporary depictions of Holyrood Abbey, which appeared all the more romantic for its ruined state. Because these photographs necessarily depict the castles in their Victorian condition, the visible effects of time obstruct any imaginative exploration of the historical setting of the poem. To imagine scenes from *Marmion* taking place in these settings, the reader would mentally need to reconstruct damaged buildings. The photographs of Holyrood and Tantallon both depict the inevitable destruction that accrues over time.

Some photographs in *Marmion* depict different disruptions to historical structures that accumulate over the centuries. The Holyrood Palace photograph, for example, underscores some changes that were less physically destructive. The caption below the illustration alludes to the exuberant court of King James. But at the time of this book's publication, Queen Victoria visited the palace only occasionally. It was instead known as a tourist attraction: several rooms were open to the public, including Mary, Queen of Scots' chambers (*Black's Picturesque Guide to Edinburgh*, 1865, 47-50). This context could easily have been common knowledge for the tourist-reader, who might have visited the palace or read about it in a

guidebook like *Black's Picturesque Guide to Edinburgh* or Charles Mackie's *Historical Description of the Monastery or Chapel Royal of Holyroodhouse*. The image of Holyrood also indicates the profound difference between the royal courts of the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Other photographs also indicate that changes over time do not necessarily bring destruction or ruin. Photographs of Edinburgh Castle and Linlithgow Palace portray those castles as up-to-date tourist sites, directing the reader's imaginary exploration away from the historical narrative and toward personal tourism. In the photograph of Edinburgh Castle, the castle itself—the ostensible subject of both the photograph and its caption—is pushed to the background (see figure 35). The middle ground, the central focus of the composition, includes the Scottish National Gallery and Royal Scottish Academy Building, both constructed in the nineteenth century. One of the Princes Street Gardens, which replaced the drained Nor' Loch in the late eighteenth century, occupies the foreground. The medieval fortress is relegated to the back, while pedestrians and park benches in the gardens create a welcoming prospect. Edinburgh's history is visually distanced; its prosperous modernity is literally foregrounded. This view obviously fails to convey information about a distant historical moment. However, it invites the reader in, displaying a comfortable scene for both visual exploration and actual tourism. The composition might be a more viable metaphor for the contemporary touristic experience of Edinburgh: the history (the castle) is accessible, but the demands and conveniences of the present (hotels, restaurants, traffic) must be negotiated first.

The view of Linlithgow Palace is equally modern and equally welcoming (see figure 36). It is one of the few illustrations I have found in these photographically-illustrated souvenir books that depicts contemporary tourists: two men in nineteenth-century suits are seated in rowboats in the foreground, while two women in elegant dresses stroll the palace grounds behind them. This composition distances the viewer from the historical narrative, leading him or her to contemplate Linlithgow as a leisure destination rather than a fortress. A visit to Linlithgow Palace is a modern act, one perhaps already executed by the reader, while the sixteenth century remains inaccessible. Thus, this souvenir represents the futility of a historical approach to tourism and to reading: these photographs can *only* represent

contemporary experience. Monuments from the past are still visible, but the past itself can only be investigated at second-hand. Exploration must be spatial, not temporal.

The photographs that depict extensive destruction discourage even spatial exploration. The photographs of Tantallon Castle and Holyrood Palace are visually inaccessible because approaches to the buildings are visibly blocked. Tantallon, situated at the top of a coastal cliff, is photographed from a vantage point slightly down the shore, so that the view includes the unwelcoming strand and the natural barrier of the cliff face.[50] The photograph of Holyrood places the palace and abbey behind a jagged stone wall, a level, solid line that crosses the entire foreground. These barriers block the reader from envisioning an entry to the sites. No lounging tourists tame the scenes—both castles are deserted. In fact, these were (and are) tourist destinations, but these photographs make them appear inaccessible and forbidding, perhaps forbidden. The compositions may have been designed this way for the purposes of drama—Tantallon looks very romantic—but the inaccessibility of the scene mirrors the inaccessibility of the historical past. The present can be explored, imaginatively or in person, but the past is past.

This edition of *Marmion* gains certain strengths as a souvenir by representing contemporary tourist experience. The illustrations depict spaces and situations as they would be encountered on tour: picturesque ruins, pleasant public spaces, and sites occupied by other tourists. These photographs are closer to representing the memories that the tourists buying these books would actually experience and hope to remember. However, they still did not represent them perfectly. Again, souvenirs could not perfectly represent any tourist's exact experiences of a journey. Like *The Lady of the Lake*, however, photographic souvenirs of *Marmion* allowed tourist-readers to create a fantasy narrative to replace more detailed memories.

Susan Stewart discusses this process in her larger discussion of souvenirs. She argues that, in the grip of nostalgic desire after a tour, the tourist-reader idealizes the absent place and the time spent there. He or she can reimagine the tour as a "nostalgic's utopia" (*On Longing* 24). The tourist's past as envisioned thus is a

[50] This may have been a popular way of depicting the castle: Alexander Nasmyth's early nineteenth-century painting *A View of Tantallon Castle with the Bass Rock* depicts a similar, though not identical, perspective (Nasmyth).

"prelapsarian" world, absent of the crisis of the sign (24). The reader imagines a time "where lived and mediated experience are one," a place where the world is "suffuse[d]" with "authenticity and transcendence" (23-4). But, as Ann Colley points out, no amount of "recollection" can allow a "nostalgic individual" to return to the desired place or time (211). Instead, recollection allows the nostalgic reader to invent a new version of the past. The tourist-reader could let memories of touristic disappointment fade, to be replaced with the romanticized, aestheticized version of Scotland presented by George Washington Wilson and Walter Scott in the souvenir book. Thus, souvenirs allow tourists to re-imagine their tours with greater potency and narrative structure, their memories filtered through souvenirs. In the picturesque tradition, nineteenth-century tourists mentally transformed real views into composed pictures; perhaps it is not so unexpected for a tourist to transform experience into story.

Souvenir editions were not the only Victorian books to play on nostalgia. Ann Colley writes about literary authors who invoked nostalgia as a way to preserve their personal pasts—to "place themselves in the track of their former selves" and "re-enter what is now irrevocably absent and seemingly unavailable" (3). For these authors, nostalgia was a personal tool. Helen Groth argues, however, that nostalgia was also invoked on the reader's behalf. She describes the emotion, and the books that evoked it, as a refuge from the "shocks and traumas" of Victorian life: rapid train travel, increased information intake, shifting social strata (*Victorian Photography* 99). Furthermore, Groth argues that photographically illustrated anthologies of poetry, much like these souvenir books, worked unusually well to "animat[e] the spirit of the past" for contemporary readers (51). In her examination of these anthologies, she characterizes the genre as conservative and contemplative, preserving the idealized past to be contemplated in moments of sedate reflection (99). Groth sees these books as a way of repairing the alienation caused by industrialization.

While souvenir copies of *Marmion* did help some readers to process cultural trauma, I argue that in this case, those traumas were not related to contemporary life. In the first place, Victorian discussions of nostalgia envisioned technology as a cure for its ills. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, "nostalgia" was a medical

diagnosis of acute homesickness, associated primarily with soldiers fighting abroad (Colley 2). In the nineteenth century, the meaning of the term began to evolve: much "nostalgic" depression had been a consequence of harsh impressment methods and brutal military discipline, and diagnoses decreased as the military became a less traumatic environment (Starobinski 20-1). The Victorians came to see nostalgia less as a mental illness and more as a form of melancholy (Roth 272; Rosen 351). Clinicians in this era, seeing nostalgia as a milder form of homesickness, hailed technological progress as a remedy. Steam travel, reliable postal services, and telegraph lines kept travelers connected to their home communities (Roth 278). For many, pathologizing nostalgia "as a disease […] was a protest against progress" (283-4). In the midst of this debate, a new understanding of nostalgia began to surface. During the 1840s, a French doctor named Pilet pointed out that nostalgia also had its pleasurable side (Roth 278). Nostalgia was enjoyable for its own sake.

While *The Lady of the Lake* made a less industrialized past seem accessible, *Marmion* made it visually inaccessible. The souvenir edition of *Marmion* discussed here did not idealize the past, but distanced it. Thus, it must have served a different though equally important function. This nostalgic volume repaired old wounds, yes—but traumas of history, alienations caused by military conflict, not traumas of modernity. *Marmion* is a story about conflict between Scotland and England. In the mid-nineteenth century, such conflict still needed to be managed delicately. Portraying castles—military fortresses—as ruins made it clear to readers that such dangerous and divisive conflict was distant. While *The Lady of the Lake* romanticized Scottish landscape by making it seem accessible, *Marmion* romanticized the history of violence in the Borders by making it inaccessible.

The new, romanticized narratives that these books offered to their owners could become incorporated into their senses of self. These nostalgic, reimagined versions of the past could be personal fictions. Nostalgic desire, including that associated with souvenirs, involves "a longing not only for the past but also for the self" that occupied that past (Colley 211). Barthes writes that his "longing to inhabit" certain photographs involves a desire to be "carr[ied] […] back to somewhere in myself" (*Camera Lucida* 40). We construct personality and selfhood through narrative, and rewriting the narratives of our lives can lead us to a greater sense of

independent identity. Today, some scientists consider this the "crucial existential function" of nostalgia as an emotion—settling the past into place in an ongoing story that reaffirms one's sense of self (Tierney). These souvenirs made nostalgia available to Victorian tourists as a tool for constructing personal narratives.

Souvenir books also provided an opportunity for tourists to reframe public historical narratives, thereby consolidating national or international identities.[51] Tourists both domestic and international used their tours to assimilate national landmarks into their own narratives of Scotland's history and cultural character. Paul Westover has discussed literary tourism, and particularly necromanticism, as a nation-building activity (69). The "rewards" of this kind of travel, he asserts, sometimes "included a sense of claiming a cultural home, a feeling which had political significance" (69). Tourists in Scotland might be interested in developing an understanding of its regional character; simultaneously, tourists had the opportunity to integrate a romanticized vision of Scotland's national and literary history into their conception of the United Kingdom. British tourists in particular could have used tourism as a way of conceptualizing Scotland as part of their own country. Such consolidation of "Scotland's" reputation was partly driven by Walter Scott's own pervasive nostalgia: both *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake* begin with idealized descriptions of earlier times. His nostalgia is powerfully literary: the elegy that opens *Marmion* is partly for a forgotten genre, the "legendary lay" (Scott, *Poetical Works* 69). *The Lady of the Lake* opens with an apostrophe to the "Harp of the North," which sang only "in ancient days of Caledon" (188). Scott's nostalgia is so bound up in narrative that his narrator is nostalgic for narrative itself. Thus, his works would prompt a literary interpretation even of non-literary aspects of the country. Souvenir editions thus combined Scott's nostalgia with generalized touristic nostalgia, both framing Scotland for its visitors—*The Lady of the Lake* making its pleasurable sides seem timelessly accessible, and *Marmion* relegating its conflicts to a romanticized past.

In the end, the versions of Scotland recollected through these souvenirs as *aides-mémoire* could become aesthetic and imaginative constructs, not static

[51] For a discussion of nostalgia as an instigator of national feeling, see Ann Colley's chapters on Robert Louis Stevenson in *Nostalgia and Recollection in Victorian Culture*, especially pp. 64-68.

memories. Literary tourism is essentially an act of intellectual engagement and aesthetic construction; these souvenir books expanded and intensified that process. The narratives that tourists build around their journeys relate to their explorations of the real world, but they incorporate narratives and references derived from books to understand their interactions with it. The realist foundation of these souvenirs grounded this process; but the combination of "realist" photography and romantic literature allowed tourists to spin romantic narratives of their own, drawing them into their own stories.

**Photographic Souvenir Copies of *The Lady of the Lake***

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, n.d. Phot.sm.34. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Accessed 27 Feb 2018.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1863. Corson A.4.LAD.1.a.1863/2. Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh. Accessed 9 Feb 2018.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1863. Private collection of Tess Goodman, Edinburgh.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1863. Reissued, Stirling, R. S. Shearer. Phot.sm.35. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Accessed 27 Feb 2018.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1863. Reissued, Stirling, R. S. Shearer. RB.S.2720. Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh. Accessed 30 Nov 2016.

London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1864. Reissued, Stirling, R. S. Shearer. Private collection of Tess Goodman, Edinburgh.

London, Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons, 1869. Bdg.s.923. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Accessed 22 June 2016.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1869. SD 5628. Centre for Research Collections, University of Edinburgh. Accessed 10 March 2017.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1870. Bdg.S.171. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Accessed 7 Oct. 2015.

Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1871. ABS.1.75.297. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Accessed 15 Sep 2016.

## Chapter Four: One Person's Treasure
## Class, Connoisseurship, Collecting, and the Crown

As tourism became increasingly accessible in the mid-nineteenth century, different modes became associated with different social classes. Once, travel itself had been a mark of distinction, but mid-Victorian tourists felt increasing pressure to distinguish themselves from their lower-class fellows. Tourism became a performative way to declare one's status. Middle-class tourists, remembering what upper-class tourists used to do, hoped to display their connoisseurship by pursuing literary and historical interests on tour. Many wanted to show off their travel, in order to establish credibility as educated and traveled members of their social rank. Tourist books became part of the infrastructure that encouraged and permitted them to do so. Guidebook publishers encouraged this dynamic because it sustained demand for their products. If touristic taste required cultural knowledge, guides and souvenirs could help tourists acquire it. Guides established and reinforced social pressures to perform the type of intellectual tourism associated with the upper class, and publishers capitalized on this class anxiety to sell more books. Guidebooks characterized an "ideal" middle-class reader to fit these assumptions about taste, but they also helped educate their actual readers, training them to meet these expectations.

These guidebooks—and souvenir books—could also serve as public status markers, as well as private educational tools. Tourists could display them at home or give them to friends and family, sharing and showing off their newly acquired cultural education to demonstrate their social status. Contemporary developments in the publishing market helped souvenirs and guides become more conspicuous representations of touristic achievement. Elaborate, decorative guidebooks attracted attention when displayed; hybrid souvenir-guides flaunted the information required to appreciate the views they comprised.

As tourists used these books to navigate and declare their class identity, they might also find themselves navigating questions of national identity. In her work on literary tourism, Nicola Watson has discussed it as a "side effect of cultural nationalism," with tourists using their reading to "effect a sort of interiorised

national mapping" (*The Literary Tourist* 14). An interest in national identity fostered literary tourism—but tourism could also foster developing national identities. The second half of this chapter explores how marketing tactics in souvenir guidebooks might have led British tourists in Scotland to reflect on their national identities.

Scottish tourism in the mid-Victorian era was often associated with Queen Victoria herself. Many publishers associated publications with the Queen as a marketing tactic—which also played on readers' desire to use travel as a class marker. Publishers gave Victoria copies of their books as publicity stunts on her trips to Scotland, and then marketed "Royal Editions" and souvenirs of the Queen's travels to capitalize on her popularity. Associating oneself with the royal family by purchasing these royal editions was another way for tourists to mark themselves as middle-class, without recourse to more intensely intellectual tourism. However, the two methods also overlapped: Victoria was herself a literary tourist, and a public model of Scottish literary tourism for the middle class. When tourists purchased and read royal editions, they were able to identify with their sovereign in new ways as tourist-readers. When they displayed the books in their own homes, they incidentally (or intentionally) declared their allegiance to their monarch's version of a United Kingdom.

Even tourists who did not focus on the Queen might still grapple with questions of Scottishness and Britishness as they pursued the intellectual tourism associated with middle-class taste. Any historical approach to Scottish tourism would inevitably lead a tourist-reader to confront the history of conflict between Scotland and England in some way. Guidebook publishers who wanted their English customers to feel comfortable traveling (and spending money) sought ways to reconcile more violent moments in Scottish history. Many guides and souvenirs offered either subtle or direct Unionist narratives, often but not always led by reprinted editions of Walter Scott. In addition, the general popularity of Scottish souvenirs as status markers created new concepts and dimensions for the relationship between Scotland and England. The state of the Union was not just a political matter: with souvenir and guidebook collections, British citizens could use leisure travel and domestic display to explore and represent their nationality.

**Anxious Connoisseurs**

Tourism, and consequently tourist books, were heavily influenced by class dynamics. As travel became more accessible for the Victorian middle and working classes, travelers became self-conscious about the social connotations of particular tourist activities. These anxieties were reflected in the itineraries and activities that were practiced by or recommended for mid-century tourists. Different styles of tourism began to carry different messages about both class and connoisseurship. Middle-class tourists felt pressured to perform intellectualized or aestheticized tourism that imitated the practices of their upper-class predecessors in previous eras. Educational, aesthetic, historical, and literary approaches to tourism became conflated with middle-class taste.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, upper-class British tourism had been heavily associated with intellectual and aesthetic pursuits. Travel involved paying attention to local monuments of art, aesthetics, and literature, and offered an opportunity for enquiry into different scientific pursuits. Alastair Durie points out that upper-class British tourists often travelled "to look at scenery, enquire into antiquities and ruins, and pursue interests in botany, geology and natural history" (37). Tourists in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries roamed the British Isles for picturesque views, trained by William Gilpin to analyze scenery with a refined eye (Withey 38; Gilpin). Scottish tourism, just emerging at this time, was heavily directed towards literature, aesthetics, antiquarianism, science, and other intellectual pursuits. In the late eighteenth century, literary and antiquarian tourists hunted for traces of Ossian (Durie 39). In the nineteenth century, Walter Scott's acolytes were keen to find picturesque, historical locations with added literary glamour. This type of cerebral tourism was marked for much of the eighteenth century as the purview of the upper classes.

Upper-class intellectual tourism was an educational process, when tourists could acquire the cultural education that would equip them for—and mark them as members of—refined society. The Grand Tour, the centerpiece of British intellectual tourism, offered a chance for young, wealthy men to acquire both social and cultural

polish. This kind of tourism required the practitioner to possess significant prior knowledge. An intellectual appreciation of Italy on the Grand Tour depended on thorough training in classical literature. The informed aesthetic contemplation of a picturesque view involved artistic analysis, reference literature and historical anecdotes, and possibly artistic training for the tourist to record the scene in a sketchbook. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, upper-class tourism allowed tourists to display their knowledge, and to build on it. It both required and nourished cultural connoisseurship.

By the 1850s, however, tourism in general had become far more accessible and popular. Expectations and connotations surrounding it had shifted. As ever-increasing numbers of people travelled, travel itself was no longer a distinctive class marker. Tourists therefore looked for ways to differentiate themselves from each other. James Buzard has argued eloquently about the development of touristic anxiety, showing how anxious "travelers" hoped to distinguish themselves from the unimaginative, "lowly tourist" (*The Beaten Track* 114; see also 80-154). For Buzard, some tourists were seeking to escape "the limits of class identification altogether," achieving "a condition of self-culture above and beyond the call of class" (121). But tourism and souvenir collecting could also be a way to consolidate a tourist's class status. Buzard also describes tourists "offering demonstrations of sincerity to the picturesque in exchange for the status accorded an acculturated person" (197). Many middle-class tourists turned to the pursuits of their upper-class predecessors, hoping not to escape class identity entirely, but to position themselves on the ladder—distancing themselves from new, lower-class tourists through displays of connoisseurship and taste.

This pattern was easily visible in Scotland, which as previously mentioned saw a dramatic increase in tourism in the nineteenth century. Access to travel had expanded as the century proceeded, until Scotland was truly a "mass destination for all levels of society" (Durie 44). This influx, and the growing tourist infrastructure, allowed new tourist practices to develop: by the 1870s, after "the advent of the railway, […] and with the advent of the travel entrepreneur, […] mass tourism" became first viable and then frequent (Parsons 217). Organized tour operators like Thomas Cook made travel in Scotland (and elsewhere) possible for those who could

not afford the unpredictability of self-planned tourism (Durie 141). Such tours also made it increasingly possible for single women to travel, since the group provided chaperonage. Group tours like these took advantage of economies of scale to democratize Scottish travel: "[w]ork outings, special trips and Sunday school outings poured increasing numbers into the countryside and coast" (44). Contemporary guidebooks recognized and commented on this development, noting for example that with "[r]ailway communication between Edinburgh and Oban […] now complete," the Highlands were "brought within easy reach of tourists of 'all sorts and conditions'" (*The Scenery of the West Highlands* 1). Hopeful entrepreneurs encouraged anyone who could afford to travel to do so.

As more and more people arrived, the social connotations of a trip to Scotland became more confused. Different styles of travel began to carry greater social weight. Travel itself was no longer reserved for the upper classes, and tourists of all classes changed their practices. The activities of different groups became coded in new ways, and tourists modified their behavior in response, trying to demonstrate or alter their social and cultural status. Group tourism, often practiced by poorer tourists, was interpreted by middle-class tourists as intellectually lacking. Organized outings prevented participants from pursuing their own interests and thus displaying their own taste. Nicholas Parsons argues that mass or "organized tourism […] represented a diminution of individuality, a degree of submergence in the group" from its very origins (241). Therefore, it also represented an absence of critical judgment, and encouraged practitioners "to authenticate the experience with a stock response as proof of participation" (241). The stereotype was that tourists in groups were less discriminating, and this reputed lack of taste and intellectualism was associated with lower-class travelers.

Other tourists found it increasingly desirable to differentiate themselves from the mass. Upper-class and wealthy tourists in Scotland "[kept] their distance, social as well as physical," abandoning both literary and urban tourism in favor of other pursuits (Gold and Gold 112). Though in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they had arrived in Scotland "clutching their volumes of Ossian and reading aloud from Scott," in the mid-nineteenth century, they drifted quietly to "ever remoter parts of rural Scotland," avoiding "tour parties" by playing golf or

shooting deer and grouse (112). While the upper classes moved on, the middle classes, driven by anxiety, tried to imitate their old habits.

Intellectual, literary, historical, and aesthetic tourism—the old models of Gilpin and the Grand Tour—transitioned from the upper classes to the middle classes. John Frow describes how tourism often "involves a fantasy of achieved upward mobility," as well as a related "fantasy of class understood as cultural capital" (96-7). To the Victorians, "[t]o be well travelled was to be well informed; and to be well informed was both a necessity and a sign of moral worth for the aspirant man of the world" (Parsons 178). Middle-class tourists sought both cultural and intellectual capital, assuming their peers would read it as a marker of high status. The education that enriched a tour, or the knowledge one acquired on tour, was tied to social position. Therefore, middle-class tourists set out with "zeal" for "knowledge and cultural education" (178). This "middle class educational journey" erupted as new lines of guidebooks, such as Murray and Baedeker, emerged to foster it (178). Parsons points out that Murray's guides, the highwater mark of middle-class tourism, "reflect the aesthetic tastes of educated Victorians," especially "the classical scholarship of [the] dons and clergymen" who frequently wrote them (194). The topics they cover indicate the subjects that educated, middle-class tourists were expected to understand: history, literature, art history, aesthetics, and architecture. The books include both aesthetic considerations (analyses of the picturesque), and factual discourses on "disciplines that were making important advances throughout the century—archaeology, Egyptology, geology, anthropology and the beginnings of art history" (190). Interest in these fields was a marker of cultivation. Parsons speaks of a tradition that depicts the "bourgeois traveller" carrying a "densely written 'handbook', while the excursionist took along his no frills basic guide" (218). Middle-class tourists pursued these topics, hoping to display interest and connoisseurship as signs of innate high-end taste.

Many mid-Victorian guidebooks besides Baedeker and Murray also reinforced these dynamics, quietly differentiating between travelers of different statuses. Guidebook authors and publishers were aware that their audiences could have different educational levels and different interests, which might (or might not) correspond to their class. *The Scenery of the West Highlands* alludes to the presence

of "tourists of 'all sorts and conditions'" (1). Therefore, it might be aimed at and available to tourists of many sorts and conditions, but it still divided those tourists by activity and class. It concentrates on simpler aspects of the aesthetic experience of travel—the obvious beauties of the landscape—rather than on the scholarly pleasures of touring in the West Highlands. However, it describes Dalmally as "a delightful centre for the tourist who desires to explore the country of the Macgregors, *or* a not less delightful resting-place for the hard worker who has come from the noisy marts of labour to refresh his wearied brain" (9; italics mine). Thus, the guide is open to a range of tourists, but it still differentiates middle-class tourists conducting historical exploration from the "hard worker" searching for a "summer day's *idlesse*" (7).

In this milieu, tourists who wanted to affirm their social status knew that one method of doing so was to make their journeys demonstrably intellectual. Consequently, cultural tastes began to define tourist itineraries. The intellectual valence of many sites attracted Victorian middle-class tourists to literary shrines, historical sites, and approved picturesque locations, as well as spas and leisure resorts. Value judgments recorded in important guidebooks, like Murray and Baedeker, established canons of sites and views (Durie 194). Durie points out that literary interest defined Scotland as "the land of Scott, of Burns, of Ossian and of Barrie," and thus enshrined places like "the Trossachs […,] Abbotsford, [or] Burns' Cottage" in the traveler's canon, along with historical sites associated with "such romantic figures as Mary, Queen of Scots" (134). In Scotland, failure to visit an acclaimed site, such as the birthplace of Robert Burns, could mark the tourist as "'deficient in taste'" (Gold and Gold 64; quoting Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*). But a visit to Burns' or Scott's homes indicated that a tourist adhered to a middle-class cultural standard of literary taste. This focus on the artistic apparatus of tourist sites also excluded certain places from the touristic itinerary. Sites "without such literary associations" were neglected (Durie 134). Even in 1852, it was alleged that St Andrews, "despite its history, ruins and beaches," failed to become a popular tourist destination because "no writing of any standing had been based in or around it" (134). The pursuit of literary and intellectual tourism became a quintessential piece of middle-class activity, because it represented the practitioner's apparent literary and intellectual taste.

In this atmosphere, educational tourism became conflated with genteel stature. The increase in tourist numbers increased middle-class anxiety about self-presentation. With these value judgements and class associations circulating, Victorians sought ways to feel secure in their social position. They felt pressured to present themselves as curious connoisseurs, already learned but always seeking more erudition. Guidebook and souvenir publishers responded to this demand.

**Guidebooks and the "Intelligent" Reader**

Tourist-readers who were insecure about the class connotations of their journeys could turn to guidebooks and souvenir books to affirm their status. Publishers found it advantageous to reinforce the conflation of class status and intellectual taste. This section explores how many guidebooks encouraged readers to perform educational tourism, as an indication of middle-class status. They contributed to the pressure placed on Victorians to practice and display their travel in particular ways, enforcing cultural expectations. However, these guidebooks simultaneously helped their readers meet those expectations. They taught readers how to pursue cultural erudition through tourism. They smoothed logistical problems, but they also supplied considerable amounts of cultural and intellectual information. The aesthetic and historical knowledge they provided helped tourists feel that their travel had indeed been educational. In the long run, the emphasis these guidebooks placed on connoisseurship and intellectualism would lead tourists to reflect on British history and identity. In the short term, their encouraging rhetoric soothed anxious tourist-readers, making them feel they might solidify their desired social status by buying and reading more books.

Mid-Victorian guidebooks to Scotland quietly characterized the ideal, educated, middle-class tourist. Many guides and souvenirs actively associated intellectualized, aestheticized tourism with "intelligent" readers. Nicholas Parsons points out that guides often seemed to construct their reader as "intelligent, averagely cultivated, but not very knowledgeable" (185). The portrait they built of an ideal tourist was rarely explicit; instead, it accumulated subtly through adjectives seeded

throughout the guides, and from the implications of the books' contents. Many Scottish guidebooks use the word "intelligent" to describe travelers, but not the word "educated." For example, a small guide to Abbotsford refers occasionally to details that an "intelligent observer" ought to notice (*Abbotsford and Scenery of the Tweed* 4). Of course, the implication is that the ideal observer would not need the guide; the guidebook helps its imperfect readers to imitate the ideal.

Scottish guides often implied that their intelligent readers would be interested in highly intellectualized tourism, centered on literary, historical, antiquarian, and aesthetic interests. Guides could create expectations about middle-class tourists' interests and tastes simply by including certain types of information. The itineraries and sites identified in a guide enabled tourists to follow a visible public script, visiting approved, intellectual places. Once there, repeated references to certain topics—history, architecture, literature, aesthetics—encouraged tourists to contemplate tourist sites in those terms. Books like this made intellectual tourism appear *de rigeur*, creating a demand for further historical and cultural information about popular tourist sites.

The preponderance of historical information in these books reinforced expectations about middle-class tourists' interest in history. A guide to the *Land of Scott* (1859) assumed its readers would be interested not just in history, but in historiography: its section on Berwick-on-Tweed included several pages of scholarly treatment of the 1333 siege of the city (29-30). The guidebook went well beyond the basic facts, evaluating different sources and historians who had contributed to debates about the event. Considering one anecdote about King Edward III threatening to hang Sir Alexander Seton's son to coerce him to surrender the town, the guidebook stated that "[n]early all the English historians treat it as a fable, while more sober Scottish writers free it from every charge of perfidy" (30). This analysis eventually returned to tourist practice, pointing out the location of the hanging (which did in fact occur) as a tourist site; but it was a long and erudite disquisition (30). The reader excited by this discussion would be scholarly indeed. This historical treatment reinforced expectations about tourists' intellectual attitudes, and pressured its readers to conform to those expectations.

Guidebooks could also encourage a technical or scholarly attitude toward other topics, such as architecture. Some guides took a historical approach to architectural detail: the *Land of Scott* pointed out numerous architectural styles visible at the ruin of Dryburgh Abbey. It identified "the massive Roman arch with its square sides, the grand deep-splayed Saxon arch, the pillared and intersected Norman arch, and the early English pointed arch" (48). These details reinforced the cultural importance of both aesthetics and architectural history. Other guidebooks drew attention to more modern constructions. *The Scottish Border* (1867), for instance, included a highly detailed description of the features of a bridge over the Tweed at Kelso. In addition to providing the exact dimensions of the bridge, the book also catalogued the "three-quarter columnar pilasters of the Roman Doric order, surmounted by a plain block cornice and balustrade of the same character" (8-9). The praise of this bridge, "one of the most elegant […] in the country," can be ascribed to local pride (the book was published in Kelso) (9). But the detailed list of architectural features invited a more analytical approach, encouraging tourists to acquire this technical vocabulary and attitude. Many guidebooks included similarly extensive descriptions of distinguished architectural monuments, identifying architecture as one of many viable interests for the educated middle-class tourist. Even if tourists did not understand or retain the technical terminology, its use confirmed the intellectual stature of the guidebook—and bolstered the reader's sense of his or her intellectual status.

Guides did not force their readers through intellectual passages. Some allowed readers to navigate around denser passages, if they wished. *The Land of Scott* grouped logistical travel details in a section titled "Routes," with historical and artistic analysis in a separate "Descriptions" section, so that the reader could "turn at once to whatever subject he chooses" ([3]). Guides like these could serve larger audiences, remaining relevant for both "intelligent," anxious readers, and readers who disregarded cultural pressure and wanted only the basic logistical information necessary to plan their trips. However, the majority of the book was still taken up by denser information, its sheer bulk drawing readers' attention. Nicholas Parsons, discussing a Murray guide to Rome, makes a similar point: that guide included huge amounts of historical information, "solid stuff" that indicated "the perceived need to

spend […] time industriously improving one's cultural awareness and increasing one's knowledge" (185). With educational material occupying so many pages next to logistical detail, the cultural pressure became a tangible weight. The intellectual approach was optional—but evidently encouraged.

"Intellectual" tourism was not necessarily constrained to dry facts: some tourism concentrated on the search for picturesque views. Aesthetic taste, developed and demonstrated through travel, was a perennial marker of high status. Again, this followed trends established in the eighteenth century, most notably through the works of William Gilpin. Souvenirs naturally encouraged the aesthetic approach by including illustrations of picturesque scenes. Guides directed the eye towards notable views: the *Land of Scott* drew attention to the picturesque "growths of vegetation" over Dryburgh Abbey that "give the appearance of nature mingling with art, and triumphing over it" (48). Others evaluated the aesthetic appeal of towns and routes. *The Scottish Border*, tracing the route Queen Victoria followed on one tour, assessed the surrounding scenery: it praised "the valley of the Liddell, past Penton" for its "beautiful lynn," which made it "a favourite resort for pic-nics" (3). However, the book also gently disparaged the area for possessing "little grandeur" and for "consist[ing] mainly of pastoral slopes" (3). Many assessments in guidebooks are finely considered; they weigh the mood and style of a scene, as much as its beauty, and identify different appealing qualities or deficiencies in a wide variety of views.

The language used to describe these views often carried a tone of obligation, reinforcing the importance of these expectations. Guidebooks outlined specific reactions to particular scenes, encouraging their readers to share those reactions. For instance, one guide stated that a certain beautiful view "*must* afford a high gratification to every lover of the picturesque" (*Views of Loch Lomond* 16, italics mine). Ostensibly, this description was a recommendation to the tourist-reader, a guarantee that the view in question would not disappoint the tourist who went out of his or her way for it. But the sentence also suggests that the reader is *obliged* to find the view gratifying. Another guide, describing a view of Edinburgh as "eminently picturesque," asserted: "it is impossible to view it without feelings of admiration" (*The City of Edinburgh* 11). Here the guarantee is so definite that it places a burden on the tourist-reader. The view itself cannot fail. If the visiting tourist does not

admire it, his or her own taste is at fault. An "intelligent observer"—a middle-class tourist with conforming aesthetic judgment—*must* find something to appreciate.

Words like "intelligent" both flattered readers and undermined them. Intelligence, like taste, is often assumed to be innate: it cannot be developed. However, tourists can self-identify as "intelligent"—they can construe their own taste as "good"—and demonstrate both intelligence and taste to themselves by performing tasteful, intelligent, educational tourism. While intelligence may be innate, education can be acquired, with time, effort, luck, or money—perhaps by buying and studying informative guidebooks.

While creating this middle-class norm, guides also equipped readers to conform to it. The information provided in a guidebook—information that went beyond logistical guidance—helped readers attain, or feign, the level of knowledge expected of the ideal middle-class tourist. General background about British history helped a reader appreciate the context of a specific battle. Literary quotations helped to cue particular aestheticized and emotional reactions to sites or views. With these details, guidebooks simultaneously placed and relieved cultural pressure on their audience. A reader would quickly perceive expectations that he or she might not currently meet, but he would also have a tool for self-improvement in the guide itself.

In practice, this rhetoric often followed a disingenuous pattern. First, a guide might suggest that an educated tourist *ought* to know a certain piece of information, or be comfortable with a certain cultural reference. Next, that guide would supply the relevant information for readers who were not immediately familiar with it. For example, when describing St Mary's Loch, *Abbotsford and Scenery of the Tweed* mentions a "long versified description of it by Sir Walter Scott, which has been thousands of times quoted, and must be familiar to most tourists" (*Abbotsford*… 5). Despite the assertion that most tourists should already know the relevant passage, the guide immediately quotes it at length. Thus, the book reinforced the contemporary literary-tourist canon, but also assisted less well-read tourists, obviating an anxious reader's need to search *Marmion* for the relevant lines. The guidebook performs an act of cultural filtration here, isolating the appropriate touchstone and delivering it to the reader without loss of time.

This double rhetorical move—to assert that everyone will know something, and then explain it anyway—was relatively common. In another example, a guide asserted that "[n]o reader of Scottish history, especially no reader of the works of Sir Walter Scott, needs to be told even the outlines of the battle of Flodden" (*The Land of Scott* 63). Again, this guidebook delineates the knowledge that the average educated tourist would possess. But despite the explicit statement that no reader would require this information, the book provides it anyway: it includes an account of the battle that goes on for several pages, as well as several related quotations from Scott (63-65). The book explains what an educated tourist needs to know, and then provides that information, allowing readers to acquire that knowledge and self-identify as educated.[52] Through this quasi-*occupatio*, guidebooks could both challenge and reassure anxious readers. Another example moves more subtly: the Rutherfurds' *Border Hand-book* (1849) quotes the traditional section of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* describing Melrose Abbey, despite the fact that the poem was "well known," because "the lines so exquisitely portray the ruined pile, that the foregoing account cannot but be improved by their citation" (34). The expectation to recognize these lines is unstated, but present. The inclusion of the required knowledge allowed some readers to feel quietly superior, and allowed others to feel that they were catching up to the standard. The books allowed tourists to perform both educated and educational tourism in private. Readers could identify themselves as intelligent observers in the safety of their own minds.

Guidebooks did more than supply facts and quotations. In addition to pointing out key details at tourist sites and providing intellectual or artistic context, guidebooks also indicated how the ideal tourist would interpret that information. When viewing Neidpath Castle, for example, one guide indicates the details that "reveal to an intelligent observer its old characters, both as a military strength and as a noble residence" (*Abbotsford and Scenery of the Tweed* 4). The book delineates cultural expectations about the correct way to observe and interpret the scene: the educated tourist in this instance would interpret the castle's appearance in terms of historical military practice and the habits of the nobility. Guides defined the

[52] Though this practice was frequent, it was of course not universal: for example, in a book titled *Views of Loch Lomond*, no quotation accompanies a reference to Wordsworth's "To a Highland Girl" (*Views* 12).

intellectual or aesthetic approach of an "intelligent," idealized tourist, and then showed readers how to approximate that reaction.

Some guides also taught tourists to train their eyes, to achieve approved picturesque appreciation of famed views. Guides sometimes detailed exactly how a tourist should look at certain scenes, outlining the specific progress a trained eye might make. *Views of Loch Lomond* includes a long quotation from John Wilson's *Remarks on the Scenery of the Highlands*.[53] The passage quoted first specifies the viewer's expected emotional reaction, beginning with "the feeling of a lovely and a mighty calm" (*Views of Loch Lomond* 2). The passage then leads the viewer's eye through the scene: it begins by looking at the whole, and then focuses on individual islands, working through them "in the order of their relation to one another," before moving to "the long promontories" (2). This text identifies the appeal of a particular view and instructs its reader in the best way to approach and experience it, dictating an approved touristic experience.

Other guides offered educational homework for their readers. One argues in a discussion of Melrose Abbey that the complexities of the structure "challenge the closest scrutiny of both the man of taste and the artist" (*Abbotsford and Scenery of the Tweed* 10-11). It is implied that the middle-class tourist-reader ought to be at least one of these. In short, the text claims, "[t]he edifice is a study" (10-11). However, the Abbey enjoyed "universal celebrity," thanks to its cameo in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (11). "Universal" here means that the Abbey should be familiar to well-read tourists of good, middle-class taste, a group the guide's readers should aspire to join. Famously, Scott's poem includes a suggestion to visit the Abbey by moonlight, although Scott never visited it at night himself (11-12). This guidebook points out this irony, but nevertheless recommends that "intelligent tourists" make visits by both day- and moonlight, to compare the views in an exercise of their own critical and aesthetic judgment (12). The guide quotes the relevant instruction from the *Lay*, beginning "If thou wouldst view fair Melrose aright" (12). Thus, it provides both the textual source, and an activity by which an ignorant tourist can become an "intelligent" one. However, quoting the poem out of context obscures further irony

[53] Wilson wrote extensively on Scottish tourist sites, especially in Edinburgh, under the pseudonym Christopher North.

surrounding the original directive, which was actually issued in the voice of the *Lay*'s eponymous minstrel. He describes Melrose as a ruin, mentioning "broken arches" and a "ruined central tower" (Scott, *Poetical Works* 11). But the minstrel's story is set before the Abbey's destruction during the Reformation. The characters who actually visit Melrose at night (to retrieve a magic book from a wizard's tomb) would have visited a whole, functioning abbey. The moonlit ruin offered excellent atmosphere for the minstrel's narrative, but Scott's advice to a contemporary tourist might have been completely different. Nevertheless, these lines were typically quoted out of context, and were often received as Scott's own instruction. The illustration of the Abbey in this guidebook depicts two tourists following this advice, observing the favored window by the light of the moon. Thus, the information supplied by this guidebook bolstered a cultural standard, but also supplied its readers with the means to achieve that standard themselves—though a thorough reader of the original text might consider further study necessary.

Publishers and authors had an economic motive for this rhetorical position. By appealing to their customers' anxiety about their social status, they could stimulate demand for books that facilitated this cultural education.[54] Guidebooks that encouraged studious readers fostered a larger audience for informative works. Tourists needed access to historical and cultural context about the sites they visited. The pressure to imbibe that information could translate into pressure to buy informative books. Publishers desiring to promote their own publications therefore joined in to characterize Scottish tourism as an intellectual pursuit. The pressure on tourists to perform educational tourism created opportunities for publishers to expand their sale catalogues. By encouraging information-oriented tourism, publishers encouraged tourists to collect a variety of books: not only more informative guides and souvenirs, but also histories and literary editions. Guidebooks that affirmed their own importance also reinforced demand for these related products.

[54] In guidebooks and souvenirs, publishers were frequently their own authors. Murray, Baedeker, and Black all wrote some of their earliest guides. In other cases, the writers behind souvenirs and guides were not independent creative authors, but hired copywriters or compilers, expected to adhere to house style; their rhetoric would serve the publisher's interests.

Sometimes this pressure was general; sometimes it was specific. The guidebook *Abbotsford and Scenery of the Tweed* is a small souvenir-guide, coupling a short descriptive text with more elaborate Nelson print illustrations. The book and its illustrations were broadly appealing, but the text made specific reference to the ideal, middle-class, "intelligent" tourist (12). It also referred to other books that intelligent—or insecure—readers could buy, including a more "complete Guide-book to the Border Land" issued by the same publisher, where curious readers could find "full information on all parts of this interesting district, and on the best modes of visiting them" (3). This longer guidebook was *The Land of Scott*, which featured longer historical context but no illustrations. The two publications were therefore complementary. A tourist who wanted both a full cultural history and a visual souvenir would need to purchase both volumes.

Similarly, the publishers A. & C. Black offered lines of interconnected guides, souvenirs, and maps, each book in the line advertising some of the others. For example, their *Shilling Guide to Moffat* (1853), a smaller volume cheaply bound in green paper over card, included advertisements for a range of Black's Guide-Books on its endpapers. It advertised two versions of their guidebook to Scotland, a standard edition (price 3s 6d) and a more expensive, illustrated edition (8s 9d) with "numerous Views of the Scenery on Wood and Steel" (*Black's Tourist's and Angler's Guide to Moffat* 12). The guide also advertised the Blacks' maps, and other logistical aids. Thus, this volume pushed its readers to expand their collections for multiple purposes: they might need maps for further logistical assistance while traveling, a longer guidebook for more information, and perhaps a more elaborate guidebook as a souvenir and showpiece.

Small firms also advertised related tourist products intensively. John and James H. Rutherfurd were printer/publisher/booksellers in Kelso, a small Borders town ("John Rutherford"). They printed local guides like their *Border Handbook*. But they also directed tourist-readers to their other products, which would affirm their cultural fluency. They expanded their lines with souvenir-guide hybrids, like *The Scottish Border: A Memorial of Her Majesty's Visit to the District, August, 1867*. This book included advertisements for both the *Border Handbook* and their edition of *Jeffrey's History of Roxburghshire*, resources for tourists who wanted

more historical context.[55] Literary tourists could also purchase an illustrated gift book titled *Scenes of Infancy and Border Poems*. Thus, the Rutherfurds gave their tourist-readers numerous buying paths to pursue. Each of these individual texts allowed their readers to pursue (and later display) their middle-class taste, and they directed tourist-readers to other products through their advertisements. Thus, the Rutherfurds, like the Nelsons and the Blacks, promoted Scottish tourism as an educational, historical, and aesthetic affair, in order to promote their own publications.

Overall, guidebooks to Scotland shaped middle-class tourists' practices by defining the "ideal" tourist's itineraries, interests, and reactions. They defined middle-class taste as intellectual and aesthetic, and reinforced the common conflation of education, taste, and class status. Guides expressed these standards to their readers in subtle ways, affirming and reinforcing middle-class expectations to practice tourism as connoisseurship. Simultaneously, those same books provided educational guidance, offering their readers private affirmation and soothing their anxieties. They gave their readers a chance to identify their pursuit of historical information as an indication of middle-class taste. In doing so, publishers strengthened demand for their own publications. When they manipulated their readers' insecurity, and perpetuated assumptions about travel and status, they invested in their own publications and in a growing tourist infrastructure. They also encouraged an approach to tourism that was invested in both cultural connoisseurship, and individual self-definition.

**Public Status Markers**

After their journeys ended, returned tourists wanted to display their newly acquired cultural and social capital. Guides and souvenirs, both initially designed for personal use, could be pressed into service as status markers, exhibited in tourists' homes and given to friends. As display objects or gifts, they helped to demonstrate a tourist's status by exhibiting or alluding to the intellectual work that the tourist may

[55] Roxburghshire is the historic county that included Jedburgh, Hawick, Melrose, and Kelso.

have done in Scotland. Books were particularly well-suited to this function, as they could contain and disseminate far more complex information than other tourist trinkets. Styles for tourist books were evolving at this time, as publishers sought to distinguish themselves in an increasingly competitive market. Experimentation with both guides and souvenirs generated editions that were even more effective display objects, which in turn reinforced the demand for souvenir displays in a self-reinforcing cycle. Tourists who used these books as status markers were seeking to declare their own class or cultural identity, but they simultaneously associated themselves with the portraits of Scotland contained in the books. When tourists used souvenir books to affirm their place in society, they also affirmed the books' more general characterizations of that society.

During a tour, guidebooks helped tourists to feel that they were practicing solid middle-class tourism. Afterwards, tourists might wish to demonstrate their social status by sharing symbols of their new cultural capital with their friends. Tourist books could be used as visible, public markers of a traveler's achievement, and thus of his or her social status. Rolf Potts describes the collection of "authentic-seeming souvenirs" as a "status ritual" that displays the collector's acquaintance with the "behind-the-scenes essence" of a visited place (149). Susan Stewart has argued that a souvenir "represents not the lived experience of its maker but the 'secondhand' experience of its possessor/owner" (*On Longing* 135). Guides and souvenirs also represent that secondhand experience at third hand, summarizing it textually and visually for the tourist-owner's friends. The images, the poetry, the history, and the logistical details that souvenir-guides contain all represent their owner's journey through Scotland, and thus form a portrait of their owner. The story they tell is "a narrative of the possessor," not of the "object" (136). Thus, a souvenir-guide represents both its owner's experience of a particular site, and also the intellectual and social connotations of that journey.

The texts that had pressured tourists to assimilate to cultural expectations then advertised that assimilation; they displayed the new knowledge that their owners had presumably acquired. In addition to privately modeling educational travel for their tourist-readers, souvenirs and guides allowed readers to display that achievement. An advertisement for a Black guidebook illustrated with steel

engravings quoted a reviewer who said the volume would serve well, "when not in use, to fill up a blank corner in the table of the boudoir or drawing-room" (*Black's Picturesque Tourist in Scotland*, 1859, *Advertiser* 44). Tourists could display these books as status markers in their homes, or present them to friends and family. In doing so, they could publicly assert that they had acquired the cultural capital associated with tourism. Thad Logan discusses how Victorians displayed souvenir trinkets that helped owners to "shore up bourgeois identity" (*The Victorian Parlour* 187). Similarly, souvenir guides provided evidence of the original tourist's acquisition of cultural capital. A review of a souvenir guide about the memorial statue of Prince Albert in Edinburgh literally stated that the book "shows culture" (qtd in *Albert Memorial Guide Book*, leaf B1r). Friends and family, observing the implied depictions of middle-class connoisseurship in these books, could assume that these portraits now represented the books' owners. Display books enabled visitors to recognize their friends as tourists, and in fact as literary, connoisseur tourists—just as, in Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, newspaper readers identified each other as members of an imagined national community through recognition of visible reading material. Stewart argues that "it is the possessor, not the souvenir, which is ultimately the curiosity" (148). Visitors, glimpsing a mauchline ware box or examining a viewbook, might see them as representing their friend, as well as Scotland. This was possible even when visitors did not read the books in question: often, the visual reminder of the tourist's visit to Scotland was a simple signal of middle-class taste and attitudes. Visiting readers without firsthand experience of the tour might not have reason to question these assumptions, or the narrative of cultural education insinuated in many souvenir-guides. Tourists could keep any insecurity to themselves; to their friends and callers, they could display successful self-improvement.

Tourists could also give souvenirs or souvenir-guides to their friends. Victorian souvenir books frequently feature gift inscriptions: for example, "To my dear Eleanor from her loving friend Jeannie 28th November 1864" (*The Lady of the Lake,* Corson A.4.LAD.1.a.1863/2); or, "To Miss M. O. Wilson with best Wishes from James Falshaw Novr 1866" (*The Lady of the Lake,* Phot.sm.34). Some souvenirs, like birthday books, were clearly designed as gifts, not just personal

souvenirs. These books were used to track important dates and holidays, but they could include literary quotes and decorative bindings. In *The Burns Birthday Book*, for instance, the excerpts from Burns' poetry and the photograph on the mauchline ware binding served as standard symbols of literary Scotland (Gibson). The book perpetually constructed its giver as a middle-class literary tourist (whether or not he or she had read Burns). Even guidebooks could be shared with friends after a tour. Many Victorian guides were consciously written both for travelers, and "for the entertainment and instruction" of armchair tourists, "who had no intention of deserting their own hearths" (Vaughan 70). Souvenirs, guides, and hybrid souvenir-guides made popular offerings, allowing tourists to bring their friends one step closer to the places they had visited. These gifts, too, allowed the original tourists to show off their status: a gift is an unmistakable demonstration of the original tourist's trip, and thus of his or her cultural achievement.

Contemporary, coincidental evolutions in tourist book publishing allowed guides and souvenirs—and hybrid souvenir-guides—to function more effectively as display objects. As discussed in Chapter One, the guidebook market became more and more competitive as the mid-century tourist business expanded. Struggling to compete, publishers began to distinguish their wares with more elaborate material additions. Guides and souvenirs both began to vary in format and style, sometimes with unexpectedly decorative features. Minimalist, functional Murray guides co-existed with the elegant, illustrated Black guides; with the colorful Nelson guide/view-books; with various inventive, local productions; and with utilitarian texts issued in elaborate souvenir bindings. Many Victorian guidebooks were actually hybrid souvenir-guides, bridging the genre divide by uniting appealing display features and utilitarian information in single objects.

Publishers also produced more physically elaborate guides to target tourists of different wealth levels. The Rutherfurds, for instance, expanded their customer base by offering guides and souvenirs in a wide range of formats, and at a wide range of prices. The Rutherfurds' *Border Handbook*, for example, was not elegantly printed or designed, but it was available in both plain cloth for 2s 6d and "Cloth extra," a more decorative binding, for 3s 6d. This guidebook pointed tourists towards the *History of Roxburghshire*—a more substantial investment for both publishers and

buyers, priced at 12s 6d (*The Scottish Border*). The price attached to this title marked history as the purview of wealthier, and presumably higher-class tourists. Here, the Rutherfurds were pursuing the tactics discussed in the previous section: encouraging aesthetic and historical tourism as a habit of wealthy and middle- or upper-class travelers. The more expensive book targeted richer customers and tempted aspirational tourists. Similarly, the Rutherfurds' *Scenes of Infancy and Border Poems* sold for 6s 6d in cloth—a moderately aspirational price—or a staggering 22s 6d in mauchline ware (*The Scottish Border*, advertisement p.4). This would have been too costly for some tourists, but the showy and expensive mauchline ware made the poetry book a more visible display object. The Rutherfurds also published *The Scottish Border: A Memorial of Her Majesty's Visit to the District* in a cheap edition with one photographic frontispiece, and in a deluxe edition on toned paper with numerous photographs and a mauchline ware binding (vi). In addition, they published the frontispiece photograph for individual sale as a carte-de-visite (prelim). The diversity of these souvenirs kept a wide cross-section of the tourist market open to the Rutherfurds, maximizing their custom. The diversity in prices depended on physical diversity. Commissioning a special binding or inserting additional photographs was a straightforward way to issue a text for a new section of the tourist audience. But the features that attracted attention in a shop also attracted attention in the owner's parlor. The high price that they were able to command for copies in mauchline ware bindings confirms the importance of the display function. A copy of *Scenes of Infancy* in mauchline ware cost between three and four times as much as a copy bound in cloth.[56] This binding added no functionality to the book, other than as a display object; in paying the increased price, tourists were paying for the elegance of the item and the elegance it would confer on their drawing room.

These elegant physical qualities made the books function better as status markers: they were more persuasive if alluring bindings or handsome illustrations tempted friends to open the volumes, and persuasive even if no one did open them. Mauchline and tartan ware bindings were ideal display objects. The bright colors and

[56] Larger publishers also charged far higher prices for books in mauchline ware. A catalogue from Adam & Charles Black offers editions of Scott's poems—the illustrated Christmas editions, in fact—for 18 shillings in "Extra Cloth, Gilt Edges," but for 36 shillings in "Enamelled Tartan Boards, with Vignette painted on the side" ("Catalogue of the Various Editions…").

striking pattern of a tartan ware binding would be visible across the room, instantly legible as a symbol of travel in Scotland. Mauchline ware was equally alluring. Consider, for example, the binding on the copy of *The Scottish Border* in the National Library of Scotland: the front board features a photograph of a painting of Mary, Queen of Scots, surrounded by an elaborate transfer pattern of ferns and other foliage (see figure 37). This volume was intended to be seen, not shelved. In fact, the curvature of the wooden boards on most mauchline and tartan ware bindings makes them sit awkwardly on the shelf with other books; but they would lie well on a table, where the elaborate designs could be seen.

Some souvenir volumes were even sold in display cases and formats. Many souvenir editions were sold in mauchline ware boxes, which would obviously look better on a table than a bookshelf. One edition of the works of Scott, in six volumes, was sold in a tartan ware box with images of Scott and of Melrose Abbey on the lid (*Scott's Poetical Works,* RB.s 1838). The images on this lid, of course, would be invisible if the box were placed in a bookcase. Other mauchline ware books came in odd formats. A small *Photo Medallion Souvenir* of Elgin, Forres, and Nairn is actually a small, round, accordion-fold collection of images, housed in a circular wooden box. Another tiny souvenir was a small bible with a facsimile of the family register from Robert Burns' family bible. This book was advertised on its front board as the "smallest bible in the world," and sold in a hinged tartan ware box almost shaped like a book itself (*Smallest Bible in the World*). A miniature book like this would be quickly lost on a shelf of larger books, even with its little case; the round *Photo Medallion*, shaped like a pill box, could not be stored with other books at all. These items were designed for display, to communicate their owner's history of tourism with both speed and charm.

Illustrated books were equally suited for perusal. Their bindings might be less striking at a distance, but their contents could tempt owners to open and share them with family and friends. It was an old habit to share one's travel sketchbook after a tour. Similarly, tourists could show their friends their photograph albums, or the photographs in a souvenir issue of *The Lady of the Lake*, or the lithographs in a Chromo-View guide or a photomanual album. The social rituals for showing and sharing these books were well established, and tourists might easily shop for

souvenirs in the expectation that they would eventually show them off to friends and acquaintances. While these books might not be on permanent display in a family parlor, they would be easily accessible for visitors.

Many different types of souvenirs were available at this time, and many could serve the same function, as displayed indications of cultural capital. It is important to note that books, with the potential to contain numerous illustrations and long texts, could be more capacious than vases or trinkets. While all souvenirs could function as status markers, books could offer extensive additional detail on the cultural knowledge a tourist might have encountered in Scotland. While a trinket marked a tourist's status, a book could articulate or insinuate the rationale behind that new status. The text in a guide offered extensive information about the knowledge a tourist had acquired; the images in a souvenir identified the cultural artifacts and sites they had now encountered. This persuasive detail, offered to the tourist's social circle, improved the original tourist's status efficiently.

Emerging hybrid publications were particularly well-suited to this type of public display and social coding. As part of the general experimentation in guidebook publishing, some guides began to take on some properties of souvenirs, while souvenir books also began to include historical information. Even souvenirs that could never function as guidebooks sometimes included what might be called guiding text. Photograph albums, for instance, occasionally included informational segments that now appear out of place in a fragile volume not suited for travel. For example, take *Skye: Photographs by G. W. Wilson*, which is a photograph album obviously suited for display, rather than a guidebook. The only text is on the rear pastedown, where a caption has been provided for each photograph. These captions identify the subjects of the images, and offer a few historical and literary tidbits. However, the single page of text also includes details about inns, carriage and pony hires, and travel routes. The caption for Dunvegan Castle points out both that the castle has "associations with Prince Charlie, Dr. Jonson [sic], and Sir Walter Scott"—and that the excursion there from Portree takes only a day (*Skye*). This insistence on logistics reminds readers—tourists and armchair tourists both—that the purchaser of this album actually visited these places. By calling attention to logistics, the album also draws attention to the tourist's actual achievements. In addition, by

highlighting the historical and literary associations of these landmarks, as well as their beauty, the album gives its owner or gifter a cultural sheen. The album does not have sufficient information to serve as a useful guidebook, but the details on hotels and travel costs seem superfluous for a pure souvenir. But such a book offers an impressionistic view of a difficult and educational trip, the kind that would equip the tourist with new insights into history and aesthetics. These books put the supposed taste and education of their owners on display for others, as well as (or instead of) preserving actual information or memories for the owners themselves.

Some souvenirs helped tourists to affirm their current status; other souvenirs, imitating more expensive books, may represent attempts to claim or imitate higher status. In the previous chapter, I discussed trompe-l'oeil lithographic albums that imitated the style and format of photograph albums. The lithographs were in black and white, often with the blank skies and stiffly-posed figures of early photographs (see figures 15-16). The concertina format of the book also imitated the accordion-fold structure of some photo albums. This style may have been an attempt to lay claim to the prestige of albumen prints. Advertisements in one such book advertises a series of lithographic views as "Carte de Visite size" (*Souvenir of Land o' Burns*, rear endpaper). Original photographs were costly and scarce, compared to lithographs; photograph albums therefore indicated wealth and status. The trompe-l'oeil albums represented photographic accuracy, without the technological reliability of actual photographs. They may also have allowed their owners to stake a tenuous claim to social and cultural status, without significant financial investment.

All told, guides and souvenirs served as important status markers for returned tourists. These books summarized and represented Scotland for the tourist, and for his or her friends. Their value as witnesses to their owners' cultural capital derived from their physical elaborateness. Therefore, tour books could serve as status markers whether or not they were actually read: a visitor could recognize and assimilate a mauchline ware binding, or the recognizable series binding on a standard travel guide, as a sign of Scottish travel, and then draw their own conclusions about the owner's new connoisseurship. Guides and souvenirs could also be quickly flipped through by visitors, while being more carefully examined by their owners (or not). What mattered was the impression the book left on its viewers.

These books participated in, and reinforced, a cyclical dynamic that upheld the idea of intellectual status tourism. Guides and souvenirs both displayed their owners' presumed taste and connoisseurship. As the genre evolved, it became better and better suited to fulfilling this function as a status marker. It is difficult to say that the books evolved *in order to* suit this function. Instead, the publishers' decisions and the consumers' desires both influenced and reinforced each other, creating status souvenir-guides. The readers' interest in standing out to their friends paralleled the publishers' interest in standing out in the field. As the guidebook market grew, it also became more competitive, and many publishers enhanced and adorned their publications simply to stand out from the crowd. This enabled those books to act as better status markers for anxious tourists. However, once that anxiety was established, it drove demand for educational tourist books—demand so powerful that publishers could sell histories and volumes of poetry to tourists as souvenirs. Of course, those publishers encouraged the demand for souvenir volumes of poetry or history because it would help them sell more books to a wider market of transient visitors—and so on. The creators and the audience together created the hybrid souvenir, the status guidebook, the informative souvenir, desirable not only for the way they represented Scotland but also for their ability to represent Scotland's visitors. Those representations were also characterizations: guides and souvenirs marked their readers' status, but those depictions came with other connotations. Scottish tourism was associated with different varieties of cultural capital, many of which reflected on both personal and national identities.

**Royal Connections**

Tourists seeking to represent their Scottish travel as high-status could associate themselves with one of the most popular Victorian tourists in Scotland: Queen Victoria herself. Enterprising publishers hoping to attract business from class-anxious customers sometimes used her relationship with Scotland as a marketing tactic for both souvenirs and guides. Victoria and the royal family toured Scotland multiple times in the mid-nineteenth century, eventually buying Balmoral. Thus,

they offered a very public example of high-status tourism. Scottish souvenir publishers took advantage of the royal interest and incorporated this glamor into their own marketing schemes. They made souvenir books about Victoria's travels; they presented their own wares to her, as an additional form of opportunistic advertising; and they exploited those gifts by later selling "royal" association editions. Tourists who wished to cement their social status could associate themselves with the royal family through royal souvenirs, instead of pursuing intense educational tourism. This method created opportunities for tourists to rethink the relationships between themselves, Scotland, and the British crown. It could incidentally influence tourists who were developing new notions of Britishness, allowing them to reconceptualize Scotland's place within the Union.

Because of Queen Victoria's own interests, this dynamic did reinforce the existing conflation of literary tourism, class status, and middle-class taste. Victoria considered Scotland's place in the Union through the lens of her literary tourism. She was drawn to a romanticized version of Scotland as a literary tourist, and her very public interest helped to define Scottish tourism as a tasteful activity. Like many English Victorians, she first explored Scotland through Walter Scott's novels. Gold and Gold have argued that her reading and travel allowed her to "see herself as part of the land's history" (78). The "first novel that she ever read" was reportedly *The Bride of Lammermoor*, set in the Lammermuir Hills of southeast Scotland (75). In 1842, she toured the Highlands, having "steeped herself in Scott" as preparation (75). On a row across Loch Tay, the "boatmen sang Gaelic boat songs," an experience which she later compared to Roderick Dhu's progress down Loch Katrine in *The Lady of the Lake* (75-76). She could thus envision herself as a Highland chieftain. These were personal ideas and associations, but as a monarch, she made her growing love for Scotland visible. She visited again in 1844 and 1847. Prince Albert purchased Balmoral Castle in 1852, and had a new royal residence constructed there by 1856. The royal family spent increasing amounts of time at Balmoral, and continued to conduct additional tours of other parts of the country. In 1868, extracts from Victoria's own diaries were published as *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*. This publication would "popularize" and disseminate "her love for the Highlands" (Gold and Gold 79). In general, her

characterization of Balmoral "as a place of happiness and solace […] kept the romantic vision of Scotland alive" (Watt 78). Thus, Victoria became a highly public role model for Scott-influenced literary tourism.

Victoria modeled high-status tourism for middle- and lower-class observers. Her tourist activities in fact aligned more with contemporary middle-class practices than with upper-class deer shoots, but her social status was incontrovertible. No one outranks the Queen, and her interest in and affection for Scottish literary culture consolidated the link between literary and status tourism. As Gold and Gold put it, "few aspects of taste received more of a contribution from Victoria herself than the romanticization of highland Scotland" (79). The entire country could watch Victoria reading Scott and Scottish history, and reimagining her relationship to the country through her reading. She herself made reference to Scott's *Lady of the Lake* in a published diary entry about a trip to Loch Muich (Queen Victoria 88). Her affection for Scotland became part of a national narrative that persists to this day. Readers following her visible example would believe an affection for Scottish trips to be in the best taste. Some tourists might take the Queen as a public model of literary tourism, following her as an exemplar of cultural connoisseurship. However, some tourists and some tourist publishers used Victoria's example for her stature alone. Souvenir books associated with the Queen could mark the status of their owner simply by associating him or her with the royal family, without implying cultural accomplishment.

Tourist publishers sometimes capitalized on Victoria's example to decorate and advertise their own material. They relied on the popular appeal of her individual celebrity and her royal status to drive demand for materials associated with her. Some of these advertising opportunities were simple: royal tours provided smaller, local publishers with opportunities to present copies of their publications to Queen Victoria or her relatives. These presentations provided excellent moments in the spotlight for small firms. Publishers did the most they could to exploit their brief visibility. For example, Queen Victoria visited Floors Castle on an 1867 tour of the Borders. A. and R. Robb, booksellers from nearby Coldstream, presented her with a souvenir edition of *Marmion*, illustrated with photographs and bound in mauchline ware fashioned from wood grown on Flodden Field (*The Battle of Flodden Field*

advertisements). The Queen sent polite admiration and gratitude to the Robbs through her host, the Duchess of Roxburghe, and the Robbs publicized this honor as much as they could. An item in the *Berwick Advertiser* of August 21, 1867 lauded the "handsome present," calling it "elegant," "embellished," and "particularly chaste and appropriate" (*The Battle of Flodden Field* advertisements). With this newspaper entry (to which they undoubtedly contributed), the Robbs garnered public attention for their wares. They tried to extend this ephemeral glory by selling what they called the "Royal Edition" of *Marmion*, which they claimed in advertisements was the "same as presented to Her Majesty the Queen" (*The Battle of Flodden Field* ads). In some ads, they quoted the piece from the *Berwick Advertiser* (*The Battle of Flodden Field* ads), using the newspaper as an ostensibly objective third party to confirm both the elegance of the book and the Queen's genuine approval. Quotations from the *Advertiser* appeared in a souvenir edition of *The Battle of Flodden Field* published in 1869, showing that the Robbs were exploiting the glamor of the Queen's visit for years. These various announcements characterized the "Royal Edition" of *Marmion*, and *Marmion* itself, as unquestionable markers of good touristic taste.

Most likely, the actual royal presentation copies differed from the "royal" editions that tourists could buy. The copy presented to Victoria was in fact published by A. W. Bennett, and only bound by the Robbs (*Marmion*, Bennett 1866). I have not been able to compare this copy to any copies of the "royal edition" sold to the public, but the Bennett edition was not sold primarily as a souvenir edition, much less a "royal" souvenir. The Robbs most likely sold copies with mauchline ware bindings they had commissioned, which probably differed from the royal binding. The copy in the Royal Collections has a crown and monogrammed V on the front board—features probably not offered to tourists. In general, royal presentation copies might have more photographs, or grander bindings, or could be large paper copies. However, the "Royal Editions" would still include some photographs, and elegant bindings. More importantly, these differences would probably not have been apparent to the average customer, who would have limited information about the Queen's copy. The appeal of the "Royal Edition" depended on the marketing—and royal editions were well marketed.

Publishers invoked the Queen's interest in Scotland both in and *on* books—not just mentioning the Queen in advertising copy, but stamping royal symbols on the bindings. This allowed the publishers to capitalize on their customers' class anxieties. These visible sigils marked the books as status objects because of their association with the royal family. Later copies or editions of presentation volumes were marketed as royal association copies, tempting tourists to purchase those editions to demonstrate their own class status. J. F. Crawford, a bookseller and stationer in Stirling, presented a souvenir edition of *The Lady of the Lake* to Alexandra, Princess of Wales, on her 1866 visit (Bdg.s.923, prelims).[57] Later, they presented another copy of the same book to Queen Victoria on her 1869 visit (prelims). Like other presentation souvenir volumes, these editions were at the height of the mode, illustrated with photographs by George Washington Wilson (Durie 137). After the first presentation, Crawford sold similar illustrated copies of the *Lady of the Lake* as the "Princess of Wales Edition" (Bdg.s.923, prelims). These editions were thoroughly marked as "royal": inside, a preliminary leaf explained (in text printed lithographically in gold) that this was the "same volume" that was presented to Her Majesty and to Her Royal Highness (see figure 38). The gold tooling on the spine included the words "Princess of Wales Edition," as well as the heraldic badge of the Prince of Wales (three ostrich plumes in a coronet) and a royal crest. The mauchline ware binding featured a photograph of the royal crest on the lower board, though the front board was decorated with a more generic photograph of Ellen's Isle (see figure 8). These details made the book a blatant, unambiguous status symbol, by connecting the owner's interests to royal leisure activities. Even the most oblivious caller, encountering this book on a drawing room table, could note that its owner and the royal family shared a set of tourist destinations. Such souvenirs could mark their owner's prestige simply through royal association; but some royal editions simultaneously identified their owners as culturally literate. Thus, editions these like functioned as visible markers of both class status and touristic education. They offered their middle-class customers both the prestige of

[57] This is Alexandra of Denmark, who married Albert Edward, Prince of Wales. In 1866 the Princess was presumably the subject of popular curiosity, after her marriage in 1863 and the birth of her first child in 1864.

Scottish literary tourism and the prestige of the British crown. These two types of markers could function separately, but they could also appear together.

Some firms yoked royal tourism and literary tourism together almost systematically, blurring any distinctions between the two methods of status display. The Rutherfurds of Kelso, a similar small firm, used Victoria as an example of literary and historical tourism, to encourage customers to purchase literary or historical works that were not necessarily royal editions. In 1866, Queen Victoria and her daughter Princess Helena toured the Borders. The Rutherfurds presented the Queen with copies of their *Border Handbook* and a local history, Jeffrey's *History of Roxburghshire* (*The Scottish Border* vi). They later emphasized these presentations in their own advertisements (v-vi). The final line of one advertisement announces officiously that the Rutherfurd business was "Patronised by Her Majesty" (advertisements 4). In their material, the Rutherfurds claimed that they presented the guide and history book to the Queen in response to "Her Majesty's desire to become thoroughly acquainted with the district" (vi). Later, they stated that the Queen had issued a "special request […] in anticipation" of her visit (v-vi). Their rhetoric used Victoria as a role model to encourage tourists to pursue the literary-historical approach to tourism and souvenir shopping. Their promotional materials invoked expectations about intellectual tourism, allowing readers to use their souvenirs to demonstrate status through educational pursuits as well as glamorous associations. The advertisements also offered middle-class tourists the chance to imitate Victoria, by purchasing the very same books she apparently requested.[58] This line of advertising proclaimed the effectiveness of royal souvenirs and literary souvenirs, linking them both together.

Often, these publicity stunts were framed as demonstrations of loyalty, which helped to nurture a growing sense of British culture. The gifts were usually presented as gestures of allegiance or affection—as indeed they may have been. The Rutherfurds' *Scottish Border*, an overview of Queen Victoria's tour of the district, is written in a consistent tone of "loyal enthusiasm" and "loyal affection"—and in fact,

[58] The royal associations glamorized all of a publisher's products, not just books. While visiting Kelso, the Rutherfurds noted in *The Scottish Border*, the royal party also acquired several "articles in fancy wood" from the Rutherfurds: Prince Leopold and Princess Louise visited the shop in person, while Queen Victoria chose from a selection sent to her (41-42).

the author uses both of those phrases to describe the book in the preface (ii). Victoria's responses in particular interpreted such presents as signs of national loyalty, rather than attempts to curry either royal favor or public attention. The *Berwick Advertiser*, for example, stated that the Queen was "much obliged to [the Robbs] for their *loyal* attention" (*The Battle of Flodden Field* ads; italics mine). Victoria was obliged to interpret these gifts as demonstrations of patriotism, even when they were merely marketing grabs; but the public nature of her replies made even superficial patriotism more convincing. Even publishers who intended to use Victoria's popularity purely for their own marketing inadvertently demonstrated local Scottish loyalty to the British crown.

Some Scottish publishers also produced books about the Queen's travel, catering to intense public curiosity. These books, as well as "royal editions" and advertisements, kept Victoria's Scottish tourism in the public eye long after the conclusion of her actual tours. She became an important image for Scottish tourists. The extensive periodical coverage of her travels demonstrated the popular demand for details, and publishers responded by publishing full-length books commemorating royal visits. The Rutherfurds published a souvenir book titled *The Scottish Border: A Memorial of Her Majesty's Visit to the District, August, 1867.*[59] They released multiple issues: one with a single photographic frontispiece, and one "printed on toned paper, and sold at a high price" with additional photographs (vi). The latter can be found in mauchline ware bindings, such as the example at the National Library of Scotland discussed above (see figure 37). The book would have been sold to locals intrigued by the Queen's journey, and to a wider audience of visitors. The volume was simultaneously an advertisement for the region and an account of the royal visit. In their preface, the Rutherfurds express a hope that "readers at a distance will desire some information about places in which Her Majesty showed a very special interest" (vi). The hope that those readers would pay a visit to the area (and spend money at the Rutherfurds' shop) is unspoken. Public interest in the Queen's travels was high, and this book was prefigured by substantial coverage of the visit in the press (v-vi). The book repeated a good deal from existing

[59] The book was published and printed by the Rutherfurds; no author is listed, and it is reasonable to assume that they wrote it or commissioned a writer to execute it according to their guidelines.

accounts, while adding "some historical notices of the principal places visited by the Queen" (vi). The book is thus a memorial of tourism, as well as a hybrid guide-souvenir. But the appeal of the entire volume rested on interest in both Scotland and the crown. The detail included in these souvenirs made the Queen a focal point, and her personal affection for the region became part of the national narrative. This naturally shaped popular ideas about Scotland across the UK, simultaneously familiarizing it and sprinkling it with modern glamor.

The high level of detail in *The Scottish Border* probably both exacerbated and soothed readers' status anxiety. Books like these involved little of the connoisseur's approach to Scotland, instead prioritizing details about the royal party. The volume mixes general information with intimate details about the royal tour. For example, it describes the "Queen's Apartments" at Floors, where the royal party stayed with the Duchess of Roxburghe. The account mentions the temporary decorations for the occasion: "rare exotics" (i.e. orchids) in the entrance hall, a "staircase covered with scarlet for the occasion," and "chintz" and "blue silk" drapery in the "royal bed-room" (15-16). The account even describes the "solitary picture" in the Queen's room: "a large steel engraving of the Prince-Consort, in Highland dress, and subscribed 'Albert'" (16). Note that the portrait depicts Albert in "Highland dress": the decoration, and the narrative, symbolized Scotland's growing cultural claim to the royals. This close view allows readers and tourist-readers to imagine their way into Victoria's own bedroom.

These details about the Queen's progress are partly included to satisfy curiosity about royal glamor. For example, the account of Victoria's arrival at Kelso details the pavilion built for her—"lined with pink and white calico, […] looped into diamonds" at the ceiling (30)—and the order in which the Duchess of Roxburghe greeted the royal family (32). These details give middle-class readers a taste of luxury, and a few details about royal etiquette and precedent. Souvenirs of this sort allowed tourists to frame their own social status by imitating and scrutinizing royal tourist practices, without any shade of cultural connoisseurship. Privately, readers could compare their own experiences to the Queen's, reveling in the intimate detail of the text; and publicly, they could display souvenir editions that indicated they had visited the same sites as the Queen.

However, these books also had wider political implications. In allowing readers to feel closer to their sovereign, books like *The Scottish Border* created a space for readers to explore patriotic sentiment. This book demonstrates how interest in Queen Victoria tied the nation together: both tourists and inhabitants in the Borders took an interest in the royal tour. Published accounts of the Queen's travels reflected her glamor and cultural cachet on the places she visited, and on the people who imitated her. Owning copies of the "Princess of Wales" edition, or souvenir-shopping at the same businesses princes and princesses had patronized (and even visited in person) could give many tourists a feeling of personal connection to the British crown. Meanwhile, the precise detail in *The Scottish Border* allowed readers to imagine themselves in the Queen's own footsteps, and the sentimental details about the portrait of Prince Albert encouraged readers to feel some sympathetic affection for her. Books like *The Borders Souvenir*, recording and praising displays of patriotic celebration, encouraged a patriotic attitude in its readers, mingled with the "intellectual" attitude towards tourism displayed in more general guidebooks. Interest in Victoria and her interest in Scotland tied British tourists together.

Royal association souvenirs also made room for tourist-readers to develop a sense of imagined national community. In chapter 3, I discussed Anderson's idea of "imagined community," a national identity that develops around shared experiences of printed matter. For Anderson, newspaper readers could understand themselves as part of a national group because of their parallel reading practices—a "ceremony […] replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions)" (35). Tourist-readers could enter into a similar imagined community, with Victoria's reading as a focal point. Tourists knew they were reading and possessing not only the same text, but what they believed to be the same edition—a version of the same object—as their sovereign. The public excitement and curiosity about her travel both glamorized and domesticated the idea of a national British identity. Instead of imagining a nation of parallel readers, tourist-readers from all over the British Isles were presented with evidence of one single, central reader: Victoria, with her guidebooks, local histories, and souvenir books. Middle-class tourists could, through these presentations and these advertisements, imagine themselves partaking in tourist-reading along with their ruler. The advertisements do not provide images of the mass of other literary

tourists exploring Scotland; Anderson's model of a community of readers participating in a shared ritual is not precisely duplicated. However, Victoria herself functioned as a symbol of the nation. Any other celebrity in the same position might offer tourists a sense of community with that specific individual, but identifying with the Queen allowed British tourists to imagine their place in a national culture, not just a tourist culture. English tourists interested in her were drawn to Scotland; Scottish tourists interested in her were drawn to the English crown. Buying the "Princess of Wales" edition or the "Royal Edition" as a class-affirming gesture became, either intentionally or inadvertently, a nation-affirming gesture, providing British tourists with tangible links to their sovereign and thence to one another.

It was not new for public royal activity to serve Unionist narratives. Walter Scott and others had used George IV's 1822 visit to Edinburgh to romanticize Scotland through extensive pageantry, and "to signal reconciliation and Scotland's loyalty" (Watt 51, 48). That was a "moment of intense symbolism," a display for a consequential state visit, distant from the average citizen's daily life (51). Victoria's associations with Scotland were often personal and domestic, where George IV's had been public and choreographed; but British citizens usually had to observe the royal movements of both at a distance. Periodical coverage of Victoria's travel allowed the average citizen a window onto the royal relationship with Scotland for a time, but this window closed when the tours ended and the news cycle moved on. However, the books associated with Victoria's travel also allowed tourist-readers to display their associations with the royal family in the intimate space of the family drawing room. Souvenirs of Victoria's visits extended the impact of her presence considerably: "Royal Editions" could be sold for years after the royal visit, and tourists would keep the souvenirs for longer than that. Thus, souvenir books personalized political processes. These books represented a new vision of Britishness in intimate packages, joining political developments to the aesthetic pleasures of tourism, and bringing them into individual drawing rooms in personal displays of royally sanctioned taste and luxury.

In addition, George IV's public presence in Scotland had been carefully choreographed (and was criticized even at the time for excessive romanticization of Highland culture) (Watt 54). Souvenir publishers, however, were not coordinating

their efforts for any political goals. These publishers were concentrating on selling books and attracting attention for their firm; they were not embarking on any patriotic project. Advertising based on royal tourism was simply an effective marketing tactic, which became a trend. The consequences for national culture emerged coincidentally from the choices of smaller publishers in Coldstream and Kelso. These coincidental publishing trends made personal choices take on an additional, political valence that most consumers did not intend. The public desire for souvenir Victoriana stemmed from an interest in social display; investment in new national identities resulted from these purchases, not the other way round. The British feeling that these books could inspire was an emergent phenomenon. Tourist-readers who bought these books were making individual, personal decisions about their leisure time and home decorations, not joining a political movement.

Overall, Queen Victoria's popularity and her affection for Scotland spurred publishers to use her image to market their material. She offered a role model for literary tourism, and her curiosity about Scotland helped to glamorize Scottish tourism for the socially anxious middle class. Concurrently, her image offered a marker of class status that had nothing to do with intellectual accomplishment or connoisseurship. Publishers drew on her popularity by presenting her with copies of their souvenir and guide books, by using royal names and imagery on their publications, and by publishing souvenir books explicitly about royal tours. Class-anxious tourists then had the opportunity to seize on books with royal associations as markers of their own status. Readers from throughout Britain could use the example of their sovereign to demonstrate their own personal taste. Tourists who could read about her, and buy the books she bought, could begin to identify with their sovereign. Thus, souvenir Victoriana strengthened Scotland's connection with the British crown, and fed an emerging sense of British—rather than English or Scottish—nationality.

**Historical Identity**

Even without Victoria's example, Scottish middle-class tourist material reflected and shaped evolving concepts of British national identity. For many, travel was an opportunity to affirm one's social position. But that affirmation was inherently tied to national identity: in this case, identifying oneself as a member of a certain class also involved identifying with a vision of the larger society that included that class. The heavy emphasis on intellectual or educational tourism, described in depth at the beginning of this chapter, eventually required its practitioners to engage on some level with questions about the history of Scotland and the Union. Scotland's relationship with England—sometimes close, sometimes violent—is an inescapable theme in Scottish history. As tourists encountered these narratives, leisure tourism guided by class anxiety could become an investigation into Scotland's position in the Union. Intellectual tourism gave middle-class travelers access to new cultural capital, allowing them to affirm their social position by acquiring new historical information; but this process also affirmed Scotland's position within the nation. Often, souvenirs and guides addressed historical conflict by glamorizing and distancing it, while also identifying moments of peaceful interaction and cultural exchange between the Scottish and the English. To replace narratives of violence, they offered subtle, new visions of national cultural exchange, and fostered the assumption that familiarity with Scottish history, artistic culture, and landscape were important elements of touristic connoisseurship. For English tourists, displaying familiarity with Scottish cultural touchstones became a way to demonstrate membership in the British middle class. The tourist-reader's focus may have been on class, but identification with that class also meant identification with the larger society containing it. Travelers who wanted to affirm social status helped incorporate (the tourist version of) Scottish culture into visions of British identity. For many tourists, these books brought Unionist feeling into a new sphere. For both English and Scottish tourists in Scotland, books helped tourists romanticize and intellectually claim the region, and encouraged them to identify it as part of Britain.

Victorian British identity was shaped by a sense of history. National identity depended on "[c]onnecting with the past," and nations were defined by "'national-collective memories'" (Coleman 11, 12). For British tourists in particular, travel in Scotland could prompt tourists to reconsider their understanding of their own

nationality, both directly and indirectly. The histories enclosed in tourist books could guide their readers' approaches to British history and identity. The narratives that these books offered tended to encourage an emerging sense of British (rather than Scottish or English) culture—not through explicit activism or patriotism, but through careful framing of specific topics in Scottish culture and history. Connoisseur tourism, therefore, helped offer tourists new ways to understand Scotland as part of Britain.

Scottish guides and souvenirs generally began to offer narratives of national British unity. The publishers who offered these narratives were not acting as a group, but using individual tactics to support their own businesses. As with the sense of nation that arose from royal souvenirs, this was a coincidental trend, not a purposeful campaign. Some Unionist rhetoric may have been conscious, some unconscious. Furthermore, it was a frequent but not inevitable tactic: not every Scottish souvenir reflected on British history or identity. Those that did took their own routes to the topic, for their own reasons. Publishers had to attend to the unique customer bases for their own firms, and responded to risks and trends in individual ways. Some included British (rather than Scottish) emphases because they wanted to market a line of guides that took in sites throughout Britain; others simply wanted to welcome visitors from nearby English towns just over the border. The readers who purchased these books were also acting on individual bases, working to declare their own cultural and social identity first, and reconsidering their national identity as a consequence. The national feeling that could develop through Scottish tourism emerged from individual actions that became a trend, not through conscious collective action.

Before discussing the subtle Unionist narratives embedded in tourist books, it is important to note that the outward-facing British sensibilities in these books co-existed with other contemporary concepts of Scottishness, with distinctly different attitudes and symbols. Coleman argues that throughout the nineteenth century, "the Scots held an assertive sense of themselves as a distinct nation" and "surrounded themselves with all the signs and symbols of a cultural and historically coherent nation" (20). Though Scott offered popular visions of British nationhood, Coleman argues that the Scots turned to the Cameronian Covenanters and Presbyterian history

as focal points for Scottish nationalism (30-33). In general, however, Scottish tourist material has little to do with Scottish nationalism; instead, souvenir books offered more internationally accessible narratives. As Scottish nationalism was not a popular topic in the Victorian tourist book market, it is therefore not the purview of this dissertation. "Tour operators and railways companies" turned to other "distinctive and resonant" symbols to represent Scotland: "bens, Burns, Balmoral and Bonnie Prince Charlie" (23). They relied on familiar images "created and codified by Scott, […] propagated by countless guidebook writers and given the royal stamp of approval by Queen Victoria" (Gold and Gold 112). Publishers focused on Scott and Victoria, Loch Katrine and Ben Nevis, bagpipes and plaids: images that were not, or were no longer, flash points for conflict. A century before, tartans had been banned as subversive, under the Dress Act of 1746; now, tartan designs could serve as visual symbols of a united Britain.

Guidebook publishers addressed the Scottish-English relationship in many different ways—ranging from straightforward emphasis on the ease of travel between the two countries, to careful rhetorical navigation around historical conflicts. En masse, souvenirs and guides that approached Scottish tourism from a historical perspective began to include narratives that minimized conflict and emphasized cooperation. Addressing Scottish history required mitigating certain tensions. Many topics for connoisseur tourists could be delicate, even the iconic bagpipes and plaids: the medieval history of warfare between England and Scotland, the Jacobite uprisings, and the cultural suppression following Culloden might be touchy areas for British tourists. For Americans or Continental visitors, that history was less personal and perhaps more exciting; but most of the tourists in Scotland in the 1850s and 1860s were British—not only English, Welsh, and Irish, but also Scottish tourists. Any businesses invested in tourism would naturally wish to avoid distressing or discouraging their customer base. In addition, tourist businesses had to steer away from Scotland's antiquated reputation as an unsafe place to travel. Guides and souvenirs that addressed Scottish history in detail—answering the demand from class-anxious tourists—had to address past violence in a way that made it feel safe, including for the numerous English visitors crossing the border.

The writers behind these guides used a variety of rhetorical tactics to distance historical conflict from contemporary tourism. Guides describing warfare often did so in dispassionate and evenhanded tones, narrating conflicts from multiple perspectives. The historiographical treatment of the Berwick siege in the *Land of Scott*, described above, incorporated the perspectives of both the Scottish and the English, with analyses from both Scottish and English historians (29-30). Though the history of Scotland's relationship with England had included strife, this narrative is calm. In addition, tourist books were careful to point out that these wars were over. An account of Johnnie Armstrong, a Scot who led harassing raids into northern England, describes his exciting and glamorous adventures, but finishes with his hanging; it emphasizes that this sower of conflict is now dead and unable to cause further trouble (*The Scottish Border* 3). In the same book, a description of Roxburgh Castle—a frequent site of military conflict—only goes into detail about the final battle, which ended with the fortress "razed to the ground, never afterwards to attain any importance" (21-22). It then includes a poetic quotation focusing on the castle as a dilapidated ruin (22). These narratives make it clear that the epoch of bloody conflict is at an end, replaced by calmer interactions. This violence is distant enough to appeal to curious tourists.

Occasionally, old conflicts are visibly replaced with picturesque, natural growth, emphasizing both the passage of time and the calm of modern Britain. A few sites of violence mentioned in *The Scottish Border* were marked for Victorian tourists by trees. One photograph in the deluxe edition of the book depicts the holly that "marks the spot where King James II. of Scotland was killed by the bursting of his own cannon" while laying siege to Roxburgh Castle in 1460 (19). In the photograph of the castle, meanwhile, the ruins are barely visible amidst two thick rows of trees, to the rear and to the fore of the castle (figure 39). The castle, though described as a "bone of contention," is here transformed to a fairly idyllic view (20-21). The size of these trees are visible markers of the time elapsed since the conflicts; these changes in the landscape indicate opportunities for changed national relationships. These trees supplant old wars and emblematize the peace of modern Scotland. Queen Victoria participated in this rhetoric by personally planting a tree ¿on the lawn at Roxburgh, "in commemoration of her visit" (40). The photograph of

this tree, a *Wellingtonia Gigantea*, is the frontispiece of the book, and is the sole photograph included in the cheaper edition as well as the deluxe edition (vi; see figure 40). The tree not only commemorates the Queen's visit, but symbolizes the growing relationship between Scotland and the English crown: Victoria literally puts down roots.

The touristic demand for intellectual material also helped sanitize violence: distressing details could be enclosed by literary accounts, romanticizing conflict by pushing it gently into the realm of fiction. In *The Scottish Border*, anecdotes of war are framed by literary accounts. A description of Johnnie Armstrong, who "spread the terror of his name as far as Newcastle," is filtered through accounts taken from the "*Border Minstrelsy*" (i.e. *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*) (2-3). The book addresses the history of conflict by quoting ballads. Later on, the history of Roxburgh Castle is carefully enclosed between peaceful anecdotes. The first part of the description is placid, mentioning the Saxons and describing thirteenth-century royal marriages held at the castle (20). Later, the castle is described as "the pivot on which turned many of the warlike expeditions on the eastern Border," and the book does not hesitate to describe those expeditions as "bloody" (20). But when the account goes into greater detail, it forgoes military detail for sentiment, focusing on how Queen Mary rallied her nobles after James II's death in 1460 by presenting her seven-year-old son James III to them (21). The account then features a sixteen-line quotation from Henry Scott Riddell, the "poet of Teviotdale," aestheticizing the violence even further (22). The poem "apostrophize[s]" the castle in its present, dilapidated state, describing it as a "moss-clad ruin," now visited not by armies but by a lone "peasant" (22). The poem takes the perspective of a modern viewer, whose "[f]ancy" reconstructs the fallen castle and imagines vague, nonspecific conflicts around it (22). The armies are ghosts of the past; the war here is a figment of the imagination. The history of Roxburgh closes by describing the new home of the Dukes of Roxburghe: not the "frowning bulwarks" of the old military stronghold, but the "palatial residence of Floors" (23). The era of military conflict is replaced by the era of diplomatic visits: the final sentence of the passage points out that Floors "has now for the first time" hosted "a reigning Sovereign" (23). Finally, it transitions to a peaceful discussion of the monks at Kelso Abbey, which was situated so as to be

"not only picturesque, but safe from invasion" (23). On the whole, the account distances border conflicts in time, contains aggression within poetic verse, and frames it with calmer topics.

Other guidebooks avoided touchy areas by focusing on different topics, ignoring the history of conflict and concentrating instead on safer, aestheticized approaches to tourism. Picturesque tourism, for instance, concentrated on the aesthetic analysis of Scottish scenery, reducing the attention paid to sites of conflict. Guide-souvenirs such as *Views of Loch Lomond* that outlined a procedure for examining a picturesque landscape regimented the romance, containing potential emotional eruptions. Thus, "old conflicts" could be "overcome" through emotional distance (Coleman 14). By pairing romantic history with aesthetic analysis, or joining historical moments to literary references, tourist books provided readers with intellectual structure. Sites of conflict could be bogged down and rendered less troubling by dry, historical facts, or rigorous aesthetic analysis. However, the writers may not have been conscious of the broader cultural influence of their rhetoric: publishers might choose to emphasize a region's picturesque appeal to encourage additional tourism, or the purchase of souvenir viewbooks.

In a similar vein, some historically oriented guidebooks focused on less loaded artistic or literary history, rather than politics or military conflict. To clear the way for burgeoning British national identities, tourists needed "new narrative[s]" that would be "capable of accommodating these old divisions" (Coleman 14). Methods of distancing the past helped to overcome division, but guidebooks also supplanted histories of conflict by offering subtle new narratives of intellectual cooperation. Publishers could not present a vision of a fully united, blended, Anglo-Scots culture; nor could they offer a vision of the past that was entirely peaceful. Instead, many guides and souvenirs focused on specific moments of exchange, preserving the distinction between English and Scottish culture but allowing intellectual space for tourists to explore a Unionist account of the two countries.

Some guidebooks referred to art, design, and literature to establish a history of British cultural exchange. The description of the architectural ruins at Dryburgh cited above notes the presence of "the early English pointed arch," as well as numerous other architectural styles—a cultural blend (*The Land of Scott* 48). The

text also highlights the literary exchanges between England and Scotland located at Dryburgh: it states (incorrectly) that John Gower, the English poet, "was a monk of Dryburgh," while Geoffrey Chaucer and the Welsh scholar Ralph Strode both visited (49). The description adds a history of Scottish and English cultural exchange, centered at the Abbey, to the copious histories of war that suffuse the Borders. In this small section, English and Scottish arches could be united in a single building. Other guidebooks referred to more recent exchanges, which could serve as the foundations for modern community. Certain parts of Scotland were sometimes discussed in terms of the English exploration of the areas. *The Scenery of the West Highlands* highlighted Inchkenneth as an intriguing tourist site because it had been visited by Johnson and Boswell on their Scottish tour (16). The island was thus interesting as a site of cultural exchange, a locus of the history of this developing tourist relationship. Similarly, when the same guide discusses Staffa and its notable seabird populations ("cormorant, gull, kittiwake, razor-bill, auk, guillemot, and puffin"), it also explains how the island's "natural curiosities" were "first revealed" to science by the visit of an English naturalist, Sir Joseph Banks, in 1772 (19). This is intellectual history, designed to attract "cultured" tourists with interests in literary and scientific developments. But the specific anecdotes and details embed Scottish-English interaction in the essential narrative of Scotland. Coleman writes that nationality involves "plac[ing] oneself within an overarching narrative" (8). Here, English tourists in Scotland suddenly found themselves facing a narrative of cultural and intellectual exchange through travel, in which they might feel they were participating. Intellectual tourists noting this information might reframe their understanding of the relationship between Scotland and England in terms of cooperation.

Other accounts emphasized modern British commercial exchange. Katherine Grenier points out that generally, Scottish "guidebook authors" hoped to "acquaint their readers with Scotland's thriving economies" (22). The *Scottish Border*, describing a young girl presenting a bouquet to the Queen in Kelso, notes that she wore an "elegant little hat […] made by the Queen's hatter"—presumably an English hat, gifted to the child by the Duchess of Roxburghe (3). The intensely laudatory account of Kelso in the same book notes that the "very elegant bridge" was "erected

by Rennie, who afterwards constructed the Waterloo Bridge in London on the same model" (8). The book also includes a list of notable observers at the Queen's arrival in Kelso, closing with "Mr James Ballantyne, Edinburgh, the popular song-writer" and "Mr Robert White, Newcastle, author of 'The Battle of Otterbourne,' 'Poems,' &c" (29). Scottish and English literary figures stand together, literally side by side in the record. Notes like these glorify Kelso—especially its bridge—and may have been written with no broader purpose in mind. But they also quietly recognize the growing intercourse of trade, fashion, and culture between the north and the south. Tourist-readers could perceive these signs of cooperation as signs of more integrated Scottish-English society (at least in the Border region). As Grenier puts it, "journeys north" for English tourists could help confirm that while Scotland and England were distinct, "Great Britain was a joint project" (23). Those tourists seeking to confirm their social place in this society were led to imagine it, consciously or unconsciously, in national, British terms.

Souvenirs and guides that invoked literary intellectualism also encouraged Unionist perspectives. Walter Scott's works played a notable part in reimagining Scottish history, and making nostalgia for Scotland's past compatible with contemporary British identity. Scott's works provided readers with models for imaginatively exploring Scotland and reconciling its complex past with a Unionist future. Coleman, discussing Scottish national feeling in the nineteenth century, points out Scott as a major focus of British cultural identity. His "detailed and lively depiction of the past had made it come alive […], whilst also settling the divisions of the past" (22). Rigney, too, cites Scott as a "manufacturer of collective memory par excellence" (*Afterlives* 9). She writes that he "inspir[ed] a fashion for history as a key to collective identity" that "look[ed] to the future" even as it "dwell[ed] on the past" (4). In her eyes, his work not only fostered an interest in history, but also encouraged its connection to national identity.

Scott's Unionist purpose was no secret: he announced in an 1829 introduction to *Waverley* that he hoped to make Scotland "familiar" for his readers, as Maria Edgeworth had done for Ireland—"thus doing 'more towards completing the Union than perhaps all the legislative enactments by which it has been followed up'" (*Waverley* 352). Coleman points out that the Victorians themselves

"commemorated [the author] for having brought the past to life, but also for ensuring that the conflicts of the past remained there" (28). In addition to his writing, Scott also coordinated Unionist pageantry and propaganda, as for George IV's visit to Edinburgh. His work to encourage Scotland's participation in the Union coexisted with his work to promote Scotland's own culture. Scott's works romanticized Scottish history and scenery. Both his writing and his cultural pageantry glamorized Scotland, keeping Scottish identity distinct while simultaneously suggesting that its incorporation into the Union would benefit and glamorize the larger British nation. Thus, his citations in tourist books supported Unionism. More fundamentally, his works and attitudes encouraged tourists to use history and literature to think about their nationality. The many tourists who approached Scotland through Scott imbibed narratives that glamorized Scottish history, but simultaneously emphasized Unionist harmony.

Guidebooks and souvenirs devoted to literary tourism helped to disseminate these narratives. We have already seen that Scott's presence in souvenir books is inescapable. When guides and souvenirs needed literary quotations, Scott was the most frequent touchstone. Class-anxious tourists pursuing both historical and literary tourism turned to him, simultaneously imbibing his political principles. The popularity of Scott's works, and their frequent invocation in tourist materials, supported his comfortable vision of Scottish history. As Gold and Gold put it, the "notions created and codified by Scott" were also "propagated by countless guidebook writers" (112). This may not have been intentional propagation: surely, at least some of these guidebook writers were thinking more of Scott's popularity than his politics. However, the two could not be separated; and so souvenir books that quoted Scott's poetry for the sake of its lyricism also shared his Unionism. Guides titled *The Land of Scott* not only promoted Scott's Unionist perspective, but visibly announced it (to anyone familiar with Scott's work) on bindings and title pages, through reference to the Magician.

Scott was so iconic for literary tourists that souvenir editions of his works became powerful symbols of Scotland. His massive popularity resulted in many elaborate souvenir editions of his works, some of which have been discussed in previous chapters. Editions of Scott displayed in the living room became symbols of

membership in cultured Victorian circles. Ann Rigney argues that some of Scott's novels, such as *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, appeared in "sumptuous and solemn" editions "designed with varying degrees of luxury to be stored on middle-class shelves […] as a sign of membership in the imagined community of those who […] had a vested interest in the preservation of the national canon" (*Afterlives* 24). These lavish editions signified their owners' involvement in a national community of literary connoisseurs. Equally, lavish souvenir editions displayed in middle-class drawing rooms or circulated among friends announced their owners' status as traveled literary connoisseurs. Because of Scott's patriotic project, this again tied social display to British national symbols. The dissemination and display of these books helped reinforce Scott's Unionism. His books were displayed as signs of an accessible, visited Scotland, and used as a symbol of national incorporation.

However, the authors and publishers behind other souvenir and guidebooks used patriotic rhetoric and symbols in their own interests. Publishers could promote Scottish tourism by quietly encouraging British identity, and increased tourism helped the sale of their own publications. For example, guidebooks often emphasized the ease of travel between England and Scotland—a straightforward way to promote travel, which coincidentally allowed a *rapprochement* between the two regions. A guide titled *The Land of Scott* emphasizes the ease with which tourists could travel between Scotland and England. The book quoted a contemporary description of the Royal Border Bridge that opened in 1850, connecting Scottish and English rail lines through Berwick-on-Tweed, as "'the last act of the Union between England and Scotland'" (28). The same guide also crosses the border once or twice, including logistical and historical information about English sites, including Berwick-upon-Tweed. The "land of Scott" in this book is not restricted to Scotland: the tourist is expected to cross the Border multiple times. Here, the emphasis on geographical proximity reinforces cultural union, explicitly and deliberately—but the Unionist rhetoric was probably employed in service of commercial self-promotion.

Other, apparently deliberate statements of national unity might also have been inspired by commercial logic rather than deliberate patriotism like Scott's. For example, the series binding stamp on Nelson guidebooks incorporates the shamrock,

the rose, and the thistle. This visually unites the countries that make up the United Kingdom. Of course, publishers had economic motivation for displays like these: this stamp also advertises the range of the Nelson's catalogue, which included guidebooks for all of these locations. This image simultaneously reinforced British sentiment and helped the publishers pursue their own economic goals. Similarly, the Rutherfurds' book *The Scottish Border* includes detailed accounts of patriotic displays, triumphal arches, and official speeches celebrating Queen Victoria's tour. But the account also advertises Kelso as a tourist site, saying that the town "has all the elements of the finest Arcadian landscapes," that the "Square is the most handsome and elegant market place possessed by any similar town in the kingdom," and that the museum is "the best museum possessed by any provincial town in Scotland" (8, 10-11, 12). In addition, the book is a rich advertising opportunity, noting that Prince Leopold, Princess Louise, and Queen Victoria herself all acquired "tasteful articles manufactured from wood grown in the district" as souvenirs from the Rutherfurds themselves (41-42). The patriotic flavor of these tourist materials was probably not orchestrated or planned. Like many other Scottish businesses, tourist book publishers were strengthening the Union simply by "grabb[ing] the opportunities afforded by access to English markets and British politics" (Coleman 34). But the encouragement to read and use these books to increase one's intellectual and social capital again connected that capital to the Union.

With these examples, we can see that rhetoric about national identity could emerge as a side effect of commercial tourist promotion. Tourists seeking to explore and articulate their social position ended up exploring Scottish history and culture. When they affirmed their position on the class ladder, they simultaneously affirmed their involvement in British society more generally. Tourists who used Scottish travel to navigate that system were confirming Scotland's presence within it, incorporating Scotland into a British cultural union. Tour books smoothed and encouraged this process. The narratives of Scotland featured in these books helped both Scottish and English tourists become comfortable with a vision of Scotland that glamorized certain aspects of Scottish cultural heritage while simultaneously incorporating it into a Unionist vision of Britain.

This phenomenon was not coordinated by politicians or cultural leaders. It was a granular, grassroots process, emerging slowly as numerous local publishers and individual readers made similar decisions for self-interested reasons, probably without extensive reflection on the consequences of their rhetoric. Unintentionally, by working to promote their own status, tourists rethought their nation and their nationality. This is political work, but through guides and souvenirs, it could be performed on a personal, individual scale—and it became more powerful as a result. Tourism gave individuals the chance to imagine their connections with patriotic pasts in new ways. Questions of national identity could become the purview of relaxed leisure activities. Victoria's relationship to Scotland was domestic and, apparently, pleasure-driven, where George IV's had been designed as propaganda; similarly, Victorian tourists' relationship to Scotland could become familiar and comfortable.

Tourist books played an important role in this process, connecting many tourists' personal quests for class stability to narratives of national identity in concrete ways. Tours and tour books offered travelers a chance to connect themselves intellectually to the British middle class, but they also added a material dimension to Scotland's cultural incorporation into the Union. When these books were asked to serve as visible symbols of visits to Scotland in tourist-readers' drawing rooms, that use physically connected class status and national attitude. Returned tourists used guides and souvenirs of Scotland in displays of social status, while the intellectual content of the books encouraged them to imagine themselves as British. Tourists who displayed themselves as traveled and educated figures were also displaying their British nationality. The presence of a tartan ware binding or a George Washington Wilson photo album in an English drawing room was a material expression and material encouragement of a developing cultural union. Tangible images and physical signs of Scotland indicated membership in a newly British middle class.

In short, as tourists pursued certain intellectual topics for the sake of connoisseur tourism, they inevitably began to consider Scotland's national identity. Nineteenth-century national sentiment, like nineteenth-century tourism, was increasingly centered on history. Both historical and literary tourist books began,

consciously and unconsciously, to present their readers with Unionist narratives. British tourists could use their educational tours to arrive at new visions of British identity, and tourist books were central to that process. Publishers may have been conscious of some elements of their rhetoric: tourist books that encouraged historical approaches also needed to encourage safe visions of a British nation. They disrupted old narratives of conflict: guidebooks that covered Scottish warfare with England sanitized that warfare, making past violence seem glamorous enough to appeal but distant enough to be safe for travelers. They also offered new Unionist narratives of cultural exchange between Scotland and England that could supplant older narratives of conflict. Other publishers may have been unconscious of the connotations of their rhetoric, referencing Walter Scott because of his popularity and unintentionally disseminating his deliberate Unionist project. Some publishers used symbols of British unity simply to market their publications to a larger, national audience. Despite the wide variety of tactics and intentions, the general effect was that Scottish tourist books became spaces where tourists could reimagine the nature of British identity.

Furthermore, the pressure that guides and souvenirs placed on their readers to pursue intellectual tourism could transfer to new ideas of Britishness. Potts suggests that we collect souvenirs "not to evaluate the world, but to narrate the self" (170). But narratives of the self inevitably become narratives of the world, and one's place in it. For Victorian tourist-readers, identifying oneself as a member of the traveled middle class meant identifying oneself as a member of the larger society that contained that class. The push to purchase and display souvenir books as status markers simultaneously allowed them to become something more. Guides and souvenirs became physical representations of Scotland, of the owner's journey in Scotland, and of Scotland's more integrated place in the Union. As tourists collected these books, and used them as status markers to display their newly acquired cultural education, they simultaneously displayed their investment in a united Britain. The relationship between Scotland and the rest of Victorian Britain was negotiated not only in political discussions, but also in personal souvenir collections.

## Conclusion

Mid-nineteenth-century tourists turned to souvenirs and guidebooks to represent not only Scotland, but also themselves and their nation. Souvenirs have always been a way for tourists to record memories and create personal histories. As tourism became a more accessible but contested sign of social status, personal histories of tourism became more important. Travelers could look to guidebooks and souvenirs to help them perform status tourism, negotiate their own identities, and consolidate their social position. Tourist books provided tourists with context on the social connotations of their leisure activities, and helped them acquire or affirm cultural capital. They also became viable social markers—consumer goods with cultural weight that tourists could display to declare their class identity publicly, as well as confirm it privately. The publishers behind these books fostered these dynamics: encouraging tourists to use these books for social self-determination naturally increased trade. Unrelated experimentation in a competitive market also happened to make the books more visible status markers. The publishing industry therefore supported the performative side of Scottish tourism, with their books as performance aides.

Tourist-readers who used souvenirs and guides to solidify their social identity were also making statements about their national identity. The display of these material signs of Scotland helped turn Scottish history, literature, and imagery into signals of middle-class British connoisseurship. English tourists who displayed souvenir symbols of Scotland in their drawing rooms to confirm their social cachet were also displaying their British nationality, however inadvertently. Souvenir books actively drove this process, as the publishing industry encouraged tourists to buy and display their books. Publishers used various tactics to make their products appealing to a wider audience—a British audience. Queen Victoria, a national role model of middle-class touristic taste, became a marketing image for publishers who hoped that association with the royals would make their editions more appealing. Souvenirs with royal crests were not only displays of personal class status, but also displays of national loyalty. As Victoria negotiated her relationship with Scotland, so too did tourists, who were able to buy the same books that had been presented to her as

souvenirs. Meanwhile, the guide and souvenir industry put pressure on tourists to pursue intellectual approaches to Scottish travel, which in turn forced tourists and publishers alike to reckon with Scotland and England's complicated history. Publishers keen to attract customers sanitized the more violent elements, and offered subtle and overt Unionist narratives of interaction and exchange to foster British tourist custom. Travel was already a way for British citizens to explore Scottish and British identity. Guides and souvenirs drove that exploration towards visions of Unionist harmony, and physically embodied that sentiment in drawing rooms throughout Britain. When returned tourists displayed and shared their souvenir books, they displayed their personal, social, and national identities. These consumer objects, shaped as always by their publishers' commercial motives, allowed tourist-readers to define both their personal and patriotic selves in the comfort of their own parlors, after the tour.

## Coda: "Prized by the Tourist"[60]

In 2015, a hallway in the Glasgow Airport was wallpapered with photographs of tree trunks and ferns to resemble a pine forest. This was part of an advertising campaign for Loch Lomond and The Trossachs National Park. Arriving in Scotland to begin this very research project on Victorian literary tourism, I turned a corner and found that Scotland was still referring to itself as the "home of the legendary Rob Roy" (see figure 41). I immediately thought of Walter Scott, seeing this advertisement as a demonstration of the way Scotland's identity is still constructed by its literary heritage. Now, I see it as an equally powerful demonstration of the way Scotland's identity is constructed by its tourist industry.

Scotland's reputation in the age of Instagram is very similar to its reputation in the age of wet collodion. Both now and then, it appears in the international imagination as a land of literature, natural beauty, exciting history, colorful plaids, and bagpipes. This characterization is not new, and its Romantic origins are not news. In the nineteenth century, this image was constructed by "writers, artists and musicians" and by "celebrity visitors" (Watt 60). It was also constructed by professionals in the tourist industry, glamorizing their region to increase business, and by average tourists and readers, drinking in these concepts and making them their own.

Every tourist has their own individually created image of Scotland. My examination of souvenir books has revealed many different visions and versions: the timeless Trossachs forest of *The Lady of the Lake*; the glamorous and distant wars of *Marmion*; the British and middle-class Scotland of Queen Victoria and *The Scottish Border*; the cultured and middle-class Scotland of "intelligent" guidebook readers; the accessible Scotland of the steamer ship in "Loch Lomond from Inchtavannach" (see figures 20-21); the leisurely Scotland of the man in the Derby hat rowing outside Abbotsford (see figures 17-19). These visions could also be expanded, questioned, constructed, deconstructed, and variously inflected in the minds of readers. But the work of this thesis is not just to uncover these fantasies; it is to

[60] *Albert Memorial Guide Book* leaf B1r.

reveal how they were shaped and driven by souvenir publishing. I have looked at how Scotland was depicted in order to see how those depictions spread.

In Chapter One, I explored the interactions between traditional souvenir rhetoric and the limitations of souvenir technology, showing that the generic transfer images on mauchline ware allowed tourists to interpret those souvenir books freely and generally. I also showed that the interpretive framework surrounding tourism made it acceptable for souvenir books like these to stand for Scotland as a whole—as a sign of Scotland, to be interpreted semiotically. In Chapter Two, I demonstrated that souvenir book illustration was similarly limited, and that publishers' habits of recycling images disseminated simplified representations of Scotland to a developing interpretive community. I portrayed this era of reuse as a fine-grained moment in printing history, which consequently shaped a portion of tourist-reader print culture. In Chapter Three, I looked more closely at the representations offered by photographically illustrated issues of Walter Scott's poems. The illustrations in these books blended realism and romance in an echo of Scott's approach to historical fiction, offering nostalgic images of Scottish landscape and history that glamorized it for tourist-readers. Finally, in Chapter Four, I examined how guidebook and souvenir book publishers glamorized Scotland further, representing Scottish tourism as a source of social and cultural capital in order to market their products more effectively. As an unintended consequence, tourists who navigated or displayed their class status using Scottish souvenir books also navigated and displayed Unionist concepts of British identity. In each of these chapters, I linked interpretations of Scotland to publishers' technological or financial motivations. But I also eventually showed that a tourist's personal use of souvenir books could relate to broader cultural developments in Britain as a whole.

Mid-Victorian souvenir books did an enormous amount to shape the contemporary and the modern reception of Scotland. While they did not invent a new narrative, they provided tourists with material to interpret and to circulate. The romantic image of Scotland we know today was refined and supported and encouraged and spread in these books—in publishing houses and photographer's darkrooms, by guidebook editors and mauchline ware makers, authors and lithographers. This hypothesis—that the circumstances of souvenir book production

shape a region's reputation—may be true of any region or era where souvenir books constitute a large part of the tourist industry. Tourism in Scotland was and is a large and vital field, with many forces and actors influencing it. But Victorian fantasies of Scotland were often inspired by souvenir books, and therefore grounded in the commercial circumstances of book production. For many tourist-readers, souvenir books had the last word.

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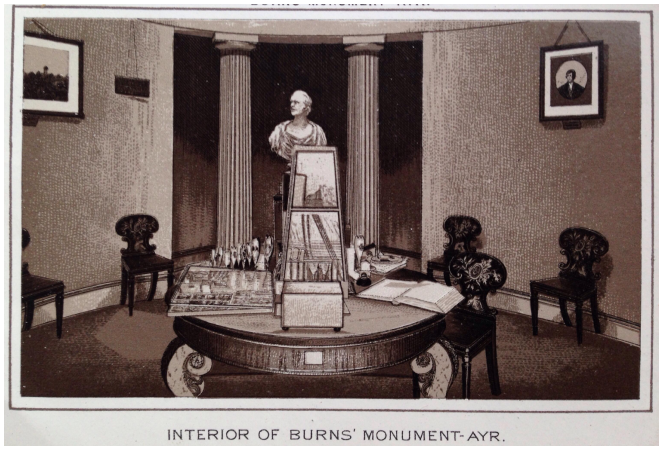


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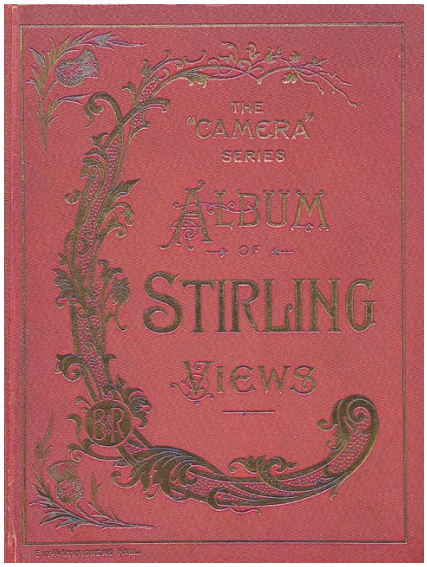


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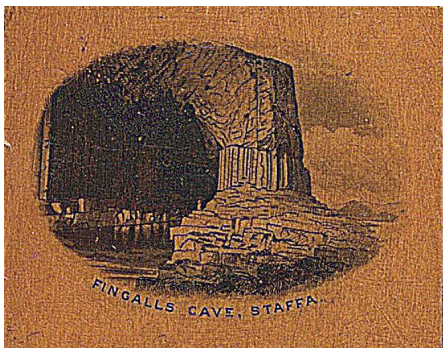


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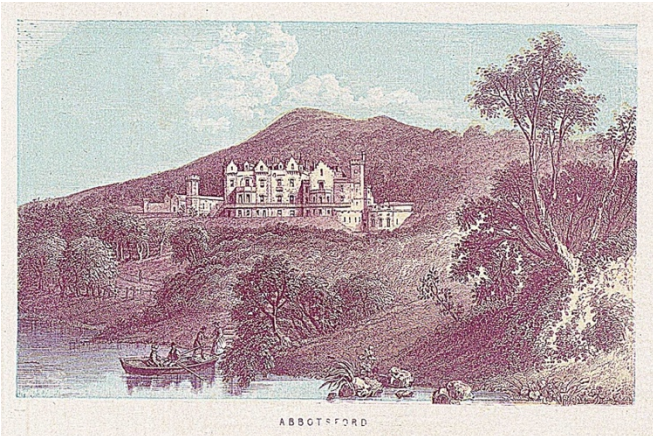

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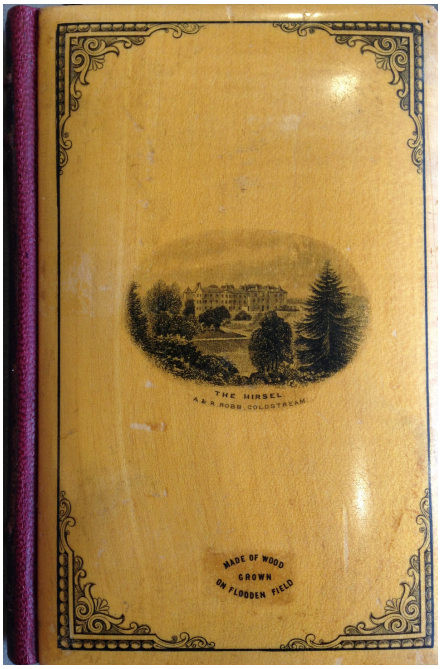

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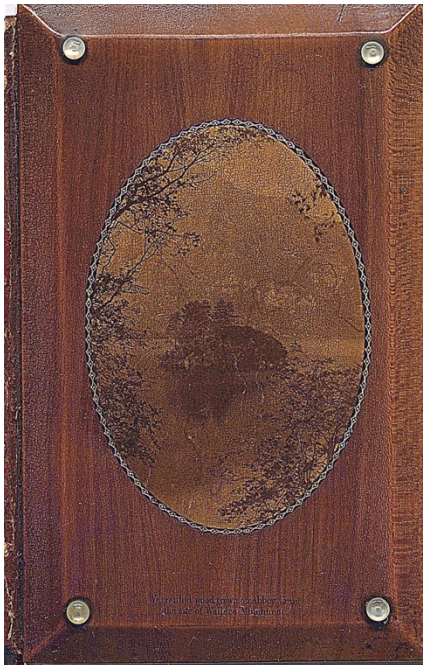
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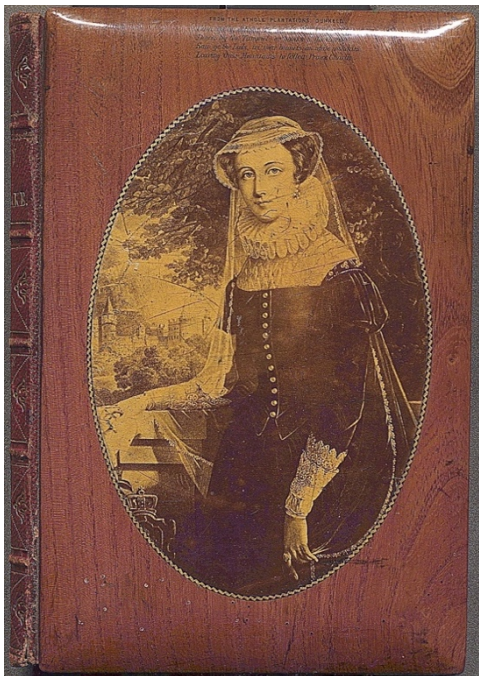


Figure 9

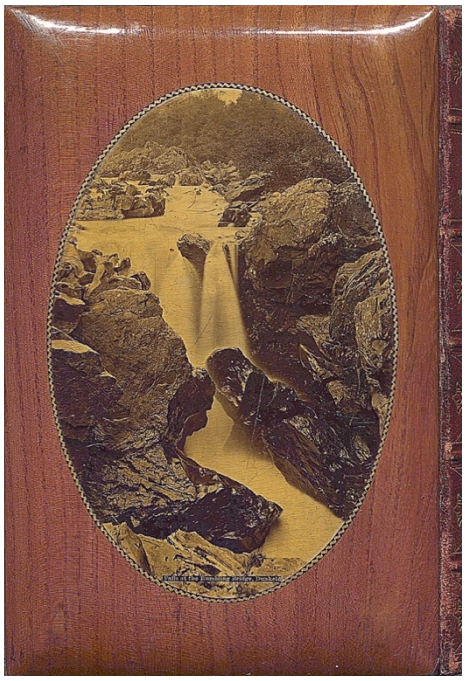


Figure 10


Figure 11


Figure 12

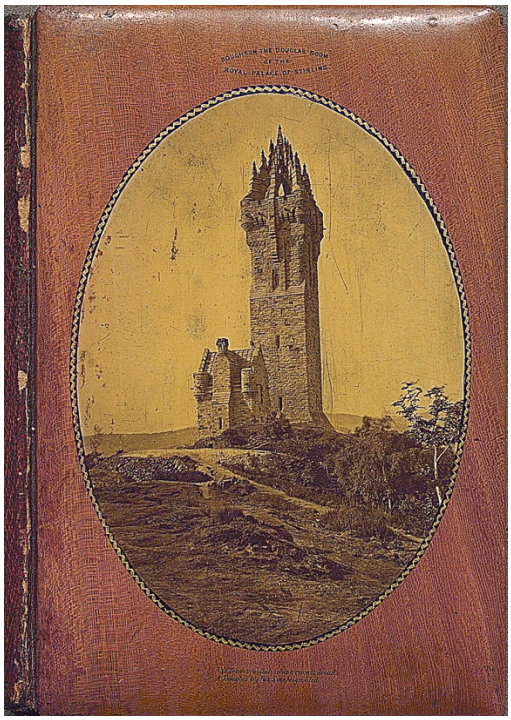
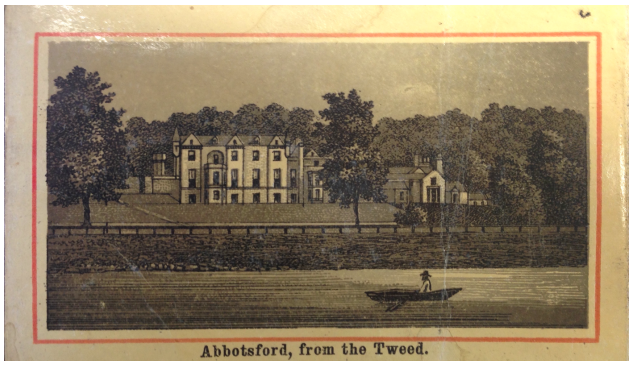


Figure 13


Figure 14


Figure 15


Figure 16



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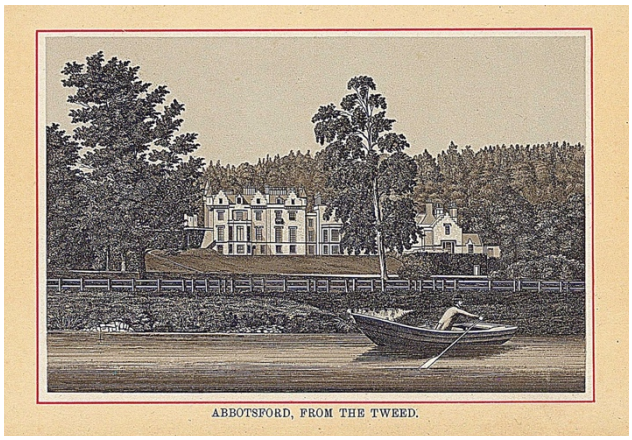


Figure 18

Figure 19

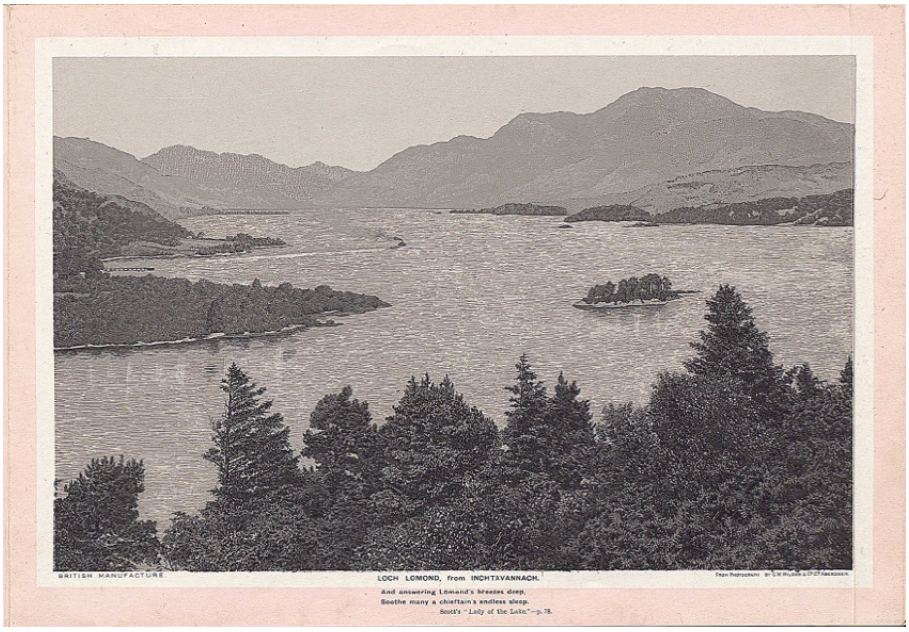


Figure 20

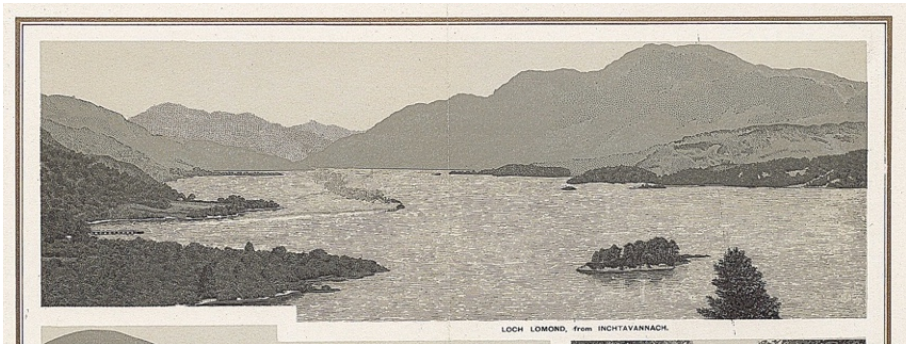


Figure 21

Figure 22

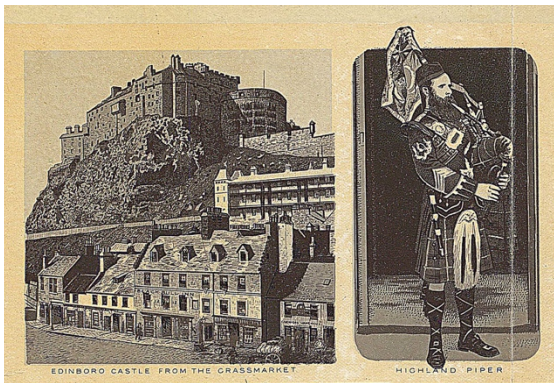


Figure 23

Figure 24

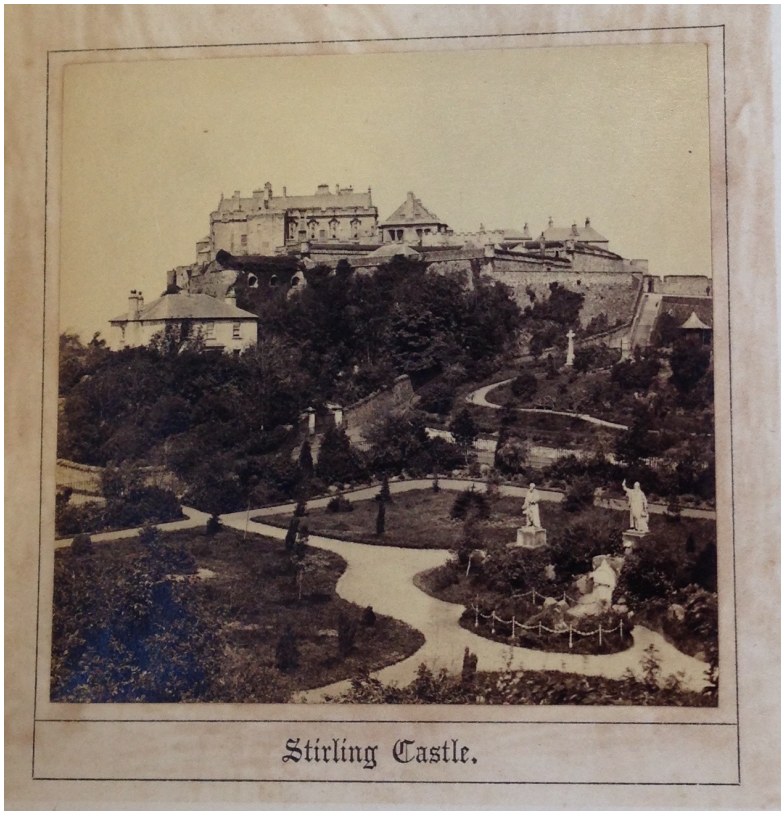
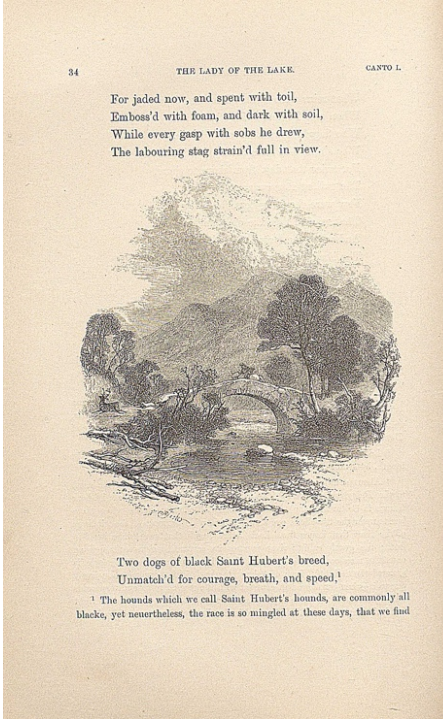


Figure 25

Ellen's Isle: Loch Katrine.

Figure 26



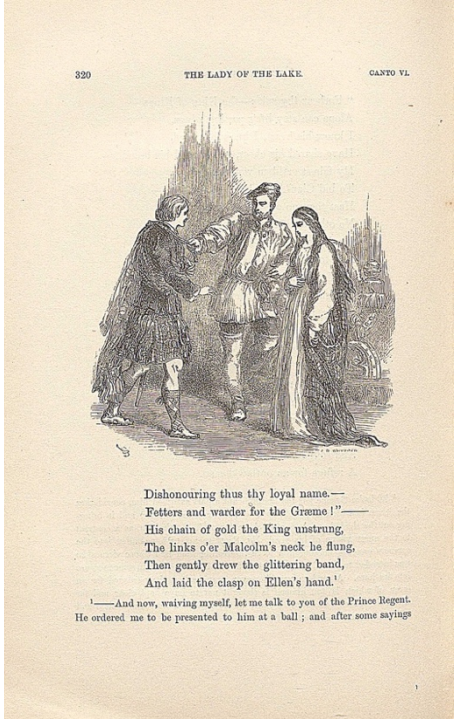
34 THE LADY OF THE LAKE. CANTO I.

For jaded now, and spent with toil,
Emboss'd with foam, and dark with soil,
While every gasp with sobs he drew,
The labouring stag strain'd full in view.

Two dogs of black Saint Hubert's breed,
Unmatch'd for courage, breath, and speed,[1]

[1] The hounds which we call Saint Hubert's hounds, are commonly all blacke, yet neuertheless, the race is so mingled at these days, that we find

Figure 27



320 THE LADY OF THE LAKE. CANTO VI.

Dishonouring thus thy loyal name.—
Fetters and warder for the Græme!"——
His chain of gold the King unstrung,
The links o'er Malcolm's neck he flung,
Then gently drew the glittering band,
And laid the clasp on Ellen's hand.[1]

[1] ——And now, waiving myself, let me talk to you of the Prince Regent. He ordered me to be presented to him at a ball; and after some sayings

Figure 28

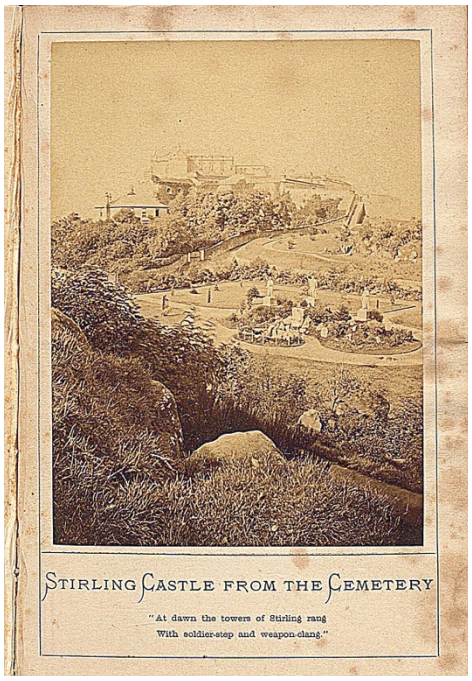



Figure 29

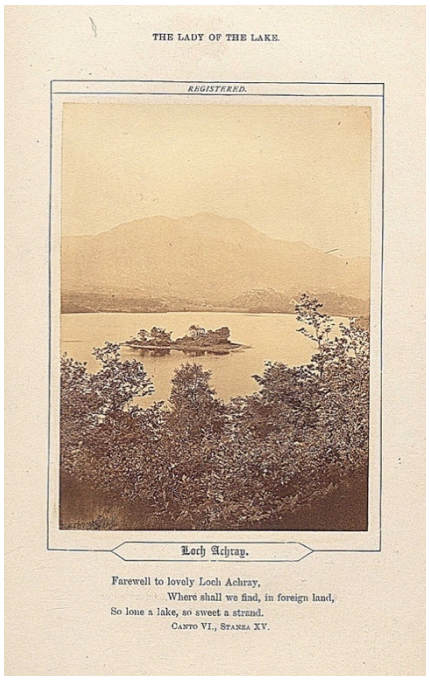



Figure 30


Figure 31


Figure 32

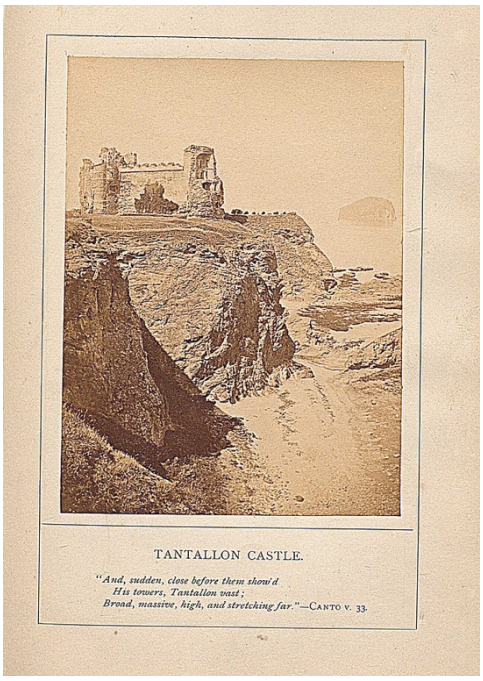



Figure 33

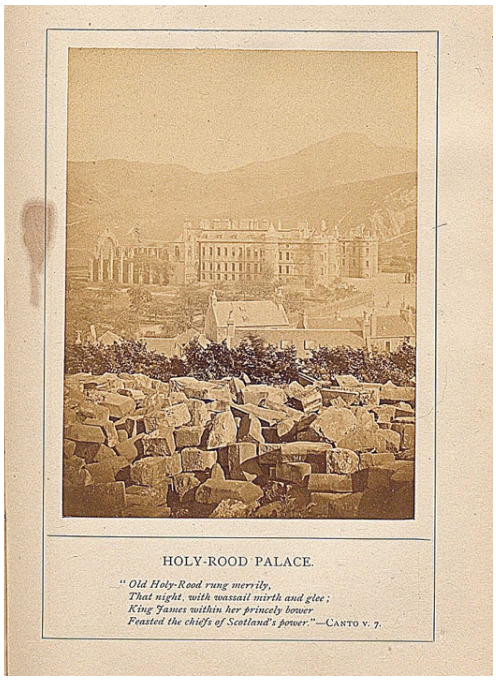



Figure 34

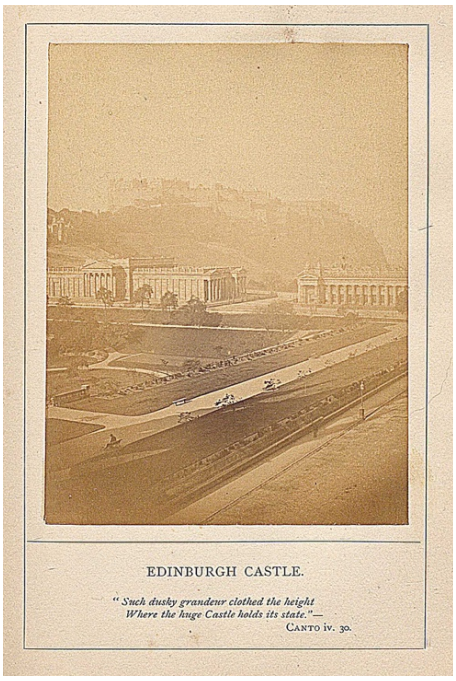



Figure 35

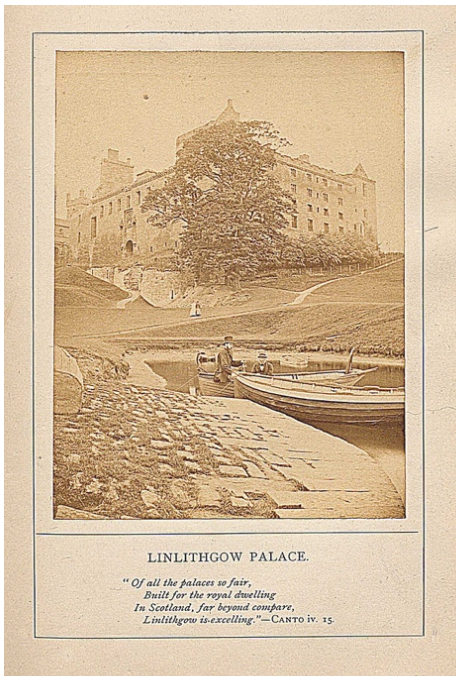



Figure 36

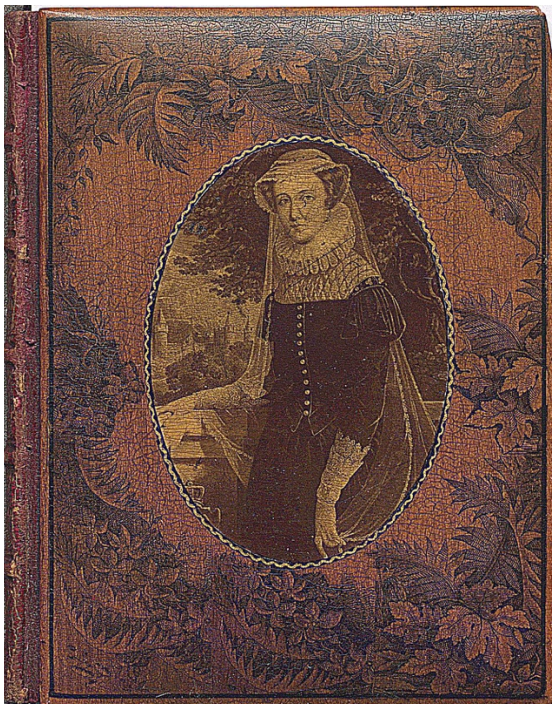


Figure 37

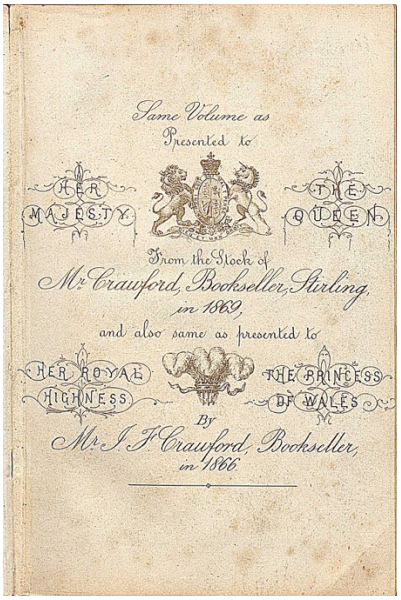



Figure 38

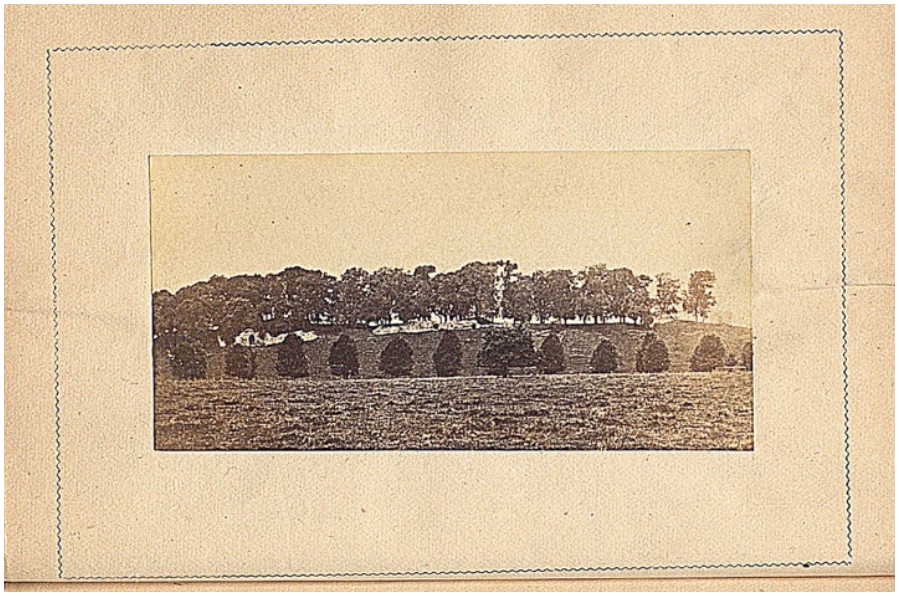
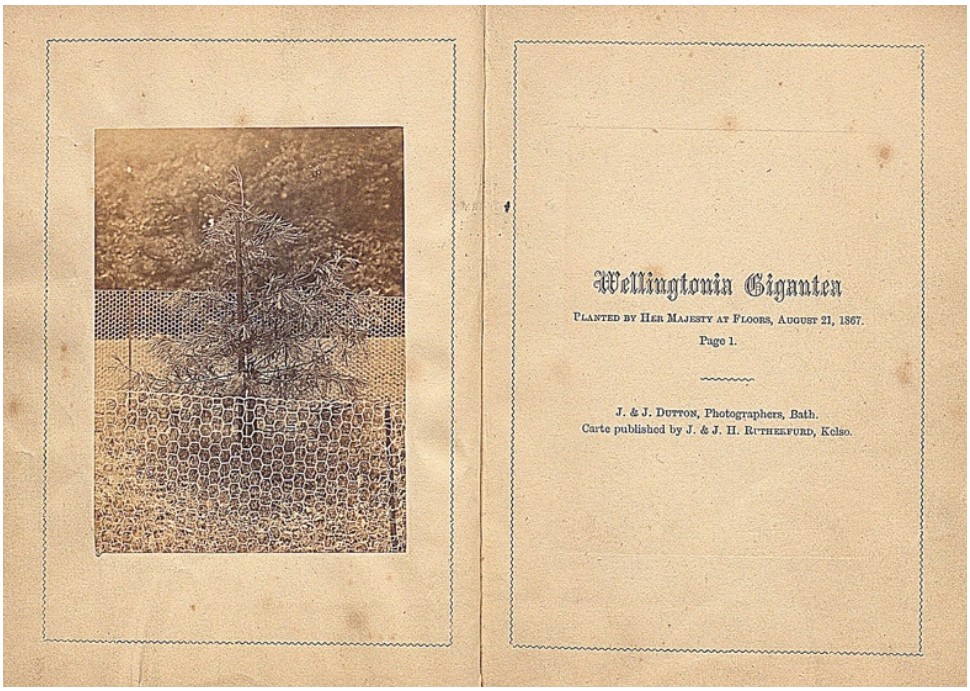


Figure 39



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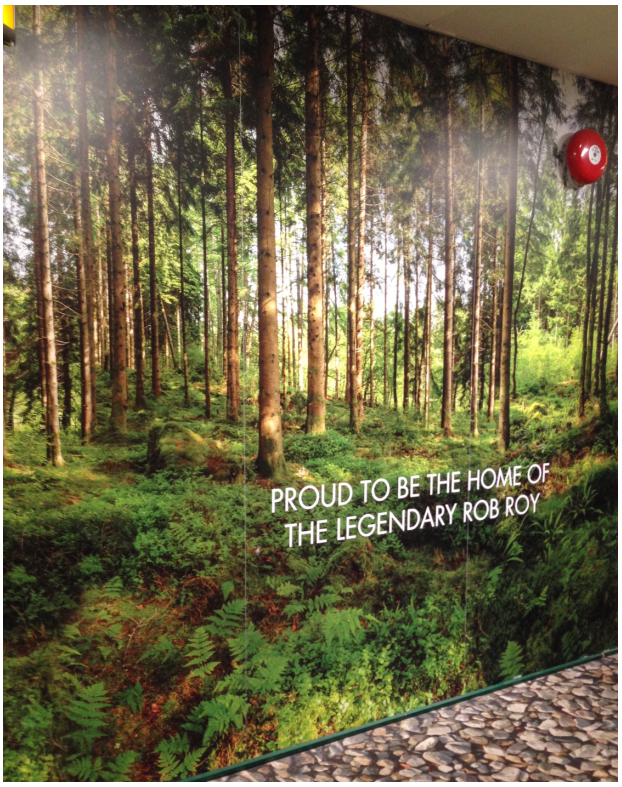

Figure 41