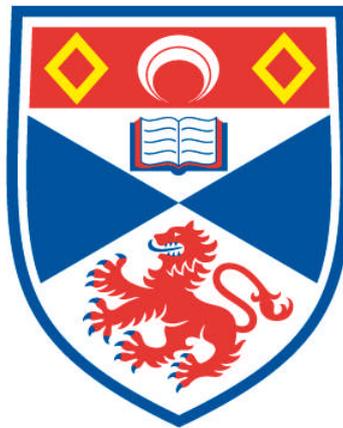


**CLASS, CONSUMPTION AND CURRENCY:  
COMMERCIAL PHOTOGRAPHY IN MID-VICTORIAN  
SCOTLAND**

**Antonia Laurence-Allen**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**



**2012**

**Full metadata for this item is available in  
Research@StAndrews:FullText  
at:**

**<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:**

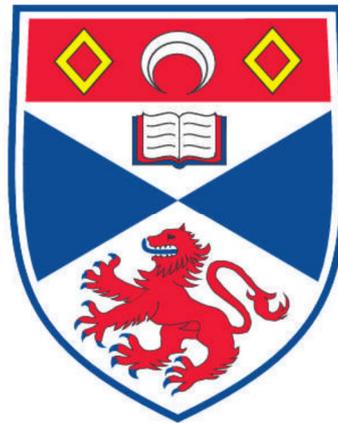
**<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/3469>**

**This item is protected by original copyright**

**This item is licensed under a  
Creative Commons Licence**

**Class, Consumption and Currency:  
Commercial Photography in Mid-Victorian Scotland**

**Antonia Laurence-Allen**



**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews**

**2012**

“Class, Consumption and Currency:  
Commercial Photography in Mid-Victorian Scotland”

By Antonia Laurence-Allen

A thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
January 2012  
University of St Andrews

**Volume I of II:**

**Text**



# Table of Contents

---

<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>List of Illustrations*</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Section One: Setting the Scene</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Exhibitions Frame the Scene</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Chapter 2: Photographers Travel onto the Scene</b>	<b>64</b>
<b>Section Two: Case Studies</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>Chapter 3: Dundee Old and New</b>	<b>112</b>
<b>Chapter 4: Lanarkshire's Principal Places</b>	<b>156</b>
<b>Chapter 5: Aberdeen Citizens</b>	<b>190</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>231</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>246</b>
<i>Unpublished Sources</i>	<b>247</b>
<i>Published Books</i>	<b>249</b>
<i>Pre-1900 Journal and Newspaper Articles</i>	<b>261</b>
<i>Post-1900 Journal and Newspaper Articles</i>	<b>268</b>
<i>Web Pages</i>	<b>271</b>

\*NB: Images are in a separate volume.

## Abstract

---

This thesis examines a thirty year span in the history of Scottish photography, focusing on the rise of the commercial studio from 1851 to assess how images were produced and consumed by the middle class in the mid-Victorian period.

Using extensive archival material and a range of theoretical approaches, the research explores how photography was displayed, circulated, exploited and discussed in Scotland during its nascent years as a commodity. In doing so, it is unlike previous studies on Scottish photography that have not attended to the history of the medium as it is seen through exhibitions or the national journals, but instead have concentrated on explicating how an individual photographer or singular set of images are evidence of excellence in the field. While this thesis pays close attention to individual projects and studios, it does so to illuminate how photography functioned as a material object that equally shaped and was shaped by ideological constructs peculiar to mid-Victorian life in Scotland. It does not highlight particular photographers or works in order to elevate their standing in the history of photography but, rather, to show how they can be used as examples of a class phenomenon and provide an analytical frame for elucidating the cultural impact of commercial photography.

Therefore, while the first two chapters provide a panoramic view of how photography was introduced to the Scottish middle class and how commercial photographers initially visualized Scotland, the second section is comprised of three 'case studies' that show how the subject of the city, the landscape and the portrait were turned into objects of cultural consumption. This allows for a re-appraisal of photographs produced in Scotland during this era to suggest the impact of photography's products and processes was as vital as its visual content.

## Acknowledgements

---

First and foremost, I wish to express utmost thanks to the many librarians in local institutions across Scotland for their help accessing archival data. Their interest in my work and willingness to provide their time has made an indelible mark on this project. My thanks also extends to my supervisor Tom Normand, whose faith in my abilities has driven me forward, and to the faculty at the School of Art History at University of St Andrews, whose support helped me acquire the funding and resources that have allowed me to enjoy this research and writing. Finally, deep gratitude is proffered to my closest friends and relatives, who have read and reviewed my writing, listened to my thoughts and ideas and inspired me. Thank you.

---

## List of Illustrations

---

### Section One – Setting the Scene

#### Chapter One: Exhibitions Frame the Scene

1. Roger Fenton. *Pittville Spa, Cheltenham*, 1852. Salted paper print. George Eastman House, Rochester, NY.
2. Philip Henry Delamotte. *Kenilworth Castle*, c. 1852. Albumen print from collodion negative. Swansea Museum and Library, Swansea, UK.
3. Sir William J. Newton. *Burnham Beeches*, c. 1850. Calotype. Royal Photographic Society, London, UK.
4. James Valentine. *George William Fox Kinnaird of Rossie*, 1863. Carte de visite. National Portrait Gallery, London, UK.
5. John Dillwyn Llewelyn. *Sea Shore, South Wales* c. 1853. Calotype. Swansea Museum and Library, Swansea, UK.
6. John Dillwyn Llewelyn. *Inside Rock Cave, Dunraven*, c. 1853. Salted paper print. George Eastman House, Rochester, NY.
7. Philip Henry Delamotte. *Brinkburn Priory*, c. 1853. Albumen print from collodion negative. Swansea Museum and Library, Swansea, UK.
8. James Ross and John Thomson. *Edinburgh from the Castle*, c. 1850. Albumen print. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
9. George Washington Wilson. *Brig O’Balgownie*, c. 1853. Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
10. George Washington Wilson. *Bridge of Don*, c. 1854. Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
11. George Washington Wilson. *A Weeping Birch above Braemar*, c. 1855. Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
12. George Washington Wilson. *Fall of the Garrvalt, Braemar*, c.1855. Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
13. Roger Fenton. *Roslyn Chapel*, 1856. Salted paper print. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK.

14. Horatio Ross. *The Scottish Highlands*, 1850-59. Albumen print. Image from website “ArtNet.”
15. Horatio Ross. *Dead Stag*, c. 1856. Salted paper print. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.
16. George Washington Wilson. *Rubislaw Granite Quarries*, c. 1855. Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
17. Frederick Scott Archer. *Kenilworth Castle*, c. 1854. Albumen print from collodion negative. Image from website “the scream online.”
18. James Good Tunny. *Edinburgh from Calton Hill*, c. 1854. Albumen print from collodion negative. Edinburgh City Libraries Museums and Galleries, Edinburgh, UK.
19. Thomas Rodger. *A Caricature* (Thomas Rodger [Snr.] and Eduard Remenyi), 1855. Paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
20. George Berwick and Thomas Annan. *Glasgow Observatory*, c. 1854-5. Albumen print from collodion negative. University of Glasgow, Department of Astrophysics, Glasgow, UK.
21. George Washington Wilson. *Aberdeen Citizens, Portrait Group One*, 1857. Photo montage paper print. Aberdeen Museums and Galleries, Aberdeen, UK.
22. James Valentine. *Self Portrait*, c. 1855. Carte de visite. University of St Andrews Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.

## **Chapter Two: Photographers Travel onto the Scene.**

1. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson. *St Andrews, North Street, Fishergate, Women and Children Baiting the Line*, c. 1845. Calotype. National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
2. George Washington Wilson. *Lower Fall of Foyers*, c.1860. Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
3. George Washington Wilson. *Staffa inside Fingal’s Cave*, c.1860 Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
4. John Cramb. *Jerusalem from the Road to Bethany, no. 1*. From the album *Jerusalem in 1860: A Series of Photographic Views*, 1860. Albumen print. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
5. Horatio Ross. *Stag Hunting* [Ned and Colin Ross with Hunt Trophy], c. 1857. Albumen print. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.

## Section Two – Case Studies

### Chapter Three: Dundee Old and New

1. *Dundee Old and New*, 1880. Cover of the leather-bound album. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
2. Thomas Rodger. *Portrait of James Valentine*, c. 1854. Carte de visite. University of St Andrews Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
3. James Valentine (attributed). *Frank Henderson*, c. 1870s. Frontispiece for *Dundee Old and New*. Paper print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
4. James Valentine. *Loch Katrine; the Path by the Loch*, c. 1860s. Albumen print from collodion negative. University of St Andrews Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
5. George Washington Wilson. *The Silver Strand. Loch Katrine*, first photographed c. 1858. Modern print from collodion negative. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
6. James Valentine. *Holyrood from Calton Hill*, c. 1874. Albumen print from collodion negative. University of St Andrews Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
7. James Valentine. *God Hath Made of One Blood All Nations of Men*. Anti-Slavery Envelope for Eli Burrit's Universal Brotherhood Campaign, c. 1851. Engraving. University of St Andrews Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
8. James Valentine. *Arbitration for the Freedom of Commerce and Universal Brotherhood*. Eli Burrit Campaign Envelope, c. 1851. Engraving. University of St Andrews Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
9. James Valentine. *23 High Street Portrait Studios*, c. 1858. Printed Advertisement. University of St Andrews Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
10. James Valentine. *Dundee from the Law*, c. 1871. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print from collodion negative. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
11. James Valentine. *Baxter's Dens Works*, 1867. Albumen print from collodion negative. University of Dundee Archives, Dundee, UK.
12. James Valentine. *Baxter's Dens Works*, 1867. Albumen print from collodion negative. University of Dundee Archives, Dundee, UK.
13. James Valentine. *The Royal Infirmary*, c. 1871. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print from collodion negative. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
14. James Valentine. *The Albert Institute*, c. 1871. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print from collodion negative. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.

15. James Valentine. *The Royal Arch*, c. 1871. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print from collodion negative. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
16. James Valentine. *Foot of Bonnet Hill*, c. 1873-4. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print from collodion negative. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
17. James Valentine. *Bucklemaker Wynd from Hilltown*, c. 1873-4. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print from collodion negative. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
18. James Valentine. *The Head of the Seagate from Burnhead*, c. 1873-74. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print from collodion negative. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
19. Thomas Annan. *Head of High Street*, 1877. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album 1878*. Carbon print from collodion negative. Image from Anita Ventura Mozley. *Thomas Annan: Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877* (1977).
20. Thomas Annan. *High Street, from College Open*, 1868. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album 1868*. Photogravure after albumen print from collodion negative. Image from website "Luminous Lint."
21. Thomas Annan. *Old Vennel off High Street*, 1868. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album 1868*. Photogravure after albumen print from collodion negative. "Luminous Lint."
22. Thomas Annan. *Broad Close, No. 167 High Street*, 1868. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album 1868*. Photogravure after albumen print from collodion negative. "Luminous Lint."
23. Thomas Annan. *Old Buildings, High Street*, 1877. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album 1878*. Photogravure after carbon print from collodion negative. "Luminous Lint."
24. Thomas Annan. *High Street from the Cross*, 1868. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album 1868*. Photogravure after albumen print from collodion negative. "Luminous Lint."
25. Thomas Annan. *28 Closes No. 97 and 103 Saltmarket*, 1868. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album 1868*. Photogravure after albumen print from collodion negative. "Luminous Lint."
26. Thomas Annan. *King Street*, 1877. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album, 1878*. Carbon print from collodion negative. Image from Mozley. *Thomas Annan: Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877*.
27. Thomas Annan. *Trongate in the Olden Time*, 1877. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album, 1878*. Photograph from an eighteenth-century print. "Luminous Lint."

28. Thomas Annan. *Tron from the Tron Steeple*, 1868. *Glasgow Improvement Trust Album*, 1868. Photogravure after albumen print from collodion negative .  
“Luminous Lint.”
29. Archibald Burns. *Advocates Close*, c. 1867. Featured in Thomas Henderson. *Picturesque “Bits” of Old Edinburgh* (1868). Albumen print. Edinburgh City Libraries, Museums and Galleries, Edinburgh, UK. Image from website “Capital Collections.”
30. Archibald Burns. *Head of College Wynd*, 1870. *Edinburgh Improvement Act Album*, 1871. Albumen print. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
31. Archibald Burns. *College Wynd*, 1870. *Edinburgh Improvement Act Album*, 1871. Albumen print. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
32. Archibald Burns. *Head of Horse Wynd*, 1870. *Edinburgh Improvement Act Album*, 1871. Albumen print. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
33. Archibald Burns. *Front of Old Customs House*, 1870. *Edinburgh Improvement Act Album*, 1871. Albumen print. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
34. Archibald Burns. *Back of Old Customs House*, 1870. *Edinburgh Improvement Act Album*, 1871. Albumen print. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
35. James Valentine (attributed). *Water Wynd and Meadow Place from Meadowside*, 1873. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
36. James Valentine (attributed). *Extended Meadowside (Old Water Wynd)*, 1877. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
37. James Valentine. (attributed) *Narrow of the Murraygate looking into the High Street*, 1876. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
38. James Valentine (attributed). *The Improved Murraygate looking towards the High Street*, c.1880. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
39. James Valentine. (attributed) *Union Hall and Church Street from High Street*, c.1874 (removed in 1876 for improvements). From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
40. James Valentine (attributed). *The High Street after removal of Union Hall*, post-1876. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.
41. James Valentine (attributed). *Victoria Road - Old Bucklemaker Wynd*, 1878. From *Dundee Old and New*. Albumen print. Dundee City Archives, Dundee, UK.

## Chapter Four: Lanarkshire's Principal Places

1. John McGhie. *Dolphinton House*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
2. John McGhie. *Garvald House*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
3. John McGhie. *Kerse*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
4. John McGhie. *Corra Linn, Falls of the Clyde*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
5. John McGhie. *Old Roman Bridge*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
6. John McGhie. *Bothwell Castle*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
7. John McGhie. *Douglas Castle*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
8. John McGhie. *Craignethan Castle*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
9. John McGhie. *Dalzell House*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
10. John, Jean or William McGhie. *Portrait (or Self-Portrait) of Jean McGhie* (c. 1860-1885). Carte de visite printed in *The British Journal of Photography* (1911). Image digitised by University of Toronto, ON.
11. John McGhie. *Nidpath* [sic] (Neidpath) *Castle*, c. 1877. From *Photographs of Tweeddale Scenery: Interesting Places on the Tweed between Rachlan House and Kelso* (c.1877-1881). Albumen print from collodion negative. National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK.
12. John McGhie. *Biggar Park*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.

13. John McGhie. *Milton Lockhart*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
14. John McGhie. Frontispiece of *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative . Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
15. John McGhie. *Cormiston Towers*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
16. J.R. Jobbins. *Coulter Maynes*, c. 1863. Lithograph. From George Vere Irving, *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire* (1864). Image from “Google Books.”
17. John McGhie. *Coulter Maynes*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
18. John McGhie. *Stonebyres Linn, Falls of the Clyde*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
19. Anon. *Fall of the Clyde at Stonebyres*, nd. Woodblock print. From *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* (1861). Image from “Google Books.”
20. Anon. *Bothwell Castle*, nd. Steel engraving print. From *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* (1861). Image from “Google Books.”
21. John McGhie. *Bothwell Castle*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative . Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
22. John McGhie. *Bothwell Bridge*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.
23. John McGhie. *Covington Tower*, c. 1867. From *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. Albumen print from collodion negative. Biggar Museum Trust, Lanarkshire, UK.

## **Chapter Five: Aberdeen Citizens**

**NB: All titles *not* italicised are named by the author of this thesis.**

1. George Washington Wilson. *Aberdeen Citizens. Portrait Group One*, 1857. Photo montage paper print. University of Aberdeen Special Collections, Aberdeen, UK.
2. Thomas Rodger. *St Andrews figures and landscapes*, c. 1876. Photo montage paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.

3. Andrew Dinnie. *Donald Dinnie, Champion Athlete*, c. 1866-67. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
4. James Milne. *Mr. J. P. Dixon*, 1879. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
5. John Lennie. *Portrait of a Fishwife and a Lady*, c. 1858-1861. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
6. Thomas Rodger. *Four Generations*, 1856/7. Photo montage paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
7. Thomas Rodger. *Staff and Student Group, University of St Andrews*, 1868. Photo montage paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
8. Thomas Rodger. *Staff and Student Group, University of St Andrews*, 1871. Photo montage paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
9. Thomas Rodger. *Members of the Rose Club*, 1870. Photo montage paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
10. Thomas Rodger. *St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society*, c.1848-1860. Paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
11. Thomas Rodger. *Competitors in the 1857 tournament outside Royal and Ancient Golf Clubhouse, St Andrews*, 1857. Paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
12. Thomas Rodger. *Student Group [Session 1862-1863]. Professor James Ferrier and his class*, 1863. Paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
13. Ralston and Sons. *Portrait of a Man*. 1863-1867. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
14. T. R. Rodger. *Portrait of a Man*, 1879-1882. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
15. Alexander Roger. *Portraits of Men using the same Props and Poses*, c. 1867-1876. Cartes de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
16. Fergus Brothers. *Portrait of Man with Children*, c.1867-1873. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
17. James Ross. *Portrait of a Boy at a Fence*, c.1851-1867. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
18. James Ross. *Portrait of Young Girl at a Fence*, c.1851-1867. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.

19. James Ross. *Thomas Goldie Scot of the 79<sup>th</sup> Highlanders*, c. 1867. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
20. Ross and Pringle. *Marquis of Lorne (1845-1914), John Campbell, Duke of Argyll*, 1868-1875. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
21. James Ross. *Captain Adam Ferguson of 42<sup>nd</sup> Royal Highlanders*, c. 1851-1866. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
22. Murray and Campbell. Back of carte de visite, 1877-1890. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
23. Hugh Ritchie. *Portrait of a Man in Highland Costume*, c. 1861-1867. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
24. James Ross and Thomas Pringle. *Portrait of a Man in Highland Costume*, c.1868-1875. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
25. John Drummond. *Portrait of a Man with Gun and Dog*, c.1863-1875. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
26. William Kyles. *Portrait of a Man with Dog and Gun*, 1866-1870. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
27. Thomas Rodger. *Portrait of a Girl as a Gypsy*, c.1871-1882. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
28. Thomas Rodger. *Thomas Rodger Senior dressed as a Fishwife*, c. 1860. Paper print. University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.
29. William Kyles. *Portrait of a Woman as a Fishwife*, 1877-1880. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
30. William Kyles and William Moir. *Portrait of a Woman as a Fishwife*, c. 1880-1886. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
31. James Ross. *Anither Bawbee [Another Penny]*, c.1863. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
32. James Ross. *Caller Haddie [Haddock Seller]*, c.1863. Cartes de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
33. James Ross. *Portraits of Ladies at a Window*, c.1851-1867. Cartes de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
34. James Ross, Brae House, Edinburgh. *Portrait of a Lady at a Window*, c. 1851-1867. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
35. James Ross and John Thomson. *James Young Simpson (1811-1870)*, c.1852-1864. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.

36. James Ross and Thomas Pringle. Portrait of a Lady at a Window, c. 1868-1875. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
37. James Porter. Portrait of a Lady, c.1866-1882. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
38. John Stuart. Portrait of a Lady, c.1859-1867. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
39. Alexander Asher. Portrait of a Lady, 1871-1877. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
40. John Humphrey. Portrait of a Lady on a Studio Beach, 1865-1889. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
41. Alexander Nicol. Portrait of a Lady, 1865-1869. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
42. James Jameson. Two Portraits of Ladies with Flowers, c.1867-1884. Cartes de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
43. John Moffat. Lady with Costume, 1861-1875. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
44. James Valentine. Portrait of a Lady, c.1856-1871. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
45. J. McPherson, "Edinburgh School of Photography." Portrait of a Girl, c.1868. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
46. John Moffat. Portrait of a Lady looking into a Sitting Room, c.1861-1875. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
47. James Ireland. Portrait of a Lady standing at a Gate, c.1860-1865. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
48. James Ross and Thomas Pringle. A Lady and Boys in a Boat, c.1868-1875. Cartes de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
49. Davidson and Son. Portrait of a Lady with a Sheep, after 1878. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
50. Henry Gordon. Portraits of a Lady and Man Posing with similar Velvet Chair and Curtain, c.1861-1865. Cartes de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.
51. Miller's Portrait Studio. Portrait of a Lady with Balustrade and Urn, c.1875. Carte de visite. Aberdeen Museum and Gallery, Aberdeen, UK.
52. James Ross and John Thomson. Man and Lady Playing Croquet, 1852-1864. Carte de visite. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, UK.

53. Thomas Rodger. Portraits of Famous Women, nd. Photo montage paper print.  
University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, St Andrews, UK.

# Introduction

---

## The Framework

This is a thesis about the commercial production and consumption of photography by the middle class in mid-Victorian Scotland. Few of the images under discussion were aesthetically prized or highly innovative, and most have been largely forgotten in the annals of art history. Yet this is a collection of photographs that were created and owned by a politically and culturally active class of citizens. They produced and purchased them for a variety of reasons; some personal, others political. The aim of this thesis is to understand how the commercialisation of photography catered to the needs of this middle class, in a Scottish society freighted with discourses on Imperialism, Britishness, hard work, self help and productive ‘gentlemanly’ capitalism.

This is a selective treatment of photographs produced by studios in Scotland. It does not attempt to provide a survey of the times, nor biographical accounts of all photographers operating in the nation. This would entail an exhaustive empirical study, presenting data alone with little scope for deeper theoretical analysis. Besides this, there are already a number of useful sources that provide listed information on studios in operation and brief biographies of individual studio owners.<sup>1</sup> What this study does instead is examine how photography was first used when it became commercially viable

---

<sup>1</sup> Examples of work listing studio photographers in Scotland are: Peter Stubbs, "Edinphoto " [www.edinphoto.org.uk](http://www.edinphoto.org.uk). Richard Torrance, *Photographers in Scotland to 1914* (Edinburgh, UK: Scottish Genealogy Society, 2001). Sara Stevenson and Julie Lawson, "First Thirty Years of Scottish Photography, 1839-1870," (Edinburgh: Scottish National Photographic Collection, National Galleries of Scotland, unpublished). Examples of publications on specific studios include: Julian Bukits, *A Study of James G. Tunny, 1820-1887* (Edinburgh, UK: Julian Bukits, 2009). Susan Payne and Paul Adair, "Magnus Jackson and the Black Art: The Happy Marriage of Old and New Technology," *Studies in Photography* (2008). 42-50. James Downs, "Out of the Shadows: Ivan Szabo (1822-58), a Forgotten 'Photographic Luminary,'" *Studies in Photography* (2008). 28-38. Sara Stevenson, *Thomas Annan: 1829-1887*, Scottish Masters (Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990). John Moffat, *Pioneer Scottish Photographic Artist, 1819-1894* (Eastbourne, UK: JSM Publishing, 1989). Donald McCoo. "John Urie: Portrait Photographer (1820-1910)." *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, no. 2 (1989): 3-14. And, Robert Smart, "Famous Throughout the World: Valentine and Sons Ltd., Dundee," *Review of Scottish Studies* 4 (1988). 75-87.

on a mass scale.

The photographs at the heart of this discussion are prints from glass-plate negatives, available *en masse* from high street studios and booksellers after 1851. The key component in the exponential rise of commercial photography in Britain was Frederick Scott Archer's (1813-1857) collodion process. First disseminated in 1851, the collodion process was still a cumbersome and complex operation for photographers. However, it increased the sensitivity of the negative plate to such an extent that photographers were able to cut exposure times from several minutes to roughly ten seconds.<sup>2</sup> As one practitioner remarked in 1858, the collodion process was "unsurpassed for giving extreme delicacy and softness combined with marvellous rapidity, or sensitiveness, so much so that in the hands of clever manipulators, absolutely instantaneous pictures have been obtained."<sup>3</sup> The glass negative produced sharper positives than William Henry Fox Talbot's (1800-1877) paper calotypes, while easily competing with Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre's (1787-1851) images on metal. Both of these original techniques dominated the Scottish market throughout the 1840s and remained in use after 1851. However, both processes were expensive. Daguerreotypes, for example, had no negative so a photographer could only sell one image from one exposure. In contrast, by using the collodion process photographers could print numerous copies in a variety of sizes. Furthermore, Archer did not patent his technique. This meant, despite attempts by Talbot to claim that the method lay under the scope of his original patent for the calotype, the collodion process was immediately used by more photographers. Its chemistry, technology, and commercial viability were then widely

---

<sup>2</sup> The process used a new mixture of collodion, the nitric and sulphuric acid obtained from soaking gun cotton in a mixture of alcohol and ether, and potassium iodide.

<sup>3</sup> W. B. Osborn, "Report of the Photographic Society of Scotland," *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 6 (1856). 110.

studied and discussed by the photographic community.<sup>4</sup>

The goal here is not to study the chemistry of photographs, but rather to highlight a moment in time when photography became more affordable and accessible. Therefore, unlike Roger Taylor's recent publication *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840-1860*, I have not set parameters in order to focus on one process. Instead, the boundaries of this thesis are formed around a set of dates in order to examine issues of class, consumption and currency. These elements allow for a study of how photography was used at a particular time by a particular group of people. When first embarking on archival research, I imagined a narrative that centred on the three major studios in Scotland during the Victorian era: Thomas Annan of Glasgow (1829-1887), James Valentine of Dundee (1815-1879) and George Washington Wilson of Aberdeen (1823-1893). However, the material I uncovered evoked a richer picture of how photographers running small studios and industrial operations, catered to middle class consumers in nineteenth-century Scotland.

### **The Academic Context**

The relationship between commercial photography and middle class status is not a subject that has been much studied in Scottish photographic history. The most recent substantive study that does engage with these debates is a survey of English photography by Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories*. One of Edwards' goals was to explicate how the business of photography during the mid-nineteenth century negotiated a path between forms of capitalism and an emerging "ideology of

---

<sup>4</sup> Although Talbot's patent on the calotype did not extend to Scotland, its effect did hinder commercial photography in Britain during the 1840s. By 'giving' collodion to the nation, Archer helped disseminate technical and chemical knowledge to a wider audience, which prompted more debate and competition. For more on Talbot's claim over the collodion process see: Roger Taylor. *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840 -1860*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008). 47-49.

photographic art”. In order to do this, he concentrated on the petit-bourgeois traders who used photography to progress and improve themselves.<sup>5</sup>

Historians who have looked in particular detail at the industrial production of Scottish photography during this period have tended to focus on the rise of canonical studios and stereotypical tourist imagery, rather than these nuances of middle class life. Roger Taylor’s *George Washington Wilson: Artist and Photographer* (1981) was unprecedented in its use of census returns, post office directories, exhibition catalogues and valuation roles, to construct a picture of a studio operating against a background of royal commissions, increasing tourism in Scotland and a British photographic scene.<sup>6</sup> This meticulous documentation laid important foundations for further investigation into the rise of commercial photography in Scotland during the nineteenth century. William Buchanan’s 1989 article on the “State of the Art” in Glasgow, for example, was the result of painstaking research through similar records used by Taylor in Aberdeen.<sup>7</sup> Buchanan chose to focus on the very first studios, ending his investigation in 1855 when Glaswegian photographers organised the largest exhibition of photographs Scotland had yet witnessed (discussed here in chapter one). These vital empirical studies have paved the way for further discussion on how photographic studios were used by consumers and as new private spaces in the public sphere (chapter five).

Today a vast archive of commercial photography is amassed in museums and libraries across Scotland. Yet studies on Scottish nineteenth-century photography tend to

---

<sup>5</sup> Steve Edwards, *The Making of English Photography: Allegories* (Pennsylvania, PA: Penn State University, 2006). 2.

<sup>6</sup> Roger Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-93* (Aberdeen, UK: Aberdeen University Press in association with the University of Aberdeen, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> William Buchanan, "State of the Art, Glasgow, 1855," *History of Photography* 13, no. 2 (1989). 165-180. Buchanan’s research materials are archived at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.

overlook their importance. Tom Normand's survey of photography in Scotland brings forth a sampling of images from smaller towns like Dunfermline, but makes the disclaimer that vast arrays of images await attention by historians and researchers.<sup>8</sup> While this thesis does not claim to cover all aspects of commercial photography, it does bring together a broad variety of images to illustrate the vast collections that were made and purchased in mid-nineteenth-century Scotland. All the photographs chosen were mass-produced. As such, there are no daguerreotypes or images from George Eastman's Kodak Brownie, which was available in Britain from 1888. This thesis does not present a 'history of photography' in a structural sense. Rather, I am more interested in the impact of images on a class of people. Therefore, I aim to weave a historically-located narrative that demonstrates how photographs operated within and through culture during a particular era. This research has established that photography developed a particular social and economic value, or 'currency', for the Scottish middle class in the mid-Victorian era.<sup>9</sup> Certain patterns emerged to prove this, such as the important role of middle class institutions, British associations and their exhibitions, the picturesque landscape tradition and the use of albums to develop persuasive narratives.

The first half of the thesis lays a foundation from which discussion in the second section is built. The first two chapters delineate how photographs were first introduced in the 1850s to Scotland's middle class, and how bourgeois institutions and ideas implicitly

---

<sup>8</sup> Tom Normand, *Scottish Photography: A History* (Edinburgh, UK: Luath, 2007). 48.

<sup>9</sup> Historians have differed on the precise dates of the mid-Victorian era. Victoria's reign spans from 1837 to 1901. The mid-point according to these dates is 1853-1885. My time frame starts in 1851 and extends to the mid 1880s. Publications on this era have tended to manipulate the dates to suit their goals. For example, Geoffrey Best, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875* (London, UK: Fontana Press, 1979). And, K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886* (Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998). And, historians admit to co-opting the term in order to isolate a specific phenomenon. Elaine Hadley most recently concedes to this, when exploring a particular brand of liberalism evident from 1859 to the early 1880s. In, Elaine Hadley, *Living Liberalism: Practical Citizenship in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010). 2.

shaped how they were first perceived as commodities. As such, chapter one discusses how British associations and exhibitions stimulated local photographic trade, promoted the business and aesthetics of photography and imbued photographs with a middle class aura. Chapter two assesses how Scotland was perceived through the language of Britain's photographic journals. This elucidates how a middle class rhetoric on touring and travel, professionalism and trade, guided early Scottish photographers. After a wide and panoramic view of the political and cultural economy in which photography operated in Scotland, the last three chapters interpret specific works from the period. Chapter three examines an album commemorating urban renewal to illustrate how photography legitimised middle class discourses on 'civil' society. Chapter four demonstrates how an album of rural landscapes gave an elite middle class exclusive access to heritage and status. Finally, chapter five investigates the practices of the portrait studio, establishing that it was a unique site where individuals could play with a nexus of ideas to craft a public identity.

### **The Photograph**

Photographs, whatever their overt subject, draw on the cultural assumptions and resources of the people who make them. Decisions are made to crop an area, emphasise an element or advance a 'truth'. An investigation into what assumptions underpin these sorts of decisions makes a compelling narrative on what impact photography had when it was first disseminated on a mass scale. In mid-Victorian Scotland, commercial studios were operated by middle class citizens. They generated images that held an appropriate symbolic language shared by their contemporaries, who dominated the consumer market. This decisive set of circumstances defines the spectrum of my study.

The subject of photography's value as a material object has attracted considerable

interest from historians. John Tagg and Alan Sekula have used Michel Foucault's theories on knowledge and power to approach photographic history from a multi-disciplinary perspective. Both have focused on the cultural context in which images were produced in the nineteenth century, to illustrate how they are implicated in social power relations.<sup>10</sup> My use of the term 'currency', for instance, is taken from Tagg's assertion that photographs have a potent value as material objects that can hold and transfer belief systems.<sup>11</sup> As photographs are produced under certain conditions, at a certain moment in time, and then circulated within particular sets of social rituals, their meaning is tied to both their means of production and a set of wider ideological constructs. This methodology underpins the thesis. It is an approach to photographic history that has been most productive for appreciating how an image absorbs and projects a wide range of concepts and ideas. Cultural historians such as James Ryan and Elizabeth Edwards have adopted such approaches to understand how the camera's technology appealed to the Victorian sensibility for categorising and cataloguing objects.<sup>12</sup> Ryan's *Picturing Empire* (1997) and Edwards' *Anthropology and Photography* (1994) were seminal texts that traced how the ideology of Imperialism, which aimed to map and classify colonies and peoples of the Empire, and the discipline of science, which aimed to accumulate knowledge about the world in increasingly rational ways, imbued photographs with a unique power in the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>10</sup> Alan Sekula, "The Traffic in Photographs," *Art Journal* 41, no. 1 (1981). 15-25. And, Alan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (1986). 3-64. John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, Communications and Culture (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1988). And, John Tagg, *Grounds of Dispute: Art History, Cultural Politics and the Discursive Field* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

<sup>11</sup> John Tagg, "The Currency of a Photograph," in Victor Burgin, ed. *Thinking Photography* (Basingstoke, UK and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982). 110-141.

<sup>12</sup> James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire* (London, UK: Reaktion, 1997). Also see, Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, eds., *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London, UK and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2003). Elizabeth Edwards, ed. *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920* (New Haven, NJ and London, UK: Yale University Press in Association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1994).

While acknowledging the impact of institutional ideologies, academics have more recently advocated an object-centred methodology. Elizabeth Edwards, for instance, has suggested that a photograph's meaning can be found not only by analysing its visual content, but also by interpreting the manner in which it is touched, cared for, or passed around.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Geoffrey Batchen postulates that the meaning and power of a photograph can be found in the way it was used by consumers. When he discusses the mass production of cartes de visite introduced into Britain in 1857, for example, he argues that the repetitive, banal nature of the portraits highlights both the agency of the sitter and the power cartes had to be the "social tissue" that connected people. Dressed up in ubiquitous suits and dresses, and posed in front of a commonplace backdrop, a customer exchanged and distributed carte de visite portraits of themselves looking like everyone else, in order to display their active participation in middle class consumer society.<sup>14</sup>

### **The Class**

The term 'middle class' needs clarification here, for it encompasses a wide range of individuals, from the high street trader, to clerks, lawyers and industry leaders. For the purposes of this study, the middle class is defined most simply as those who could not claim to be part of an aristocracy, or 'upper class', but wished to distinguish themselves from the lowest, 'working', classes.<sup>15</sup> As Raymond Williams has noted, the word 'class' entered public discourse in England during the later eighteenth century, as a result of a shift in attitudes towards how society should be structured.<sup>16</sup> Heritable wealth had

---

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Edwards, "Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual," in J. J. Long, Andrea Noble, and Edward Welch, eds., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2009). 31-48. Also see, Janice Hart and Elizabeth Edwards, eds., *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Geoffrey Batchen, "Dreams of Ordinary Life: Carte-de-Visite and the Bourgeois Imagination," in J. J. Long, et al., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*. 80-97. Quote from 92.

<sup>15</sup> Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1971). 14-15.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

previously determined 'rank' in society, but, by the nineteenth century, it was income that defined one's 'class'. The style of one's home, the level of one's education and occupation helped individuals manoeuvre through an increasingly mobile social system. This is shown most pertinently in a montage of portraits by George Washington Wilson, discussed here in chapter five. The composite photograph presents a microcosm of Aberdeen society. While it does include individuals from the aristocracy, it is dominated by faces from the middle classes, which proves to be a large, broad circle of merchants, doctors, clerics and photographers. However, not all the portraits in this montage are the same size. This is an important indicator of the peculiarity of this mid-section of society; namely, the ease to which an individual's status could change. This dynamism was most notably shaped by commercial activity, public participation and religious affiliations.<sup>17</sup> True success in middle-class life was not only measured by economic prowess, but also by how well an individual balanced self interest with the Christian ideals of charity and temperance. Wilson's montage is an index for this class semantics; the largest portrait being of a plumber's son, whose success in business, contribution to council work and Aberdeen life, posited him at the epicentre of society.<sup>18</sup>

Some expositions on Scottish photography have interpreted images within this middle class context. Most such studies were sparked by the establishment of a national photographic collection at the National Galleries of Scotland in 1984. Sara Stevenson and Graham Smith have investigated middle class attitudes towards the fishing community, for example, focusing on the pioneering work of the partners David Octavius

---

<sup>17</sup> J. F. C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1901* (London, UK: Routledge, 1991). 49-50. Other historians have defined the middle class in similar terms, see: Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996). 6. And, Linda Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). 5-6.

<sup>18</sup> This was Lord Provost Thomas Chalmers, discussed further in chapter five.

Hill (1802-1870) and Robert Adamson (1821-1848).<sup>19</sup> Smith has also explicated how Talbot's 1844 calotypes of Scotland relied on the popularity of Walter Scott's romantic fiction.<sup>20</sup> Although writers have principally focused on Scottish contributions to early photography in the 1840s, rather than look at the commercial world of the 1850s and 1860s, many studies have illustrated the powerful influence middle class individuals and institutions had on the development of photography.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, exhibitions like *Light from the Dark Room* (1995) have opened up discussions about the "cultural framework" of Scottish photography, and set targets for further study.<sup>22</sup> Knowledge about particular photographers has flourished as a result. Thomas Annan is a fine example, for historians have taken a notable interest in the cultural context of his commission to record the streets of Glasgow for the City Council in 1868. Anita Ventura Mozley's pioneering work on these photographs of Glasgow's closes and wynds, hinted that they were designed to promote the positive results of councillor's decisions to raise streets, evict tenants and demolish acres of land.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, studies by Ellen Handy, Julie Lawson, Ian Spring and Venda Pollock have investigated how such images of slums made poverty and disease palatable for a middle class public, by framing Glasgow with a

---

<sup>19</sup> Sara Stevenson, *The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth* (Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1991). And, Sara Stevenson, *Facing the Light: The Photography of Hill and Adamson* (Edinburgh, UK: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 2002). Graham Smith, "John Adamson, Sanitary Reform and the Fishing Community," *History of Photography* 25, no. 2 (2001). 180-189.

<sup>20</sup> Graham Smith, "William Henry Fox Talbot's Views of Loch Katrine," *Bulletin, Museums of Art and Archaeology, The University of Michigan* 7 (1984). 49-77. And, Graham Smith, "William Henry Fox Talbot's 'Scotch Views' for *Sun Pictures in Scotland*," in Patrizia Di Bello, Collette Wilson and Shamoon Zamir, eds., *The Photobook from Talbot to Ruscha*. (London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 2012). 17-34.

<sup>21</sup> Publications include Alison Morrison-Low and J. R. R. Christie, eds., *Martyr of Science: Sir David Brewster, 1781-1868* (Edinburgh, UK: Royal Scottish Museum, 1984). Alison Morrison-Low, "Photography in Edinburgh in 1839: The Royal Scottish Society of Arts, Andrew Fyfe and Mungo Ponton," *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, no. 2 (1990). 26-35. And, Alison Morrison-Low, "Brewster, Talbot and the Adamsons: The Arrival of Photography in St Andrews," *History of Photography* 25, no. 2 (2001). 130-141.

<sup>22</sup> Sara Stevenson, ed., *Light from the Dark Room: A Celebration of Scottish Photography* (Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1995). Particularly see, Sara Stevenson, "Introduction: Scotland and Photography." 9-13.

<sup>23</sup> Anita Ventura Mozley, *Thomas Annan: Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877* (New York, NY: Dover, 1977).

‘positive light’ during a time of economic depression.<sup>24</sup> However, such works have tended to ignore what seems to be a crucial aspect of middle class life in this period – the ideology of unionist-nationalism.

### **The Ideological Turn**

During the mid-Victorian era middle class citizens had unprecedented levels of influence over local affairs. Historians like T. M. Devine have shown how key policies in the previous decades led to high levels of popular support for William Gladstone’s Liberal government. The repeal of restrictions on trade (such as the Corn Laws in 1832), coupled with new legislation giving the middle classes more power over the management of their towns (particularly the Scottish Burgh Reform Act of 1833), and dramatic failures by Conservative leaders to connect with a new electorate (resulting in events like the schism of the Church of Scotland in 1843), are a few reasons why the burghs of Scotland had become “Liberal fiefdoms” by the 1850s and 1860s.<sup>25</sup> In Ellen Hadley’s terms, Gladstone’s Liberalism was a success for several reasons. It popularised the concepts of progress, reform and liberty, it “depended on people rather than property, opinion rather than interest”, and it seemed to make politics about practical citizenship rather than heritable wealth.<sup>26</sup> Those middle class citizens responsible for progress and reform in Scotland considered themselves equal partners with their English contemporaries. This desire for equipoise was the result of Gladstone’s liberalism, and it

---

<sup>24</sup> Ellen Handy, “Dust Piles and Damp Pavements: Excrement, Repression, and the Victorian City in Photography and Literature,” in Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan, eds., *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination* (Berkeley, CA and London, UK: University of California Press, 1995). 111-133. Julie Lawson, “The Problem of Poverty and the Picturesque: Thomas Annan’s *Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow* 1868-1871,” *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, no. 2 (1900). 40-46. Ian Spring, “Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs: Thomas Annan’s Glasgow,” in Debra N. Mancoff and D. J. Trela, eds., *Victorian Urban Settings: Essays on the Nineteenth-Century City and Its Contexts* (New York, NY: Garland, 1996). 195-213. And, Vanda Pollock, *Negotiating the Urban Terrain: Representations of the City of Glasgow in the Visual Arts*, Unpublished Thesis, 2 vols., (St Andrews, UK: University of St Andrews, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2007*, Revised ed. (London, UK: Penguin Books, 2006). 281-285.

<sup>26</sup> Hadley, *Living Liberalism*. 3.

produced a unique discourse in Scottish cultural affairs, which historian Graeme Morton has called “unionist-nationalism”. This ideology celebrated Scotland’s distinctive identity, while also applauding its alliance with England under the union.<sup>27</sup> It presented an opportunity to don a dual identity, and was taken up by elite middle class Scots who saw their local activities as a vital part of Scotland’s role in the Empire, the British economy and the progressive goals of Gladstone’s government.<sup>28</sup> While this study does not debate the merits or complexities of Liberalism in Scotland, it does aim to interpret photographs within this particular historical context. In doing so, it takes the opportunity to look at photographs from a new perspective. Annan’s well known images of Glasgow’s wynds and closes are a good example.

In this thesis, Annan’s images are shown for the first time in relation to other street improvement photographs by Valentine of Dundee and Archibald Burns of Edinburgh, both of whom turned their camera to street improvements in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>29</sup> The photographs are analysed for their currency as tools, which were used by those in power for the social production of ‘truth’. As historian Jennifer Green-Lewis has shown, the “cultural importance” of photographs in this period lay in their persuasive ability to “change the narrative status” of a subject “from fiction to fact.”<sup>30</sup> It was this

---

<sup>27</sup> Graeme Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860*, Scottish Historical Review Monographs Series No. 10 (East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 1999). 9-10 +193. Other historians have defined this period as a high point for local governance, including most recently: Graeme Gill, "Bourgeoisie, State and Democracy: Russia, Britain, France, Germany and the United States of America." (Oxford, UK: Oxford Online Scholarship, 2008), [www.oxfordscholarship.com](http://www.oxfordscholarship.com). 34-35.

<sup>28</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 9. Morton specifically writes in response to studies that have claimed Scottish culture was subservient and regressive because it was subsumed by the English after the union of 1707. He cites Tom Nairn, *The Break up of Britain* (2nd ed. London, 1981); C. Beveridge and R. Turnbull, *The Eclipse of Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh, 1989); and, A. Calder, *Revolving Culture: Notes from a Scottish Republic* (London, 1994).

<sup>29</sup> Two recent articles on Archibald Burns mention his work for the Edinburgh Improvement Trust. James Lawson, "The Urban Landscape: Between Progress and Decay," *Studies in Photography*, no. 1 (1998). 5-8. Roddy Simpson, "Archibald Burns: Photographer of Old Edinburgh," *Studies in Photography* (2009). 68-77.

<sup>30</sup> Jennifer Green-Lewis, *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism* (Ithaca, NY and London, UK: Cornell University Press, 1996). Quotes from 6 and 8.

capacity that secured photography's role in the Victorian imagination. Annan, Valentine and Burns, consciously or not, created images that catered to the Victorian penchant for picturing progress and reform within a framework of romantic realism. Their images were packaged by council leaders to elicit a romantic narrative that compared the 'old' and 'new' city. These urban photographs administered proof that Scottish cities were as civilised as their English counterparts. This, in turn, established that those Scots responsible for the reforms were of a similar calibre to their English contemporaries. This is not to suggest that these photographs held nationalist tendencies. Such political discussions did not become a strong active force in politics until the mid-1880s, after Westminster's decision to establish a Scottish Office (1885) and grant Home Rule to Ireland (1886).<sup>31</sup> Instead, these photographs are products of a historical moment – a particular era when Scottish nationalism was, paradoxically, found in local activity and supported the union. Thus, all the portraits and landscapes gathered for this study illustrate how photography could assist those local middle class Scots, seeking ways to visualise themselves as active participants of a wider British ideal.

### **The Character in Portraits**

In the case of portraits, it was somewhat anomalous before the development of photography to collect images of 'ordinary' people. In the eighteenth century, portraits were executed for wealthy individuals or institutions. Art collecting only became an occupation for adventurous middle class businessmen in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Photographs made it possible for all tiers of the middle class to collect images of everyday objects, people and places. The albums discussed in this thesis are filled with

---

<sup>31</sup> This is why this thesis ends in the mid-1880s. By this time, Scotland was experiencing the decline and fall of Liberalism, which was due to a number of things, including: a rising debate on Nationalism and independence, disagreements on the relationship between church and state, the rise of trade unions and an increasing interest in a socialist ideology. For more on this see, Devine. *The Scottish Nation*. 299-308.

<sup>32</sup> Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*. 3-10.

people gathered in university groups, standing outside new mansion houses or strolling through city streets. In each instance, the photograph caters to a desire for systematic recognition. It pictures the ‘civilised’ British body being located within a local Scottish environment, or middle class Scots comfortable with their dual identity.

In chapter five, portrait studios are discussed at some length as new sites on the high street that provided individuals with a chance to disconnect from their day-to-day existence and experiment with a number of identities. Using terminology defined by Foucault in his analysis of ‘other’ spaces in the city, the studio is defined as a ‘heterotopia’; a “counter-site” that, unlike a utopia, is a real site that can be found within culture, but (like a theatre) plays with reality, representing, contesting, and inverting it.<sup>33</sup> This provides a theoretical basis for understanding how Scottish portrait studios could provide their clients with a unique space to play with identity. For example, Maureen Martin has suggested that Victorian society was bound by a particularly domestic and feminine rule under the Queen. As a result, Scotland’s wilderness took on a specific character that spoke to a “primal male element of female Britannia.”<sup>34</sup> Evidence from Scottish studios shows how photographers understood this relationship. They offered Highland costumes for hire and provided backdrops with rugged mountain scenes, thus directly catering to those men seeking “masculine self-definition” outside England’s matriarchal governance.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Michel Foucault, ““Des Espace Autres” [of Other Spaces],” Lecture given in March, 1967 and published by the French journal *Architecture/Mouvement/ Continuité* in October, 1984. Translated text: Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* (Spring, 1986). 22-7. Quoted here from a collective website <http://foucault.info/>.

<sup>34</sup> Maureen M. Martin, *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2009). 38.

<sup>35</sup> Martin mentions that paintings, such as Edwin Landseer’s *Monarch of the Glen* (1851), were popular visualisations of this idea, bringing together the stag and Scotland’s rugged masculine landscape for Victorian audiences. In, *Ibid.* 22-38.

## **The Character in Landscapes**

The role photography played in disseminating perceptions about Scotland and its place in the Union is also evident in the abundant images of landscape that emerged in this era. Throughout this study, I am concerned with the relationship between Scots' concepts about their nation and their ways of illustrating these ideas. Thus, all the landscape images selected are analysed according to W. J. T. Mitchell's hypothesis that land be treated more as a verb than a noun; in other words, not just an object or a text to be read, but a "process by which social and subjective identities are formed."<sup>36</sup> This turns the idea of land into an active force, which shapes individuals' identities and sense of place in the world. Landscape helps people define where they are from, who they are and, perhaps most significantly, who they are not. It is this nuanced definition that gives landscape photographs in this period of unionist-nationalism in Scotland a distinct resonance. As well as selling the idea that Scotland's highland region was a rugged place, photography helped to prove that Scottish landscapes would be understood as a secure part of Britain's 'homeland'. This is most clearly expressed by examining the pre-eminence of the picturesque style.

Reverend William Gilpin's *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and On Sketching Landscape* (1792), had provided an initial series of lessons on how to find the requisite elements for a perfect scene. His essays interpreted the land according to the rules of painting. Thus, beauty was to be created by applying pictorial values to the natural world. Gilpin instructed readers how to do this by observing a strict balance between natural elements, like trees, clouds and streams, and historical or cultural markers, such as ancient ruins or ivy-clad church buildings. This

---

<sup>36</sup> W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (Chicago, IL and London, UK: University of Chicago, 2002). 2.

way of seeing was appropriated and popularised by travel writers and art critics, to the extent that Gilpin's rigid set of principles had morphed into a broad and flexible design plan by the mid-nineteenth century. As Taylor has noted, "by the 1840s the term *picturesque* had joined the vocabulary of the nation and become widely applied to anything that caught the eye or captured the imagination."<sup>37</sup> Historians explicating how the picturesque impacted nineteenth-century Scottish photography have largely focused on images designed for tourists.<sup>38</sup> There are, for instance, articles on the successful attempts of commercial photographers, like Wilson, to provide low cost picturesque views of the key historic or cultural stops along the most popular tour routes.<sup>39</sup> I see the term operating on a much wider field, for it was a style that allowed middle class Scots to visualise themselves as equal partners under the Union. John Morrison has argued that the picturesque was used by Scottish painters from the end of the eighteenth century, when the Scots were "reinventing themselves as North Britons."<sup>40</sup> It was a particularly British style, used by artists to translate Scotland's unknown regions for English patrons, without forfeiting any references to Scottish identity. This was a design plan that could highlight Scotland's unique character within Britain.<sup>41</sup> I accept this premise and extend it, by arguing that photography added a unique realism to the picturesque mode, which I call 'picturesque empiricism'.

Photographs did not suggest Scotland was a beautiful part of Britain, but *proved* it

---

<sup>37</sup> Taylor provides the most recent discussion on how Gilpin's concept of the picturesque was used by early photographers. Roger Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 75-79. Quote from 77.

<sup>38</sup> Exceptions include, Rachel Stuhlman, "Let Glasgow Flourish: Thomas Annan and the Glasgow Corporation Waterworks," *Image* 35, no. 3-4 (1992). 39-41. And, Ray McKenzie, "Problems of Representation in Early Scottish Landscape Photography," in Michael Hallett, ed. *Rewriting Photographic History* (Birmingham Polytechnic Conference Proceedings, UK: The Article Press, 1989). 46-49.

<sup>39</sup> For example, Charles Withers, "Picturing Highland Landscapes: George Washington Wilson and the Photography of the Scottish Highlands," *Landscape Research* 19, no. 2 (1994). 68-79. And, Alastair J. Durie, "Tourism and Commercial Photography in Victorian Scotland: The Rise and Fall of G. W. Wilson and Co., 1853-1908," *Northern Scotland* 12 (1992). 89-104.

<sup>40</sup> John Morrison, *Painting the Nation* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2003). 84.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

was fact. As the product of a new technology, photographs were still considered ‘sun pictures’, drawn from nature, and thus documents of the real. Rosalind Krauss touched on this in a short article on the differences between the landscape and the view. Krauss suggested photographs opened up a new discursive space, which played on the aesthetics of painting but imposed a language of documentation and ownership.<sup>42</sup> This issue is examined in chapter four, which looks at an album of photographs depicting Lanarkshire’s private estates and public tourist spots. These are topographical scenes and aesthetic compositions created by John McGhie, a little known photographer, who, like thousands of others, ran a small studio in the shadow of other hugely successful businesses. The estates pictured in this album were largely owned by captains of industry, who had accumulated unprecedented levels of wealth by taking advantage of the Empire’s trade routes. McGhie’s album shows these new elites sitting comfortably amongst the palaces, castles and bridges that mark Lanarkshire’s heritage. Thus, picturesque empiricism proves these new landowners have a rightful place in a range of important communities, including family, neighbouring ‘friends’, the county, industry, Scotland, Great Britain and the Empire.

### **The Photographer**

While collecting photographs and building albums helped individuals imagine they belonged to these various groups, my research also reveals that exhibitions and journals provided similar opportunities for those Scots who decided to make a living with photography. The nineteenth-century journals, discussed at length in chapter two, have been defined by Steve Edwards as sites for bourgeois “amateurs” who wished to elevate their status and promote themselves as arbiters of taste. Yet, as well as this, the English-based journals provided a newly imagined photographic world, which bound disparate

---

<sup>42</sup> Rosalind Krauss, "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View," *Art Journal* 42, no. 4 (1982). 311-319.

readers together as members of a civilised ‘gentlemanly’ society. This was especially important for those British subjects who lived some distance from the major centres of English culture.

As Benedict Anderson has noted, newspapers functioned in a similar way during the nineteenth century. They were products connecting anonymous individuals to a wide and distinctly modern collective. They capitalised on the desires of middle class citizens who wished to elevate themselves through education and the acquisition of knowledge.<sup>43</sup> Evidence shows that Scottish commercial photographers used British exhibitions, societies and journals in the same manner. Many photographers who entered the commercial world were conscious that the camera was considered a mechanical tool, and this would associate their work with base production.<sup>44</sup> As I argue in chapter two, photographers contributed to national debates and displays to highlight their ‘professional’ status, and downplay any association with the world of work.

Victorian professionals operated at the higher end of the middle class scale. Their skill was not based on craftsmanship but on a more cerebral training, which often resulted in a highly specialised qualification and membership to a national association.<sup>45</sup> During photography’s nascent years, the term ‘professional’ was synonymous with commerce. The earliest photographers, who claimed to not practice in the pursuit of profits, would have considered themselves ‘amateurs’. These were the men who already had professional careers in other areas, and had started the national journals and

---

<sup>43</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London, UK and New York, NY: Verso, 1991). 36.

<sup>44</sup> Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 14-15.

<sup>45</sup> Ruth Barton, “Men of Science: Language, Identity and Professionalization in the Mid-Victorian Scientific Community,” *History of Science* 41 (2003). 73-119.

photographic societies to share information with like-minded colleagues.<sup>46</sup> It was not until the mid-1850s, with the rise of inexpensive products like the stereo views and cartes de visite, that a distinction was made between a ‘commercial’ and ‘professional’ photographer. The latter occupied what Asa Briggs has called “the middle ground” between the lower form of high street trader, who had entered the field to capitalise on the craze for photographs, and the gentlemanly amateur, who was concerned with researching and developing the technology.<sup>47</sup> When this thesis commences in 1851, London-based amateurs control the photographic field. As the decade progresses, more photographers opened studios and entered the commercial sphere in Scotland. The term ‘professional’ was then increasingly used to define those photographers who wished to elevate their practice by emulating the behaviour of the ‘gentlemen’ amateurs. Accordingly, they contributed to journals, societies and exhibitions to ensure they were publicly noted for their concern with photographic innovation, quality and professional practice.

### **In Summary**

It should be noted that this study specifically focuses on commercial photographs produced within Scotland. It does not attend to photographs taken by Scots living abroad. Alexander Gardner (1821-1882), for instance, who had a highly successful career in New York, or Robert Macpherson (1811-1872) who had an equally lucrative studio in Rome are not under consideration here. The aim is to illustrate how Scotland’s photographers operated within a middle class public sphere at a precise moment and, as such, were informed by a specific set of discourses. At the time, Britain was intensifying its global trade and Scots were gaining the political and economic advantages of being a

---

<sup>46</sup> Asa Briggs. *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986). 68-77.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 68.

constituent part of this Imperial process. As power was largely decentralised, Scotland's towns and cities were guided by the same middle class citizens who were making and purchasing more photographs than ever before. It is these elements of class and commerce that demonstrate the currency photography had in Scotland when it entered the mass market in the mid-Victorian period. In the chapters that follow, we move from understanding the belief system that bound Scotland's community of photographers together to a set of three 'case studies'. These investigations of particular objects stress that meaning is found not just in the visual content of an image but in the way it is displayed, exchanged and circulated.

## Section One    Setting the Scene

---

In 1852 the Society of Arts assembled over 700 photographs for a London exhibition. They then selected over 80 examples to tour Britain the following year, and another 120 for a second tour in 1854.<sup>1</sup> While in Stirling during 1853, the exhibition was publicised as the result of a “union” with London.<sup>2</sup> Photography itself was described as a relatively unknown phenomenon, positioned as an art historical descendent of alchemy, a perfect blend of art and science, mysticism and religion.<sup>3</sup> Readers were asked to compare photography to technological inventions magically transforming the world, like the train and the telegraph that were making it possible to “travel by fire and speak by lightening.”<sup>4</sup> In this way the public were impelled to see photography as a grand idea; something new and patriotic, as well as something that could link local communities in a national cause. Aberdeen’s response, later on that year when the exhibition visited the city, was similar but unequivocally more practical. The council of the Mechanics’ Institute, all middle class businessmen and traders, wished to promote local productivity and organised a photographic competition. They called for submissions from Scottish photographers and organised a tandem exhibition. It was this that stimulated early commercial photography in Aberdeen.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The first tour in 1853 started in Woburn in September. It then progressed to a variety of small towns across Britain, including Tyldesley, Chester, Leamington, Kings Lynn, Hertford and Exeter. The second tour had two sets of photographs. The first toured the south and the second visited the north. Falkirk citizens saw the second exhibit, as did many northern towns in England, including Warwick, Preston and Morpeth. See: Roger Taylor, "Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839-1865," National Gallery of Canada, <http://peib.dmu.uk/index.php>. Taylor has also written briefly on this photographic tour in his latest publication: Roger Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 53-55.

<sup>2</sup> "Stirling School of Arts in Union with the Society of Arts, London," *The Stirling Argus*, 11th November 1853.

<sup>3</sup> "Lecture on Photography," *The Stirling Argus*, 18th November 1853.

<sup>4</sup> "Stirling School of Arts in Union with the Society of Arts, London."

<sup>5</sup> There is more discussion on Aberdeen in Chapter Five. There were two registered studios in 1853 (Wilson & Hay and John Lamb). This number rose to nine in 1858, (Washington Wilson, John Lamb and: Andrew Adams, James Cassie Jr., James Dalgarno, Herr Frederick Godfrey, Henry Gordon, John Nisbet and George Stewart). This information comes from “Trade Listings and Advertisements,” *The Aberdeen Post Office Directories*, 1858-1859 ed., (Aberdeen, UK: Various, 1851-1884). It can also be found in the

This first chapter discusses how exhibitions motivated commercial photography in Scotland and introduced the concept of photographic professionalism to a middle class public. It is argued that the practice of photography was stimulated on the local level by national concerns. After developing a theoretical framework to demonstrate how exhibitions were used during the nineteenth century to propagate state ideology, the chapter illustrates how this photographic exhibit organised by the Society of Arts aimed to civilise photography by establishing a canon designed by the ‘gentlemen’ amateurs from England.

The aim here is to demonstrate how crucial these first exhibitions were for the development of Scottish commercial photography. They stimulated regional interest, encouraged budding entrepreneurs, and inspired locals to form their own professional societies. More than anything they demonstrated how photographs could be marketed as an exclusive object and commercial product, and encouraged the Scots to organise their own displays. By 1854, for example, leading elites in Dundee were collaborating with the London Photographic Society to organise their own exhibition. Then, two years later, Edinburgh’s photographers inaugurated their Scottish Photographic Society with an extensive exhibition. Their aim was to create a “comprehensive representation of the advance of our beautiful art”; something that would “rival any previous exhibition of photographs in this country.”<sup>6</sup> Then, in 1855 and 1859, Glasgow and Aberdeen photographers would join in union with the British Association for the Advancement of Science, to organise exhibitions that could promote local innovation and talent on a

---

north-eastern edition of Richard Torrance’s series on Scottish photographic studios: “Aberdeenshire,” in Torrance, *Photographers in Scotland to 1914*. 1-27.

<sup>6</sup> "Report of the Photographic Society of Scotland." 53.

national level. It was through such involvement with British associations that Scottish photographers codified their practices and traders elevated their professional positions.

In setting the scene this chapter focuses on the 1850s, for this was the decade photographers developed extensive business interests and the relationship between trade and professionalism was brought to the fore. In 1849 photography was still being publicly discussed in the newspapers as a mysterious form of magic, performed by shamanistic figures who could literally steal one's shadow with their "evil eye."<sup>7</sup> By the end of the 1850s, however, the camera had proved its practical use in everyday life. Practitioners, like the London-based Antoine Claudet (1797-1867), were extolling the advances made in a growing photographic field.<sup>8</sup> In an address to the Photographic Society of Scotland in June 1860, Claudet championed the commercial rise of photography, detailing how the medium had shifted from the private worlds of elite scientists, like Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) and Talbot, to have a meteoric impact on both the mercantile and artistic worlds. Photography "has created a vast new industry" he stated, and provided an array of new occupations. What was at first a discovery "only applicable to the study of the physiology of vision", had become a vast manufacturing trade in chemicals, glass, optical instruments, mounts, frames and paper, which provided jobs for thousands of people and had created new opportunities for artists, clerks and shop assistants.<sup>9</sup> It was a transformation spectacularly illustrated by the first international world's fair.

---

<sup>7</sup> "Photography," *Glasgow Herald*, 24th September 1849.

<sup>8</sup> Claudet was born in Lyon, France. He ran one of the first daguerreotype studios in London, in a glass house on top of the Adelphi Gallery. In 1860 he had a large and very fashionable photographic studio on Regent Street. For more on Claudet see: Helmut Gernsheim, *The Orgins of Photography* (London, UK: Thames and Hudson, 1982).123-144.

<sup>9</sup> Antoine Claudet, "Photography and Its Relation to the Fine Arts," *The Photographic Journal* 6, no. 98 (1860). 259-265.

## The Exhibition Complex

The Great Exhibition in 1851, held in Joseph Paxton's 'Crystal Palace', has been described in a variety of metaphors, from "the world's first shopping mall, with tier upon tier of shops selling all manner of wares",<sup>10</sup> to "a palace for the people" providing shilling days for the working classes and averaging 42,831 daily visitors.<sup>11</sup> All the objects were defined as products of a complex world of industrial manufacturing, and photography was no exception. Its classification by the exhibition's commissioners, as both a fine art and a philosophical instrument, cast photography in a bifurcated mould. It shaped the mass perception that photographs could be used for both emotive expression and scientific study.<sup>12</sup>

Scholars have explored the principles and effect of this epic exhibition, particularly in respect to aspects of spectacle and consumerism. It has been described by Tony Bennett as setting the parameters for an "exhibitionary complex" that profoundly changed how people ordered objects and were themselves ordered *en masse*.<sup>13</sup> Using Foucauldian terms, Bennett asserts that the Great Exhibition provided a "context for the permanent display of power/knowledge" and can be shown to illustrate a new method of civic order. The "many headed mob" was transformed into "an ordered crowd" by a state-controlled site that gave people access to "object lessons in power – the power to command and arrange things and bodies for public display." It was this view, from "the side of power", that created a "voluntary self-regulating citizenry" who moved in tandem with state policies. An exhibition was a subtle method of "winning hearts and minds as

---

<sup>10</sup> A. N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London, UK: Random House, 2003). 144 and Chapter 4.

<sup>11</sup> Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 31+34 and Chapter 3.

<sup>12</sup> Photography was displayed in two categories: Class 30, Fine Arts; and Class 10, Philosophical Instruments and Processes Depending on their Use. Roger Taylor, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840 -1860* (New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008). 36.

<sup>13</sup> Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in Ressa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, eds., *Thinking About Exhibitions* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996) 81-112.

well as the disciplining and training of bodies.”<sup>14</sup> Thus, visitors in 1851 were coached on the advantages of free trade, not on its shortcomings.<sup>15</sup> The goal was to promote the advantages of an international world market, and induce patriotism.<sup>16</sup> For, conceptually, the event exhibited a range of British ideals, including imperialism and exploration, mass education and public improvement, tourism and industrial prowess, capitalism and commodity fetishism.<sup>17</sup>

Being in the heart of London, the Great Exhibition paraded what historian Peter Mandler has described as England’s elevated sense of pride in the order she exhibited over her people, particularly in contrast to the civil unrest witnessed in Italy, France and Germany.<sup>18</sup> After the 1848 revolutions in Europe, English politicians had decided to take an imperial high ground and employ a policy of insular nationalism. Their political rhetoric adopted a “civilisational perspective.” As Lord Acton would say in 1862, “the co-existence of several nations under the same State is...the best security of its freedom. It is also one of the chief instruments of civilisation...it is in the natural and providential order.”<sup>19</sup> As a result of this ideological turn, England’s role became distinctly professorial, sitting as it did at the “directive centre of a multi-national Kingdom and Empire.” Mandler suggests that English leaders marketed the country as “precisely the form that advanced civilisations should take”, and this was a standard upon which others

---

<sup>14</sup> Bennett, Ressa Greenberg, Bruce W Ferguson, and Sandy Nairne, eds., *Thinking About Exhibitions* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996). 83-94. He uses the notion of the Panopticon, and its surveillance of the body to induce self-regulated behaviour, discussed by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975).

<sup>15</sup> The Empire’s Imperial expansion was causing widespread unrest in the colonies. For a brief description see: Wilson, *The Victorians*. 126-127.

<sup>16</sup> Jeffery Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, NJ and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1999). 179.

<sup>17</sup> Barbara Black, *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums* (Charlottesville, VA and London, UK: University Press of Virginia, 2000). 9.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Mandler, “ ‘Race’ and ‘Nation’ in Mid-Victorian Thought,” in Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and B. W. Young, eds., *History, Religion and Culture: British Intellectual History, 1750-1950* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 224-244.

<sup>19</sup> Lord Acton, “Nationality,” (1862) in *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (1907) quoted by Peter Mandler, in *Ibid.* 230.

should model themselves. As a colonising vision, it was an ideology that thrived on a dogged belief that, as master of an Empire, it was the Englishman's duty to disseminate his culture and improve the lot of his ignorant charges. In Mandler's terms, the opinion was:

If the [British] Kingdom and Empire contained peoples not yet liberated from their uncivilised clannishness – celts, negroes, aborigines – it was the responsibility of the English to maintain their institutional hold on such people in order gradually to wean them from their childishness.<sup>20</sup>

There were two distinct procedures that coordinators of the Great Exhibition employed to ensure outlying clans adhered to the civil path of their English teachers. First, products from 'civilised' and 'savage' nations were juxtaposed in the displays, as didactic illustrations of how technology and manufacturing was advancing 'primitive' standards of living. And second, local communities across the Kingdom were given jurisdiction over the submission process if they agreed to work with central precepts laid down by London's committee members. As Lara Kriegel has shown, the exhibition became a "showground for civic pride", ultimately driven by merchants and industrialists who led these local committees and wished to take advantage of the chance to associate with their London-based peers.<sup>21</sup> This ultimately produced exhibits that focused almost entirely on commercial products, Roger Taylor has described how the selection process particularly affected which photographers were represented:

Anyone wishing to exhibit had to pass before the regional committee, which decided whether the work was worthy of inclusion – all well and good for a manufacturer of machinery, steam engines or cutlery seen as contributing to the level of employment or the local economy, but less satisfactory for a solitary

---

<sup>20</sup> Mandler, *Ibid.* 230.

<sup>21</sup> Lara Kriegel, *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire and the Museum in Victorian Culture* (Durham and London, UK: Durham University Press, 2007). 97.

photographer whose calotypic renderings had little to do with commercial interests.<sup>22</sup>

Talbot, the polymath and landed English gentleman, is a case in point. He did not send a submission to his regional committee, believing the 1851 exhibition to be “a showcase for manufacturers and shopkeepers rather than individuals like himself.”<sup>23</sup> Therefore, rather than a broad picture of British productivity this spectacular exhibition became more of a commercial vehicle. It provoked more debate on the merits and deficiencies of machine and factory work, for example, than it did on subjects like creativity or artistic skill.<sup>24</sup>

As an event, the Great Exhibition specifically catered to middle class bourgeois traders and positioned them at the centre of influence. As virtual partners with Prince Albert and his London-based exhibition committee, the regional elites organising submissions in 1851 aligned themselves with national authority. They became the channel for a state “rhetoric of power” which was cloaked in a mandate for educating all workers towards a “greater good.”<sup>25</sup> Also, most crucially, it nationalised an exhibition culture that had been operating on a local level for many decades. The rise of an exhibiting culture in the nineteenth century was directly correlated to, what Jonathan Crary has termed, “the rebuilding of an observer fitted for the tasks of spectacular consumption.”<sup>26</sup> Crary has shown how classical theories of vision, which had given seventeenth and eighteenth-century spectators a tactile relationship to a referent, was being challenged by the systematic development of science in the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>22</sup> Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 36.

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, Taylor, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840 -1860*. 37.

<sup>24</sup> Kriegel, *Grand Designs*. 92-93.

<sup>25</sup> Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” in Greenberg et al., *Thinking About Exhibitions*. 89.

<sup>26</sup> Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992). 19.

More specifically, the new discipline of physiology categorised the human body into zones and established the eye as the site of knowledge. It was scientifically asserted therefore, that those individuals with a heightened sense of sight were highly perceptive and consequently intellectually superior.<sup>27</sup> Crary suggests the “loss of touch as a conceptual component of vision meant the unloosening of the eye from the network of referentiality incarnated in tactility and its subjective relation to perceived space.”<sup>28</sup> In other terms: for the first time, optical sensations *alone* were considered enough to stimulate a physiological response and provide a memory of a real experience.

One such training ground for this new observer was the novel display of paintings as panoramas or dioramas from the late 1780s onwards. Both were visual spectacles and turned images into vast landscapes of discovery. Spectators assumed improved knowledge of a scene because their eye had more surface space to absorb and, while they had the physical experience of being ‘in’ the scene, it was an encounter that relied solely on their visual capabilities.<sup>29</sup> This prepared audiences for photography’s unparalleled influence as visual data, which could support such a desire for suspending disbelief. I attend to this later (chapter two). Immediately, it is important to note that a dependence on sight, as the primary method of experience, was superbly advantageous for exhibition organisers wishing to bombard the visitor with references to productivity and industry. A spectacular display of arts and manufactures was not designed to induce critical thinking, but to astound the eye with visual data that ultimately overwhelmed all the senses. In order to understand what messages were embedded in the photographic exhibition that

---

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.79-85. Crary studies the work of Arthur Schopenhauer who argued that the eye was the centre of perception and by “silencing” other physiological senses (such as touch) a “pure objectivity of perception” could be attained. 84-85.

<sup>28</sup> Crary, Ibid. 19.

<sup>29</sup> Crary mentions these new visual experiences in *Techniques of the Observer*. 113. For more information on dioramas and panoramas in Victorian Britain see Bernard Comment, *The Panorama* (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1999).

came to Scotland in 1853, it is imperative we discover where it was held and who organised it.

The photographic exhibition came from London. It was hosted throughout Britain by local educational institutes who were already well known for their industrial displays.<sup>30</sup> In Scotland, the Board of Manufactures and the Society for Promoting the Useful Arts in Scotland, both based in Edinburgh, were the first to establish annual exhibitions in the 1830s to display “the best” of Scottish design and innovation.<sup>31</sup> Aware of its ability to draw large crowds, the exhibit became the face of cultural politics because it encouraged rather than taught, and subtly reinforced ideals through entertainment rather than pedagogy.<sup>32</sup> The aristocracy, merchants and professionals responsible for these organisations advertised their exhibitions as sites dedicated to: stimulating “the progress of Art and Science generally throughout the country” and to celebrating “individual talent and enterprise which are too often buried in obscurity.”<sup>33</sup> With visiting times and prices to suit all members of society, such industrial displays were promoted as altruistic celebrations in which the worker could marvel at the sparkling products of industrial labour. Therefore, as well as establishing what Steve Edwards has called “a visual rhetoric for the equivalence of commodities”,<sup>34</sup> the exhibition became a utopian space that de-politicised labour by abstracting products from

---

<sup>30</sup>Kenneth Carpenter has provided evidence that educational institutes across Europe held industrial exhibitions from the late eighteenth century. See: Kenneth Carpenter, "European Industrial Exhibitions before 1851 and Their Publications," *Technology and Culture* 13, no. 3 (1972). 265-286.

<sup>31</sup> Founded by David Brewster in 1821, the Society for the Encouragement of the Useful Arts in Scotland became known as the Society of Arts. It was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1841 and became the Royal Scottish Society of Arts.

<sup>32</sup> Nicolas Pearson, *The State and the Visual Arts: A Disussion of State Intervention in the Visual Arts in Britain, 1780-1981* (Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press, 1982). 35.

<sup>33</sup> "Scottish Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures," *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 30th March 1839. The Board of Manufactures consisted of Lords, Earls and Dukes who owned much of the agricultural land and industry in Scotland. Their exhibition was held in November at the Royal Institution building.

<sup>34</sup> Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 128. See also Steve Edwards, "Societies, Groups, Institutions, and Exhibitions in the United Kingdom," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York and Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008).1303-1307.

the factory floors. The 1839 Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures and Practical Science was advertised in this manner, and was the first to introduce the Scottish public to the calotype and daguerreotype, amongst telescopes, steam engines and watch-making tools.<sup>35</sup> This exhibition was organised by men involved with schools of art and design, and with mechanics' institutes, the educational bodies established in Britain from the beginning of the nineteenth century to enhance domestic manufacturing and compete with the increasing quality and quantity of European and American imports.<sup>36</sup> The schools were certainly marketed as places where the working man might advance himself, and many surely did, but they were equally as helpful to the bourgeois classes who were aiming to secure their status in the public sphere. The Glasgow Mechanics' Institute, for example, was established in 1823 to teach the arts and sciences "to all classes of the community."<sup>37</sup> However, by the mid-1840s their rhetoric had shifted and the institute suggested its role was to "advance the moral, intellectual and social condition" of the artisans in their community, so they might effectively compete on a national level.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the Aberdeen Mechanics' Institute was established in 1824 to afford the "tradesmen" "opportunities for instruction, by means of books, lectures and

---

<sup>35</sup> The Scottish Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures and Practical Science was an exhibition held in December 1839 in Edinburgh's Assembly Rooms. It was organised by a sub committee of men involved with politics, economics, the arts and sciences. This included Dr. D. B. Reid, a medical doctor and active member of the [Scottish] Society of Arts; Mr. John Dun, Curator of the [Scottish] Society of Arts' museum, an optician and a philosophical instrument maker; Mr. Slight, Curator of the Highland Society's Museum; and Mr. Charles Wilson, a teacher at the Glasgow School of Art as well as a board member for the Board of Manufactures' School of Design. "Photogenic Drawings" were categorised alongside the "Mechanical Arts" of lithography, woodcutting and printing. They were placed in the section, "Ornamental Modelling and Drawings and Designs Connected with Arts and Industry." The categories were advertised in the local press. The catalogue can be found at the National Library of Scotland and Edinburgh's Central Library. For more information on photography and the role of the Scottish Society of Arts see: Morrison-Low, "Photography in Edinburgh in 1839," in *Scottish Photography Bulletin*. 26-35. (As mentioned in the Introduction).

<sup>36</sup> The Mechanics' Institute, set up in 1820 in Edinburgh, was the first in Scotland. This was their mission, as stated in their inaugural meeting. See: "Select Committee Chosen for New Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland," in "Copies of Circulars," *Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland* (Edinburgh, UK: National Archives of Scotland). Reference number: NG3/7/3/1.

<sup>37</sup> "Glasgow Mechanics' Institute: Educational and Literary Institutions," *Glasgow Post Office Directories*, 1861-1862 ed., (Glasgow, UK: Various, 1845-1882). 78.

<sup>38</sup> "Mechanics Institution," *Glasgow Herald*, 19th May 1845.

models, in the various sciences connected with the exercise of their callings.”<sup>39</sup> Twenty years later, the committee was raising money for new premises and reassured the public the new lecture hall and library were being built for the moral and intellectual well-being of “the workman.”<sup>40</sup> Yet, by 1856, the Institute’s President admitted:

...it was still the case that the majority of the pupils were not of the working classes, properly speaking, but from the mercantile classes, and those who, under the name of students and scholars, were not probably engaged in any business.<sup>41</sup>

By the 1850s, therefore, these organisations were primarily catering to a middle class concerned with their public persona.<sup>42</sup> Attending courses was one thing, but volunteering and organising events for the betterment of the working class demonstrated an altruism that highlighted the presence of a morally-sound middle class citizen. As Samuel Alberti has suggested, participating in philanthropic initiatives helped those who wished to pursue a public life, for it: “asserted their presence, their taste and their authority”, while helping them tread “a fine line between contrasting themselves with the sybaritic nobility, from whom they were determined to wrest political, financial and cultural authority, and on the other hand seeking out and securing their elite patronage.”<sup>43</sup> It is Graeme Morton who has demonstrated the effect of this patronage in Scotland during an era of laissez faire British politics. His study on Edinburgh’s local schools and institutes proposes they were like many voluntary organisations, which functioned as ‘organs’ of government.<sup>44</sup> Morton explains:

---

<sup>39</sup> “First Report of the Committee of the Aberdeen Mechanics’ Institution, October 1824,” in *Aberdeen Mechanics’ Institution*, Aberdeen Public Library LO370.6 ed. (Aberdeen: D. Chalmers and Co., 1824-1880). 2-3.

<sup>40</sup> “The Mechanics’ Institution,” *The Aberdeen Journal*, 17th January 1844.

<sup>41</sup> “30<sup>th</sup> Report of the Committee of the Aberdeen Mechanics’ Institution, April 1856,” in *Aberdeen Mechanics’ Institution*. 15.

<sup>42</sup> Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*.14.

<sup>43</sup> Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, “Conversations and the Experience of Science in Victorian England,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8, no. 2 (2003). 208-230. Quote, 216.

<sup>44</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 200.

For the middle class in the mid-nineteenth century, claims to status, economic power and statements of identity involved manipulating the institutions and organisations which lay between family and state within the urban environment. Social power was achieved by publicly proclaiming name and influence in the towns and cities. This involved many public acts, and was demonstrated through a wide repertoire of subscriptions and memberships...Voluntary societies were sometimes philanthropic in objective; but some existed as cultural power and status channels for intra-class conflict within the middle class. The structure of a typical voluntary society was one of status hierarchies inversely related to their day-to-day organisation.<sup>45</sup>

Therefore, while mechanics' institutes and schools of art and design attempted to order working class groups, they were increasingly used as sites for a self-regulating middle class body who were attempting to align themselves with English ideals of gentility and civility, and gather the confidence they required to lead public life in Scotland. It was from these bastions of localised politics that an individual could hope to meet and become empowered by a British standard. The exhibition helped them achieve this.<sup>46</sup>

It was the Great Exhibition that ultimately demonstrated how a display could create a national sense of unity for British products. After its doors closed in 1851, photographers in London initiated a "campaign to have their work more widely seen and accepted" throughout Britain.<sup>47</sup> Spurred on by the fact their American and French peers had won more medals at the Crystal Palace, a group of photographers immediately organised their own exhibition to encourage one another to advance and improve.<sup>48</sup> This was to become the catalyst for establishing the first photographic association in Britain

---

<sup>45</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 193-194.

<sup>46</sup> Auerbach suggests the Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Art/Design left a specific legacy for how exhibitions can be used to propagate ideas to a wide and diverse audience. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*. 11.

<sup>47</sup> Roger Taylor, "George Washington Wilson: The Man and his Methods – a Photographic and Artistic Assessment," in *By Royal Appointment: Aberdeen's Pioneer Photographer George Washington Wilson* (Aberdeen, UK: University of Aberdeen Library, 1997) 9.

<sup>48</sup> Roger Taylor sums up the effect of the Great Exhibition on British photography as "something of a missed opportunity." Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 37.

and instigated the idea of a touring show. Instead of gathering regional submissions, as the Great Exhibition committee had done, the London photographers decided to join forces with the Society of Arts and send a sample of their images out to educational institutes across Britain. It was a fortuitous arrangement that took advantage of the Society of Arts' network of influence. Again, instigated by the Great Exhibition's successful attempt to centralise disparate local groups, the Society of Arts had recently made the unprecedented move of extending their membership beyond London. In May 1852 they passed a resolution to form a "Union of Institutions". The Society acted as an axial organisation, providing a curriculum of lectures and exhibitions to its outlying members.<sup>49</sup> By joining this new union, local schools nationalised their practises and raised their profiles. In the case of Stirling, the vice-president of the School of Art, a local banker called James Morrison, volunteered to pay the costly two Guinea subscription fee and they became the first Scottish institution to accept the invitation to host the 1853 photography exhibition.<sup>50</sup>

### **Scotland's Photography Exhibitions**

We have looked so far at how the exhibition and the educational institute helped the bourgeois classes display their commercial pursuits as socially altruistic. This has

---

<sup>49</sup> In the first three years, the Scottish institutions that invested in a membership to the Society of Arts were in Aberdeen, Annan, Blairgowrie, Crieff, Coupar Angus, Dumfries, Falkirk, Glasgow, Leven (Dumbartonshire) and Stirling.

Thanks to Rebecca Short, Royal Society of Arts' Archivist (the Society of Arts gained Royal status in 1902), for this information. In an E-mail communication on January 14th, 2011, Short wrote in part: The Society sought to assist the spread of good literature, to provide openings for popular lectures and to circulate instructional exhibits of various kinds among educational centres known as mechanics institutes. In 1848 the Society resolved that any institutional establishment not more than 50 miles from London might join the Society for the same subscription as an individual so that its members could enjoy the advantages of membership of the Society. A few institutions accepted the offer. In November 1851 Harry Chester (who became Chairman of the Society's Council in 1853) submitted his proposals to the Society's Council, for the formation of a union for the mechanics institutes. A resolution was passed by the Council in July 1852. The number of member institutions increased from 71 in the first years to 270 in the second year and 368 in 1855."

<sup>50</sup> "Stirling School of Arts in Union with the Society of Arts, London," in *26<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of the Committee, October 11, 1851-October 11, 1852. Stirling School of Arts* (Stirling, UK: C. Munro, June and Co., 1852). 7. The list of institutions who had accepted the exhibition was placed in the Society of Arts' Journal: "Notice to Institutions." *Journal of the Society of Arts* 1 (1853). 449.

provided a basis for understanding what discourses circulated around the Society of Arts' photographic display when it came to Scottish towns in 1853. With this in mind, we shift focus to look more intently at its content and reception. The photographs were put on display at Stirling School of Art, the week commencing 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1853. It was then hosted in late November by the Crieff Mechanics' Institute and in early December by the Aberdeen Mechanics' Institute. The second tour in 1854 went to Falkirk's School of Arts.<sup>51</sup> Why other institutions in union with the Society of Arts, such as Blairgowrie, Coupar Angus, Dumfries and Glasgow, declined a chance to exhibit the photographs is unknown. One can speculate that in cities like Glasgow there were already groups of photographers assembling to organise their own events. Glasgow's Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institute were Society of Arts members but did not host this exhibition. By 1854, there were already nine photographic studios listed in the Glasgow's Post Office Directory, while the newly formed Glasgow Photographic Society was due to hold its own large exhibition on Buchanan Street.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, the educational institute in the border town of Dumfries had joined in union with the Society of Arts but also declined the photography exhibition. Yet it was one of the first locations in Scotland to form a photographic society; boasting a hearty membership by 1856.<sup>53</sup>

What we do know is the Society of Arts' photographic exhibition was primarily welcomed by local elites who used it as a platform for publicising their cultural aptitude

---

<sup>51</sup> This list can also be found on Roger Taylor's website, which also lists the photographs submitted to the travelling exhibition: Taylor, "Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839-1865." There is also a copy of the catalogue in the Local History Department at the Aberdeen Public Library: *Catalogue of Photographic Exhibition at the Aberdeen Mechanics' Institution* (Aberdeen, UK: Aberdeen Mechanics Institution, 1853).

<sup>52</sup> For listings on the studios see: "Trade Listings and Advertisements," in *Glasgow Post Office Directories*, (1854-1855). For information on the Glasgow Photographic Society and its exhibition at McClure's Pictorial Rooms on Buchanan Street see: *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers* (Glasgow, UK: Mitchell Library). Reference number MS 250. While these papers are for the later Glasgow Photographic Association, which was instituted in 1862, there is mention of the earlier Glasgow Photographic Society.

<sup>53</sup> Sutton mentions Dumfries' Photographic Society had 20 to 30 members. Thomas Sutton, "Editorial," *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 11 (1856). 167-168.

and social standing. While Stirling and Crieff were small market towns, they both had a contingent of wealthy landowners and industrialists and were starting to cater to a growing tourist market for the Scottish Highlands. They also both contained a heavy contingent of workers. Stirling was primarily known for its textiles and coalmining, and Crieff for its whisky and woollen manufacturing. When the photographic exhibition came to these towns it was advertised in the newspapers as “a treat” never before witnessed.<sup>54</sup> It is hard to assess who benefited from this ‘treat’, but no commercial photographers immediately established permanent studios in the towns as a result of the display and no additional exhibitions were organised. The event in Stirling was only marked with a talk on photography, given by the secretary of the School of Arts, James Rae. Rae’s talk was only advertised in the syllabus of lectures, thereby restricting its impact to those involved with the School.<sup>55</sup> In contrast to the smaller rural towns, Aberdeen and Falkirk had a swathe of middle class citizens and the photography exhibition was used more as an opportunity for individuals to make their mark. Aberdeen had a burgeoning merchant class and ranked third behind Edinburgh and Glasgow as Scotland’s wealthiest urban centre. It had a booming retail and hotelier trade, as well as a thriving port and ship-building industry. In comparison, Falkirk was a town at the heart of a fertile canal system, with the advantage of being equidistance from Edinburgh and Glasgow. It was also surrounded by industrial sites that manufactured leather, iron and coal, and hosted the largest cattle market in Britain. As a hub of commercial trading therefore, Falkirk was attracting a high contingent of middle class professionals, who were providing retail and financial support to the community.

---

<sup>54</sup> "Crieff Exhibition of Photographic Pictures," *Perth Advertiser*, 24th November 1853. Thanks to Crieff Library for this reference.

<sup>55</sup> "Stirling School of Arts in Union with the Society of Arts London," in *27<sup>th</sup> Annual Report of Committee of Stirling School of Arts. October 1852 – October 1853* (Stirling, UK: C. Munro, June and Co., 1853). 9.

A union with London's Society of Arts provided these established bourgeois communities with a rarefied backdrop for staging a display of local wealth and prowess, and they both organised complementary exhibitions when the photographs came to their town. In the first place, the merchants in charge of the Falkirk School of Art assembled a collection of oil paintings, raw materials for industry, and various objects that had been sent to the Great Exhibition in 1851. The local newspaper immediately applauded those who had donated works to Falkirk's first public art exhibition.<sup>56</sup> This included men like James Russel, a local solicitor, and William Wilson, a highly profitable coal master, who both lent a selection of Dutch, Flemish, Italian and Scottish paintings.<sup>57</sup> The quality of this local art collection provided evidence of a cultured civic leadership in Falkirk for it was a respectable display of accumulated wealth. By lending their paintings to a town exhibition these men indicated both aristocratic leanings and a dedication to 'giving back' by elevating public taste.<sup>58</sup> Predictably, it was the art display that was highlighted in the press, not the touring photographs. "It is almost impossible to over estimate the importance of art as an agency for elevating the mind", wrote one reviewer, who in the same article suggested the photographs were "the least interesting portion of the exhibition."<sup>59</sup>

A union with the Society of Arts had given local leaders the impetus to publicly legitimise their place in local civic life by demonstrating their association with the finer arts. Therefore, for Falkirk, the importance of the event was the site of the exhibition

---

<sup>56</sup> "Photographic and Fine Arts Exhibition," *Falkirk Herald*, 21st September 1854. "Falkirk Art Exhibition," *Falkirk Herald*, 28th September 1854. "Falkirk Fine Arts Exhibition: Second Notice," *Falkirk Herald*, 5th October 1854. Thanks to Falkirk Library for these references.

<sup>57</sup> "List of Pictures and Engravings, 1861," *James Russel of Blackbraes Trust Papers*. (Falkirk, UK: Falkirk Council Archives). Reference number A1808.102. Thanks to archivist Jean Jamieson and local historian William Anderson for this.

<sup>58</sup> For more on the purchase and exhibition of art by the Victorian middle classes see: Macleod, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*. Especially chapter four: "Money and Mainstream mid-Victorian Values."

<sup>59</sup> "Photographic and Fine Arts Exhibition." 21<sup>st</sup> September 1854.

itself, rather than the actual photographs. By contrast, the professionals and traders who commanded Aberdeen's affairs were specifically interested in aligning themselves with London standards. Their response to the tour was to call for submissions from local photographers and organise a complementary exhibition. It is this Aberdeen display that truly illustrates how the Society of Arts' exhibition stimulated commercial photography in Scotland.

### **Aberdeen's Photographic Exhibition**

Aberdeen's committee had a strong affiliation to the photographic field, which is most certainly why they launched a complementary show. Andrew Fyfe had been president of the Institute in 1848, and was well known to have given one of the first lectures on photography in Edinburgh during 1839. Fyfe had become professor of chemistry at King's College in 1844, and had also served as the vice president of the Society of Arts for the Encouragement of the Useful Arts, founded in 1821 by David Brewster.<sup>60</sup> Several committee members were also actively involved in the photographic trade in 1853, and used the Society of Arts' exhibition to bolster their business. One such individual was Ernest Donald, a provision curer turned photographer, who had listed himself as a *Daguerreotype Artist* in the 1851 census and submitted twelve of his images to the 1853 exhibition.<sup>61</sup> By 1861, Donald had become a clerk, but, when he first shifted careers in the early 1850s he must have grasped the opportunity to market his photographic skill at this exhibition. Also on the committee was James Hay, a carver,

---

<sup>60</sup> Morrison-Low, "Photography in Edinburgh in 1839," in *Scottish Photography Bulletin*. 28-31.

<sup>61</sup>In 1850, Ernest Donald was a committee member of the Aberdeen Mechanics' Institute. He was listed on the opening page of the 24<sup>th</sup> Report as a "provision curer." In 1852, in the 26<sup>th</sup> Aberdeen Mechanics' Institute Report, he is listed as "Daguerreotypist." The following year, 1853, he has changed his title to "Photographer." All reports in: *Aberdeen Mechanics' Institution*. 1824-1880.

gilder and picture framer, whose brother John junior was in the process of setting up a new photographic business with George Washington Wilson.<sup>62</sup>

Wilson and Hay submitted twenty-two calotype portraits, two landscapes and several stereoscopic views to the 1853 exhibition. This was just months after they had become partners. Wilson had previously run a small business as a portrait miniaturist. In 1852 he moved to Crown Street, a prestigious area adjacent to the main retail thoroughfare of Union Street, joined forces with Hay and expanded his interests in commercial portrait photography.<sup>63</sup> With Hay's brother James on the committee of the Mechanics' Institute, the partners had every chance of being successful with their entries for the exhibition. Indeed, their submissions rivalled the more established studio of Thomas Rodger (1832-1883) from St Andrews, and the highly regarded partners James Ross (c. 1815-1895) and John Thomson (c. 1808-1881) from Edinburgh.

Other commercial photographers featured in Aberdeen's exhibition were all starting businesses during these years. These included John Lamb (c. 1828-1896) and John Bisset (b. 1830), both local photographers with permanent studios from 1854 and 1863 respectively.<sup>64</sup> The Aberdeen Mechanics' Institute decided to organise the event in an attempt to raise the profile of their city as the centre of photography in the north. The committee members appointed three judges to award prizes for best photographs in various categories, and they were chosen for their combined ability to assess art, taste and scientific quality. All three judges also submitted their photographs to the local

---

<sup>62</sup> John and his two sons, James and John Jr., ran J. & J. Hay carvers and gilders, frame-makers and picture restorers. They had workshops in Guestrow and a shop on Market Street that also sold mathematical, scientific and philosophical instruments. See Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-1893*. 16.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-93*. 9.

<sup>64</sup> They were almost certainly operating before this. These dates just represent the first time they listed themselves in the post office directory.

exhibition. They were James Giles, a local artist and photographer, as well as a member of the Royal Scottish Academy (est. 1826) and a photographic collector; Thomas Todd, an amateur Aberdonian photographer from the landed gentry; and James Ross, from Edinburgh's commercial studio Ross and Thomson. The only rule for entries was that prints should not be coloured or touched up in any way. Any process, whether collodion or calotype, was acceptable.<sup>65</sup> Lamb and Wilson both won medals. This suggests their businesses were evenly matched for quality. Lamb received a bronze in portraiture and a special silver medal for the excellent quality and progressive edge of their collodio-calotype portraits.<sup>66</sup>

Medals and awards were key components of early industrial exhibitions. They particularly helped highlight innovation and define standards. Those photographers who won medals in 1853 did so for demonstrating ingenuity and dexterity. Wilson and Hay, for example, had advanced Archer's 1851 collodion process by augmenting it with the older calotype process. Conversely, the three judges announced they had not awarded a medal for daguerreotype portraits because they felt none of the entries exhibited any "degree of advancement in the art" to warrant such a prize.<sup>67</sup>

Prizes meant prestige. However, they also located the exhibition as a site in which 'useful' improvements could be found, which was especially important during an era when the ideology of utilitarianism dominated middle class values. The founder of the utilitarian philosophy, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), had popularised the notion that any work deemed "useful" had a moral worth that was ideal for countering such sins as sloth

---

<sup>65</sup> "Photographic Exhibition," *The Aberdeen Free Press*, 9th December 1853.

<sup>66</sup> "Photographic Exhibition," *The Aberdeen Journal*, 7th December 1853. This is also mentioned in: "Report of the Judges," in *Catalogue of Photographic Exhibition at the Aberdeen Mechanics' Institution*.

6.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

and idleness.<sup>68</sup> Bentham stated that the arts and sciences “constitute innocent employments”, and were “excellent substitutes for drunkenness, slander, and the love of gaming.”<sup>69</sup> At the core of Bentham’s ideology was an insistence that anyone could be civilised, and anything had meaning, if a moral value or specific use for such a person or thing could be substantiated.<sup>70</sup> Therefore, while an exhibition cleverly elevated the aesthetic potential of photography, medals and awards ensured the photographers themselves were seen to be making a difference. Prizes validated the useful contribution their products were making to society. As members of the middle class themselves, photographers were highly conscious of the need to substantiate the value and use of their work, and evidence of this lies in their professional publications. A photograph was not just a commodity catering to the fanciful whims of its sitter; it was discussed in journals and papers in terms of its educational, scientific, commercial, artistic and personal value.<sup>71</sup> This was a currency that helped new commercial photographers establish their profile as valuable contributors to the moral fabric of society.

Within the photographic community itself, exhibition awards also crucially functioned as a means of codifying and assessing standards. In Aberdeen during 1853, it

---

<sup>68</sup> For more on how seriously Victorians viewed art’s uses see: Sachko, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*. (As quoted in Introduction). Also see: Maureen Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London, UK and New York, NY: Continuum, 2006). And, Tim Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, NJ and London, UK: Yale University Press, 2005).

<sup>69</sup> Jeremy Bentham, *The Rationale of Reward* (London, UK: John H. L. Hunt, 1825). 205-208. Quoted in: Charles Harrison, Paul Wood and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory, 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford, UK and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998). 151.

<sup>70</sup> Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 78.

<sup>71</sup> From the very start, Talbot’s *Pencil of Nature* (1844-1846), for example, initiated the debate about how many ways a photograph provided value to modern society. Talbot specifically designed the publication so it would highlight how photography could be used to reproduce art works, preserve images of crumbling architecture and record personal household goods for insurance purposes. Photographic journals and newspapers subsequently picked up the discussion. During the Crimea for instance photographs were celebrated for documenting the field of war, and, as cities were regenerated, the camera was praised for recording historic buildings. See: "Editorial," *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 1, no. 4 (1854). 45. Photographs were also valued as aids for artists, teachers and even business men, for they could be used to study nature more intently, as a teaching tool or for recording the assets and projects of a company. See: Rev. W. J. Read, “ ‘On the Application of Photography’, a Lecture given 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1856 at Manchester Photographic Society,” *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 9 and 13 (1856). 127-131 and 201-204.

was well understood that standards for Scottish photography were being set by the Society of Arts' exhibition. One critic suggested that, while the portraits of local photographers were "in no respect inferior to their southern brethren", the landscapes contributed by the London-based photographers far surpassed anything the Scots had sent in for exhibition.<sup>72</sup> Another reviewer hoped that the photographs by England's "great masters" would "excite" a "healthful spirit of emulation" in Scotland.<sup>73</sup> It is what exactly local photographers were expected to emulate that we turn to next.

### **A British Picturesque**

As mentioned above, the 1853 tour was made up of photographs previously exhibited at the London Photographic Society's first exhibition in 1852, which, in itself, was an event spurred on by the lack of medals awarded to British photographers in the Great Exhibition.<sup>74</sup> This was an exhibition driven by London-based photographers and was, therefore, dominated by their images. Ross and Thomson had contributed seventeen albumen images to the first 1852 exhibition, just one of which (Melrose Abbey) was included in the Society of Arts' follow-up tour. And this was the only photograph from any Scottish photographer. The Edinburgh partners were well regarded by this time as the best progenitors of the albumen process in the nation. This was the main reason their image of Melrose was included in the 1853 tour.<sup>75</sup> This was an exhibition designed to demonstrate how admirably London-based talent met advancements in the field of photography. The works were chosen specially to illustrate fundamental techniques and processes, while the accompanying catalogue included a "familiar account of the general

---

<sup>72</sup> "Photographic Exhibition." *Aberdeen Journal*, 21<sup>st</sup> December 1853.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* *Aberdeen Journal*, 7<sup>th</sup> December 1853.

<sup>74</sup> It was felt, for example, that the Frenchman Gustave Le Gray's work had been superior to that of the English photographer Roger Fenton; hence Paris had symbolically surpassed London in photographic talent.

<sup>75</sup> As early as 1850 David Brewster had told the British Association for the Advancement of Science, while at their meeting in Edinburgh, that albumen was one of the most radical improvements in photography and had been "brought to such perfection in this city by Messrs Ross and Thomson." See: "British Association," *The Scotsman*, 3rd August 1850.

principles upon which the practice is founded.”<sup>76</sup> It was presented as a picture of national photography and a canon with which professional standards for the aesthetics and chemistry of photography could be judged. Samples from English innovators of the art, including Talbot and Archer, were placed alongside European rivals, including Gustave Le Gray (1820-1884) and Paul Pretsch (1803-1873), the Austrian developing a new process for printing photographs.<sup>77</sup> These key works were then surrounded by photographs from the new London Photographic Society, who were establishing themselves as the British representatives. Roger Fenton (1819-1869), for instance, was the Photographic Society’s secretary and had the most images in the exhibition. From the forty-one photographs Fenton had submitted to the original 1852 London exhibition, ten were chosen for the national tour. There were woodland scenes of an old oak and a mill, as well as studies of churches and castles (figure 1). Fenton was well known for founding London’s calotype club with his colleague, and fellow of the Society of Arts, Phillip Delamotte (1821-1889). Delamotte also had photographs in both the first and second touring exhibitions. His were images depicting ancient castles and quiet aspects of English life: an arch, some trees, a well, and a pond (figure 2). Similarly, the vice president of the Photographic Society, Sir William Newton (1785-1869), submitted a series of eight calotypes entitled, *Beech Trees in Burnham Wood* (figure 3). As a miniature painter, Newton was primarily concerned with extolling the artistic virtues of the soft and hazy calotype, and accordingly he, and the other “English calotypists”, won high praise in newspaper reviews for the “delicate beauty” and “grandeur” of his pictures.<sup>78</sup> These three men had a total of twenty seven images in a touring exhibition of

---

<sup>76</sup> *Catalogue of Photographic Exhibition at the Aberdeen Mechanics’ Institution*. 5.

<sup>77</sup> Pretsch was a manager for the Imperial Government Printing Office in Vienna. He patented his photo-galvanography process in 1854. He opened a photo printing company in London in 1856 and employed Roger Fenton as his photographer and manager. For more on the process of photo-galvanography, and on Pretsch and Fenton see: John Hannavy, *Roger Fenton* (Boston, MA: David Godine, 1976).

<sup>78</sup> "Photographic Exhibition." "Photographic Exhibition."

just eighty three frames. All were scenes highlighting the antique, time-honoured qualities of the English landscape. One Aberdeen described this range of images as:

...the peaceful village – the unassuming church, among its tombstones and trees – the gnarled oak, standing alone in the forest – intricate mazes of tangled woods, reflected in some dark pool – shocks of corn, drooping with their weight of grain – the quiet stream, with its water lilies and rustic bridge – the wild upland pass, with its foreground of crumbling rock and purple heather – or the still lake – so still, that you must drop a stone into its surface before you can tell which is the real village on its margin, and which the reflection.<sup>79</sup>

This quiet solitude and wanton stillness was the best practical subject matter for the long exposures still required for taking photographs. However, the images built an affiliation with a privileged time and place, away from the clamour of urban life or uncertainty inherent in a rural working class existence. It did so by relying on the picturesque tradition that highlighted the painterly qualities, rather than the real context, of a landscape.<sup>80</sup> Gilpin's treatise on how to find and design picturesque scenes had, by this time, been taken up so enthusiastically by writers and painters that it was fuelling commercial tourism for those in search of 'picturesque Britain'. As Malcolm Andrews has suggested, there was a paradox inherent in this quest, which lay in the fact that people were encouraged to, first, "discover nature untouched by man" then, second, 'improve' the scene by comparing and associating it with foreign literary and artistic precedents. Tying local landscape to ancient Greek and Roman texts or the seventeenth century landscape paintings of Claude Lorraine, were examples of how a landscape's 'natural' qualities might be enhanced.<sup>81</sup> This may have been anathema to the realities of living in Britain, but the picturesque aesthetic gave Victorians an English code, by which

---

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Before Gilpin's ideas, landscape in painting was only considered the backdrop against which historical or literary narratives were played out. For more on this see: Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, eds., *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics since 1770*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>81</sup> Malcolm Andrews. *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1989). 3.

landscapes could be interpreted, understood and appreciated. Taylor has noted, “once the eye had been trained to distinguish a picturesque view, the individual would be amply rewarded by the unfolding panorama of the British landscape, with pleasure at every stage and the ultimate prize the emotional response triggered by locating the faultless view.”<sup>82</sup> By the 1840s, wealthy middle class citizens were taking their new cameras into the landscape and searching for these ‘natural’ landscapes. They took advantage of new road, railway and steamer routes to find views untainted by industry and their images dominated the first photographic exhibitions in Britain.

In its call for members across Britain to join “in union” and help disseminate a national standard of instruction, the Society of Arts personified the English ideological stance of civilised inclusion. The photographic exhibition in 1853 aimed to unite regional photographers together under a British umbrella of education. This was understood by the Aberdonians who received it. One review marvelled:

The Members of the Photographic Society of London, at the instigation of the Society of Arts, have, with the most noble and disinterested generosity, individually contributed some of their finest specimens, both British and Foreign, of this new and fascinating art, so as to form an itinerating collection, which shall be capable of affording to the inhabitants of the chief towns in the United Kingdom the same pure, intense, and unprecedented gratification and surprise which London has already experienced from the same source.<sup>83</sup>

It was to be understood that the public would be treated to a display of national photographs, which represented the most innovative photographic practice and the canon from which the medium was growing. It had been pre-approved in London and exhibited at educational institutes; therefore it was suitably cultivated and designed to teach. What it taught was that trees, quiet country lanes and historic sites were appropriate subject

---

<sup>82</sup> Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 77.

<sup>83</sup> "Photographic Exhibition." *Aberdeen Journal*. 7<sup>th</sup> Dec, 1853.

matter for the very best landscape photography. This prompted local photographers to seek out similar views and thereby construct a unified picture of Britain. As historian Grace Seiberling has noted, trees like the beech and oak were symbols of a time honoured tradition, especially during a period of rapid change. Seiberling observed:

Because of the demands of the British navy for timber and of the early Industrial Revolution for fuel, old trees were likely to have survived only in protected places and in areas that were untouched by the changes going on in the country at large...Trees were picturesque objects that could be emblems of places and of a way of life...they figured as survivors...<sup>84</sup>

As a tangible result of the Society of Arts' support of Britain's unionism this photographic exhibition set a precedent to which all photographers were asked to aspire. It illustrated how local scenes could become British with the use of picturesque symbols. Other exhibitions that followed in its wake reinforced this ideal. In Dundee, for example, David Brewster and Lord Kinnaird of Rossie (figure 4) led a committee to organise a photographic exhibition from March to April 1854, which might raise funds to build a new infirmary.<sup>85</sup> Described in a Liverpool-based journal as "an admirable exposition" by "northern friends", the event was said to contain "many of the finest specimens, or duplicates, of the various styles of photography exhibited in London."<sup>86</sup> In fact, it was dominated by images by members of London's Photographic Society who collaborated with Dundee's committee to organise the exhibition.<sup>87</sup> Out of 478 photographs on display there was a meagre selection of images from Scottish photographers. The local Dundonian James Valentine exhibited just two frames, each containing a selection of studio portraits. Ross and Thomson and James Good Tunny (1820-1887) of Edinburgh

---

<sup>84</sup> Seiberling and Bloore, *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination*. 57.

<sup>85</sup> "Editorial." *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 1, no. 2 (1854). 13.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 1, no. 4 (1854). 45.

<sup>87</sup> At the end of the catalogue it reads: "The committee of management thank the London Photographic Society and numerous contributors for enabling them to present to the public such an extensive and magnificent collection..." in *Exhibition of Photographic Pictures in Dundee* (Dundee, UK: Committee of Management, 1854). 4. A copy of this is held at the Dundee Central Library, Local History Department. 430 (1).

also displayed two frames, while Wilson and Hay contributed fourteen new collodion portraits.

The vast majority of photographs came from a wide range of English contemporaries. This included the commercial photographer Francis Bedford (1816-1894), who sent in a range of images of farms, cloud formations and antique objects. As well as, the amateur photographer Samuel Buckle (c. 1816-1860), who submitted images of Peterborough, Lincoln and Wells Cathedral, and Dr. Hugh Welch Diamond (1809-1886), who exhibited his photographs of the ‘insane’, alongside portraits of intellectuals and coastal scenes. There were images from other parts of the United Kingdom, including the Welsh photographer John Dillwyn Llewellyn (1810-1882), one of the founding members of the London Photographic Society, whose twenty-four photographs captured the coastline of Wales in a suitably picturesque frame (figures 5 and 6).<sup>88</sup> Both Fenton and Delamotte exhibited works that had previously featured in the 1853 touring exhibition. Fenton had twenty-four images of views, ranging from his images of Burnham Beeches and Moscow, to scenes of Tintern Abbey and Raglan Castle. While Delamotte exhibited twenty-two scenes from Sydenham and the Crystal Palace, to Northumberland views of the Coquet River and Brinkburn Priory (figure 7).

That the images came predominantly from South of the border was irrelevant. The goal was to curate the best exhibition of photography any city in Scotland had witnessed, and it was a direct response to the Society of Arts’ national tour. Both Kinnaird and Brewster were actively involved in the Scottish Society of Arts, St Andrews’ Literary

---

<sup>88</sup> Llewellyn was married to Emma Talbot, cousin of William Henry Fox Talbot. See Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 341.

and Philosophical Society,<sup>89</sup> and Edinburgh's Photographic Society of Scotland.<sup>90</sup> While Brewster was based in St Andrews, Kinnaird had strong connections to Dundee where he led many philanthropic initiatives including the Industrial Schools Society, allotment and housing associations for workers, as well as temperance coffee houses and Band of Hope groups. An exhibition promoting a new art, in aid of improving the health of a town that required education and elucidation, was therefore an ideal project.

The lack of Scottish content is tangible, but the onslaught of images reinforced a particular standard for a British picturesque and it was beginning to establish specific criteria for photographing Scotland's landscape. The prescience for picturing Britain as a nation entwined with local tradition dominated the 1854 exhibition in Dundee. Most landscapes were of castles, cathedrals, medieval forts, cottages and priories all picturesquely entrenched in their 'natural' surroundings. Scottish photographers were being encouraged to follow this design plan. Critics, for instance, praised Ross and Thomson's views of Edinburgh (figure 8) but, at the same time, hoped the partners might turn their cameras to more idyllic scenery. One critic begged them to go beyond the city "into the Highlands" and capture: "those ruined fanes rendered sacred by the historical associations, so that we might possess a few more of such truthful and picturesque copies of nature."<sup>91</sup>

One photographer who did take note of this advice was George Washington Wilson, who, in 1854, was just setting up business by himself. There is no documentary evidence that Wilson travelled to see the Dundee exhibition but he submitted works and certainly would have been aware of its contents. Indeed, Wilson's later views of Staffa (chapter

---

<sup>89</sup> Brewster set-up the society and received some of the earliest calotype samples from Talbot in 1838.

<sup>90</sup> Brewster was nominated first President in 1856 and Kinnaird was an honourable member.

<sup>91</sup> "Photography in Scotland," *The Art Journal* (1854). 100.

two, figure 3) show a striking similarity to Llewellyn's photographs of the rugged Welsh coast (figure 6) on display in Dundee. It was in 1854 that Wilson sold his first landscape views, from his first excursions outside Aberdeen, south west along the River Dee and north west along the River Don. It is easy to see the influence of the London photographers on Wilson's earliest choice of subject matter, which focused almost entirely on views of old mills and bridges. *Old Mill at Cults* and *Brig O' Balgownie* (figure 9) are examples of his very first images and emphasise how a Scottish landscape fits squarely within the principles of the British picturesque. In the latter instance, the bridge at Balgownie had been the main trade and military route over the River Don since the thirteenth century. By the 1850s it was only used by local traffic, for a modern crossing had been built further up the river in the mid-1830s (Fig. 10). The old bridge was a site laden with history and references to Scottish identity, but is crafted with a picturesque aesthetic that makes it look quite like a quiet English village. It has the requisite history but it is a hushed and subdued scene that becomes part of a British countryside and is not solely recognized as Scottish.

By 1855 Wilson was travelling further north to Elgin and south west into Braemar (figures 11 and 12) and Ballater. His photographs continued to highlight the rivers, bridges, trees and ancient architecture that defined Scotland's identity as both unique and integral to Great Britain. Views of Aberdeen's Castle Street, the Bridge of Don, Ballater and Elgin Cathedral were advertised for sale at 3/6 in the local paper and sold well from Brown's Bookstall, which was managed by Wilson's friend and forthcoming travelling companion, George Walker.<sup>92</sup> These images were first seen by a

---

<sup>92</sup> George Walker, *Private Journals*, 20 Vols., (Aberdeen, UK: Central Library – Local Studies Reference Department). Walker's journals give an account of several trips Wilson and he took to gather images across Scotland. These will be discussed in further detail in chapter two. His landscape prices were advertised in

national audience during the exhibition being organised by Glaswegian photographers in conjunction with the British Association for the Advancement of Science's (BAAS) annual meeting in September 1855, then again, the following year, at the Photographic Society of Scotland's inaugural exhibit in Edinburgh.

In a review of this latter 1856 exhibition, Sutton restated his concerns that photography should contemplate "the little nooks and corners of British scenery." More explicitly listing the key elements photographers should be looking for, including:

...the Cottages and Hedge-Rows; the quiet Pools with their reflexions of images on their banks; the corn-fields backed by Beeches or Elms; the worn-out Water-mills with wheels 'in most admired desordre' – the Old Churches, ivy tufted, and embosomed among Yews and Sycamours [sic].<sup>93</sup>

Sutton found his apotheosis for this ideal in the collodion prints of English amateur Henry White. He described White's work with delighted admiration:

His contributions are numerous; dealing little with Architecture, and chiefly delineating corn-fields, woody glades, the banks of rivers, with reflexions of trees or water plants in still pools, hedgerows with all their trailing weeds and brambles; bits which any one who looks for them may encounter almost at his door, and yet producing a magical impression by their blending of detail with general effect.<sup>94</sup>

An Englishman based in Jersey, Sutton was a vociferous advocate for improving British regional landscape photography. He believed that practitioners in Scotland and northern England were at an advantage in the quest for building a picturesque image of Britain. This was mostly because they were "enviably situated in being within an easy distance of magnificent ruins, and grand natural scenery."<sup>95</sup> Fittingly, the Photographic

---

the newspapers, for example: "Mr G. W. Wilson: Artist and Photographer, 19 Guestrow," *Aberdeen Journal*, 25th April 1855.

<sup>93</sup> Thomas Sutton, "First Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland," *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 19 (1857). 26.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Thomas Sutton, "Editorial," *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 11 (1856). 168.

Society of Scotland's first exhibition in 1856 had a number of Scottish views, including a series of photographs of Braemar, Balmoral and Roslyn Chapel by the London-based Fenton (figure 13). As though confirming the appropriate subject matter for picturesque Britain, Fenton's images focused on the elements of natural beauty, aristocratic wealth and ancient tradition that Wilson's images, exhibited the year before in Glasgow, had also captured. Many Scottish photographers followed in their wake. Ross and Thomson's views of a Highland farm, the head of Loch Katrine in the Trossachs and a cemetery in Edinburgh, gave Scotland the primitive, literary and ancient characteristics expected of a picturesque land. While Horatio Ross (1801-1886), the amateur photographer and founding member of the Photographic Society of Scotland, submitted over fifty images, many of which were part of a narrative on stag hunting and stalking in the Highlands (figures 14 and 15). From an eagle shot on the wing, to dead stags and leaping salmon, Ross's photographs of Highland glens and burns were said to be attracting "great attention." They were the quintessence of the "picturesque", providing the viewer with a "dexterous" and "vivid" description of a gentrified sport.<sup>96</sup>

The gathering of scenes like this in an exhibition is akin to the gathering of the clans under the uniting banner of patriotism. However, what should have been a clamour of voices and disorder was instead a tranquil mediation, void of commotion. The images capturing national attention were calm reflections of a united land. They said little about the realities of life, but were driven by an English ideal of what Britain's homeland should look like, and how Scotland's wilder landscapes could be tamed by the English

---

<sup>96</sup> Thomas Sutton, "First Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland: Second Notice," *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 20 (1857). 45-46.

gentleman. As one reviewer remarked, after describing the bountiful landscapes in the exhibition, it was a show for discerning viewers who enjoy gazing at “beautiful things.”<sup>97</sup>

An artistic canon had been initiated by the Society of Arts’ photographs, on tour during 1853 and 1854, and was being encouraged in the following years by writers like Sutton, who reviewed exhibitions to give practitioners specific guidelines on achieving civilised imagery. In response, photographers turned obediently to the babbling brook and solid oak, to the medieval ruin and the cathedral wall, to produce a picture of Britain that was seen as honest, time worn and natural. It brokered a picture of Scotland that could be translated in English terms as a British gentleman’s playground, while neatly avoiding any references to the realities of industrial capitalism. Even when photographers did take images of industry, they were cloaked in a picturesque aesthetic that glossed over contemporary life. The picturesque was a flexible term, understood by Victorian audiences as a set of principles that helped them intellectualise landscapes. Thus, even an image such as Wilson’s *Rubislaw Quarry* (figure 16), that was on display in Glasgow’s 1855 BAAS exhibition, could be translated in terms of the picturesque. The quarry was the antithesis of the quiet country village, for it depicted a raw landscape, severed by man in support of a burgeoning building trade. It literally illustrated the vicissitudes of Aberdeen’s built environment, which was rapidly expanding as the middle classes demanded larger retail warehouses, grander municipal buildings and new private residences. Metaphorically, however, this was also landscape that inferred hard work, human ingenuity and profitable trade; all perfectly respectable elements of a gentleman’s sense of capitalist endeavour. It also held symbolic associations to the ancient classical arts of architecture and sculpture, recalling how civilisations had successfully harnessed

---

<sup>97</sup> "Photo Exhibition," *The Scotsman*, 1st January 1857.

nature in the pursuit of progress. In this same exhibition in Glasgow, there were photographs of Roman ruins taken by Robert Macpherson.<sup>98</sup> These provided viewers with an ideal comparison to contemplate such a philosophy. Both kinds of images provided key features Victorians would be looking for in a picturesque view, including a framed composition that balances tones and forms with clear references to history, the fine arts and cultural endeavours. This was also reinforced by the exhibition itself, which was an adjunct to a meeting for a British Association of gentlemen who were bringing ‘conversazione culture’ to Glasgow in 1855. As a “polite” form of education and entertainment for the middle classes, the conversazione mixed business with pleasure, specifically, placing science “alongside art, music, history and literature”, for the mutual benefit of both professionals and the wider public.<sup>100</sup>

### **The Professional and Commercial**

Established in 1831, the BAAS was created in hopes of uniting local philosophical associations “to give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry” by improving national networks for communicating ideas.<sup>101</sup> The state of science was described as unwieldy at the time. It had become a popular pursuit and was therefore becoming “detached from the central body”, like “colony after colony” being severed from a “declining empire”, which needed to be re-ordered and surveyed.

---

<sup>98</sup> Macpherson sent in twenty five frames, which included ruins, arches, temples and sculptures from Rome. This list can be found on the website: Taylor, "Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839-1865." For more information on Macpherson see: Ray McKenzie, "Scottish Photographers in Nineteenth-Century Italy: Robert Macpherson and His Contemporaries," *History of Photography* 20 (1996). 33-40; David Wooters, "The Quiet Art of Robert Macpherson: An Explication," *History of Photography* 20 (1996). 2-3; Marjorie Munsterberg, "A Biographical Sketch of Robert Macpherson," *The Art Bulletin* 68, no. 1 (1986). 142-53.

<sup>100</sup> For more on this see Alberti, "Conversations and the Experience of Science in Victorian England." 208-230. Quotes here from, 222-224.

<sup>101</sup> This and the following few quotes are from a speech at the first meeting given by Rev. William Vernon Harcourt, Canon of York, and the first general secretary of the Association. Quoted in O. J. R. Howarth, *The British Association for the Advancement of Science: A Retrospect 1831-1931* (London: The British Association, 1931). 16-26.

The BAAS was formed to bring together all philosophical groups across the British Empire and centralize knowledge. Accordingly, it was the archetypal Imperial institute; an overarching body of power guiding local activities judicially and patricianly from the centre. As it roamed from city to city, the BAAS was received with gratitude, its members like children responding to paternal dedication. In 1855, Glasgow City Council, the university and philosophical society petitioned the Association to hold its meeting in their city. When the invitation was accepted there was jubilation. A meeting was held in the Council Hall in February to organise a committee. It was reported in the *Herald*, that the “noblemen and gentlemen” of the committee wished to improve upon the experience fifteen years prior, when the British Association had met in Glasgow for the first time. The urban centre had grown immensely since 1840 and it was seen as imperative that a “hearty welcome” be prepared to show members of the Association how gratified the whole community of Glasgow was “to see assembled a phalanx so illustrious.”<sup>102</sup> Despite this beneficence, the desire to host the BAAS’s annual meeting was based on pragmatism. As a professional British body, the Association provided a national platform upon which local businesses could publicise their work. The photographic community in Glasgow was nascent but growing steadily and, like the Aberdonians who had organised their own exhibition when the Society of Arts visited their town, the Glaswegian photographers seized the opportunity to exhibit their work to a much wider audience. As a result, the year after the BAAS’s visit in 1855, commercial studios in Glasgow doubled in number.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> "British Association's Meeting at Glasgow," *Glasgow Herald*, 12th February 1855.

<sup>103</sup> There were nine registered businesses in 1855 and twenty-two in 1856. The first time “Photographic Artist” was listed in Glasgow’s Post Office Directory was in the 1854-55 edition. The following nine names were recorded: H. L. Bito; B. Desahris; Cornelius Jabez Hughes; Louis Magues; James Panton; John Taylor; John Urie; J. P. White; Steven Young. The following year, in the 1856-1857 directory, there were twenty two names registered as “Photographic Artists”. The list read: Berwick and Annan; Bibo; Bowman; Dessurne; Dewar; Eadie; Flounders; Gardiner; Gourlay; Hardie and Naismith; Magneus; Morris; Panton, J and Co.; Ralston; Reid; Stewart; Taylor; Urie; Urie and Magues; Werge; White; Young. See: “Trade Listings and Advertisements,” *Glasgow Post Office Directories* (1854-1857). As well as this, in

The exhibition of photographs was initially to be “a series of photographic views by amateur and professional photographers,” that complemented the tours of the surrounding countryside planned for BAAS delegates, including a trip to Arran and the Trossachs.<sup>104</sup> However, the resulting exhibition contained more views of England than anywhere else. Archer, for instance, submitted over twenty photographs, including castles and cathedrals, ancient university buildings and quiet English valleys and vales (figure 17). However, where Aberdeen’s 1853 exhibition had been a spontaneous gathering of regional photographers, and Dundee’s 1854 event a replica of London’s edifying example, Glasgow’s 1855 exhibition was designed to be photography’s first Great Exhibition. Therefore it was quantity that mattered most. Modelled on the precepts of the Crystal Palace, 506 photographic frames were displayed in a retail warehouse on Buchanan Street.<sup>105</sup> It was an unabashedly vast market, within which photographs were available for purchase; and specifically submitted for that purpose. Tunny of Edinburgh, for example, not only submitted views and portraits, but enclosed a sketch for the organisers illustrating how he wished his photographs to be hung in the exhibition and how much they should be sold for. Frames, holding up to nine small prints, contained images of Edinburgh worthies, like D. O. Hill and Lord Cockburn, as well as scenes from the old and new town. All Tunny’s prints were for sale individually from 4/6, while he was asking over £2 for a panoramic print of Edinburgh (figure 18).<sup>106</sup> John Werge, who had just opened a studio in Glasgow, even offered a souvenir of the event by submitting

---

1856 Sutton announced that 108 Glasgow subscribers were now purchasing his journal. See: Thomas Sutton, “Editorial,” *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 11 (15<sup>th</sup> September 1856). 167-168.

<sup>104</sup> “The Approaching Meeting of the British Association in Glasgow,” *Glasgow Herald*, 11th June 1855.

<sup>105</sup> “British Association’s Meeting at Glasgow.” *Glasgow Herald*, 12<sup>th</sup> February 1855. The exhibition was used as an opportunity to market the furnishing business of Lohead and Wylie, who had just taken on the premises. Robert Wylie, who was on the sub-committee for arranging suitable accommodation for the BAAS’s visit, must have seized the chance to invite illustrious visitors into his new warehouse.

<sup>106</sup> James Good Tunny, “Photographs being sent to the Glasgow Photographic Exhibition, 1855,” in *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*.

two photographs of the warehouse's upper galleries where the exhibition was being held. Others were selling portraits of local celebrities or well crafted tableaux. Rodger of St Andrews submitted collodion pictures of artists, professors and politicians as well as a novel caricature of the Hungarian violinist Eduard Remenyi (figure 19). Remenyi had toured Germany with Brahms in 1853, before coming to Scotland and playing a local concert in St Andrews in 1855.<sup>107</sup> Rodger's photograph was a unique image of a musical celebrity, its blend of humour and realism ably experimenting with new avenues for photographic portraiture.

Just like the Crystal Palace before it, this exhibition skilfully blended commercial trade with skill, professionalism and innovation; all precepts that were highly regarded in Victorian middle class life and lay at the heart of the BAAS. It was well known, for example, that many Association members were involved with the Observatory at Kew, and actively interested in celestial photography.<sup>108</sup> During the previous year's annual meeting in Liverpool they challenged photographers to capture the moon, offering a reward of more than £11 to the individual who achieved the most clarity.<sup>109</sup> It is therefore no surprise that Glasgow's photographers wished to advertise any photographs related to the field of astronomy. John Werge sent three prints of the moon, all of which were praised for their adept magnification of the lunar surface.<sup>110</sup> Similarly, the new calotype business of Berwick and Annan submitted a print of the Glasgow Observatory (figure

---

<sup>107</sup> Karen Johnston, *Thomas Rodger 1832-1883: A Biography and Catalogue of Selected Work* Unpublished Thesis, 3 vols., vol. 1 (St Andrews, UK: University of St Andrews, 1997). 42.

<sup>108</sup> In 1851 the British Association heard a report on the room at Kew observatory set up to take photographs of the sun and stars. See: Howarth, *The British Association for the Advancement of Science*. 164-165.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid. 269. This had swiftly prompted the Liverpool Photographic Society to start a journal, which would eventually become the *British Journal of Photography*.

<sup>110</sup> "Photographic Exhibition," *The Glasgow Herald*, 17th September 1855.

20), as well as a portrait of Professor Wilson, the first lecturer of practical astronomy at the University of Glasgow.<sup>111</sup>

As a site of discourse for members hoping to advance the field of science, the 1855 BAAS meeting provided Glasgow's photographers with an ideal national platform to market their wares in a professional, 'gentlemanly', environment. But it also granted them a unique chance to demonstrate the length and breadth of photographic practice in Scotland. Glasgow's 1855 exhibition was a meta-narrative surveying Scottish photography. It constructed a linear history with a wide range of photographic processes, from the older traditions of the calotype and daguerreotype to the newer innovations of the collodion and photo-lithography. Hill and Adamson's hazy Newhaven calotypes were displayed alongside precise modern collodion prints of fisher folk by studio owners like John Urie. The range of processes on view provided evidence that commercial photographers were just as innovative as their English peers. Urie had been working in Glasgow for many years as a wood-engraver. He had been using Archer's collodion process since 1852 to transfer photographs onto wood.<sup>112</sup> He was a quintessential entrepreneur, experimenting with chemical processes in an attempt to develop the latest innovation in image-making. He was currently advertising a 'relievo-photographic' process, which he claimed could combine "the best effects of sculpture and painting."<sup>113</sup> Ultimately, this 1855 exhibition allowed studio owners to publicise their commercial ventures as professional practices. John Cramb, for instance, submitted ten frames. Each contained images that displayed his dexterity with innovative techniques. One presented

---

<sup>111</sup> Thomas Annan and George Berwick, "List of Photographs sent to the Photographic Exhibition in Connection with British Association by Berwick and Annan, Glasgow, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1855," in *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. Dr. George Berwick apprenticed with Thomas Rodger in St Andrews and Thomas Annan had set up an engraving business in 1849. For more information, see: Sara Stevenson, "The Doctor, the Lady and the Man Who Printed His Own Money," *Studies in Photography* (2007). 12-18.

<sup>112</sup> Donald McCoo, "John Urie: Portrait Photographer (1820-1910)," *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, no. 2 (1989). 6.

<sup>113</sup> "Trade Listings and Advertisements," *Glasgow Post Office Directories* (1854-1855). 230.

a montage of a family, printed on a piece of paper from nine collodion negatives. Another set showed nine paper positives, all taken from the same negative but in various stages of development, illustrating how the hypo bath could be used to lighten or darken tints in an image. A third frame displayed three portraits, all taken at one sitting with three different processes: the daguerreotype, a collodion positive and a print from a collodion negative.<sup>114</sup> Despite exhibiting an advanced range of skills, Cramb, like the other studio owners, submitted these works to garner publicity, attract clientele and generate profits. It was this brash self-promotion that initiated debate on who should be involved in ‘professional’ exhibitions.

Just a year after Glasgow’s BAAS exhibition, the Photographic Society in London made a controversial resolution that stated: “no photographs will be admitted [to the annual exhibition] that have been exposed in shop windows, or otherwise publicly exhibited in this country.”<sup>115</sup> This sparked a debate on what role societies should play for photographers. Sutton led the field, suggesting they were sites to cultivate professionalism and their exhibitions should therefore focus on displaying new ideas, novelties and experiments, and not provide a platform for trade concerns. He firmly believed that the commercial world should stick to private enterprise, focus on generating workaday images and improving photography’s value as a commodity. Sutton used the field of astronomy as an example. A society’s role here was to provide opportunities for professionals to experiment with chemicals, improve plate sensitivity and exposure speeds, and advance the accuracy of celestial photography. When such innovations have

---

<sup>114</sup> John Cramb, “List of Photographs sent to the Photography Exhibition by John Cramb,” in *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*.

<sup>115</sup> “Approaching Photographic Exhibitions,” *The Photographic News* 1, no. 4 (1858). 36.

been achieved, Sutton argued, the photographs will be widely available as commodities and then should be excluded from ‘professional’ exhibitions.<sup>116</sup>

This attitude reflected peculiarly middle class anxieties concerning trade, and its links to working class labour. Declaring one was in pursuit of professionalism rather than commerce distanced one’s ties to work or the hedonistic quest for money. As a contemporary writer suggested, “the objects of a profession are nobler, more intellectual, of wider range, and confer more happiness than those of a business.”<sup>117</sup> The irony was that most photographers attained their professional status through successful business practices.<sup>118</sup> George Washington Wilson gained a professional reputation by combining commercial portraits of Aberdonian citizens into a single montage in 1857 (figure 21).<sup>119</sup> First displayed locally at Brown’s Bookstall, the montage was then exhibited when the BAAS met in Aberdeen in 1859. It was the use of an innovative technique that highlighted Wilson’s professionalism, but this was based on a keen understanding of the market for photographs. The evidence suggests that Wilson was first a foremost a businessman. By 1859, his portrait business was run by managers. It was by this time, as Taylor notes, that Wilson had carefully defined “the product, market, distribution networks, retail outlets and pricing” for his new line of landscape views.<sup>120</sup> Wilson’s first catalogue of forty-four views had “all the ingredients for success with tourists – castles, cathedrals, waterfalls and worthy architecture.”<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, these views were picked

---

<sup>116</sup> Thomas Sutton, "Editorial," *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 39 (1857). 415-7.

<sup>117</sup> Henry Beyerley Thomson, “The Choice of a Profession,” (1857). Quoted by Barbara Dennis and David Skilton, eds., *Reform and Intellectual Debate in Victorian England*, World and Word Series (London, UK: Croom Helm, 1987). 71.

<sup>118</sup> For a good discussion on this point see: John C. Waller, "Gentlemanly Men of Science: Sir Francis Galton and the Professionalization of the British Life-Sciences," *Journal of the History of Biology* 34, no. 1 (2001). 83-114.

<sup>119</sup> George Walker writes about this in his journal and it will be discussed at greater length in chapter five.

<sup>120</sup> Taylor, "George Washington Wilson: The Man and His Methods - a Photographic and Artistic Assessment ". 10.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

up by the photographic press as being innovative and “so much out of the ordinary class of stereographs” for their delicacy and softness and artistic composition.<sup>122</sup> It was difficult to distinguish what was more impressive, the reviews said, “the wonderful beauty of the pictures themselves or the skill of the photographer to whom we are indebted for them.”<sup>123</sup> Wilson’s shift into landscape photography was an extremely savvy move. It aligned his work with those original amateur photographers who had set parameters for attaining ‘good’ pictures in the very first exhibitions. Thus, at a time when exhibitions were starting to be criticised for being nothing more than market stalls, Wilson took pains to highlight his concern for professional practice rather than high street trade. This is best demonstrated by the reaction to the photography exhibition that was organised in conjunction with the BAAS’s meeting in Aberdeen in 1859. Out of the 479 submissions to this exhibition almost half were views of Britain. The Scottish examples ranged from Wilson’s views of Deeside, Balmoral, Edinburgh and Elgin, to Ross and Thomson’s series of collodion prints that examined nature close up, including photographs of brambles, wild geraniums, as well as birch, beech and larch trees. There were also over twenty images from Lamb of Aberdeen, including experimental photographs on leather, traditional rustic scenery of Aberdeenshire. Lamb also sent in (after Wilson’s example) a print of the Granite Quarries. He, interestingly, subtitled the photograph *Dancing Cairns*, alluding to its placement as a British picturesque scene that contained appropriate references to ancient Gaelic traditions.

Despite these poetic photographs and the abundant views of Britain, this exhibition was teeming with portraits of dignitaries, intelligentsia or anonymous middle class ladies and gentlemen, each studio submitting examples of their portrait work. They used the

---

<sup>122</sup> "Scottish Gems," *The British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 109 (1860). 6-7.

<sup>123</sup> "Stereograms of Scottish Scenery," *The Photographic News* 3, no. 73 (1860). 248.

exhibition as a stage to promote their talent in an increasingly aggressive marketplace. In Aberdeen, the number of registered portrait studios had risen to nine.<sup>124</sup> As well as Wilson and Lamb, the new studio of John Nisbet sent a case of Aberdeen portraits as did Andrew Adams.<sup>125</sup> Adams had recently added the profession of photographer to his cabinet maker and wright business, and submitted a collection of portraits from collodion negatives to publicise his “first-class” new studio.<sup>126</sup> Competition for the portrait trade also came from other towns. Valentine of Dundee submitted sixteen entries, all of which were portraits and included one of himself (figure 22). John Moffat (1819-1894), who had recently opened a studio in Edinburgh, sent over twenty portraits, from locally known clergymen to a range of anonymous faces that represented the core of his business.<sup>127</sup> The role of photography in imaging the middle class will be discussed at length in chapter five; here, however, it is the attitude towards the common everyday portrait that is of interest. It was not appreciated, and not regarded as a useful addition to a public exhibition. As one local critic stated:

The public would not undergo the slightest loss were the countless delineations of crinoline and pegtops put where their originals should be – at the back of the fire.<sup>128</sup>

This critic, while slating the portraits, also demanded that more photographers followed Wilson’s lead and focused on the picturesque:

---

<sup>124</sup>This does not include the range of other businesses selling camera equipment or prints. Gifford and Son, for example, were carvers, gilders and print sellers, as well as being the Aberdonian agents for the London Stereoscopic Company. See, “Trade Listings and Advertisements,” in *Aberdeen Post Office Directories* (1857-1858).

<sup>125</sup> He was sometimes listed in the *Aberdeen Post Office Directory* as ‘Nesbitt’, as in 1858-1859. 357.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. Adams placed an advert in the *Aberdeen Post Office Directory* in 1858-1859, declaring: “he has now finished the erection of First Class Rooms for the practice of Photography in all its branches.” An obituary mentions that Adams was employed to take photographs of prisoners at the Aberdeen prison in the 1850s, but record of this has yet to be uncovered. See: “Mr. A. Adams, Photographer,” *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 23rd July 1914.

<sup>127</sup> Moffat established his first permanent studio in 1855 on Nicolson Square in Edinburgh. He then moved to the more prestigious retail thoroughfare of Princes Street in 1858. He would go on to have one of the longest running and successful portrait studios in Edinburgh. See: John Moffat, *Pioneer Scottish Photographic Artist, 1819-1894* (Eastbourne, UK: JSM Publishing, 1989).

<sup>128</sup> Quoting “a local art critic” this comment is found in “Exhibition of Photographs at Aberdeen,” *The Photographic News* 3, no. 57 (1859). 52.

Let the photographer go to the green fields, and the woods, and the hills, for there he will find subjects worthy of his art. At present he is but too often misusing photography, and destroying the public taste by the choice of his subjects.<sup>129</sup>

“Destroying the public taste” infers that exhibitions were considered important venues for cultivating viewers. The exhibition itself abstracted people from the street and was a space for display and spectacle. Those photographs of “countless delineations of peg tops and crinolines” did not elevate a viewer’s senses, but only served to remind them about the business of high street studios. As well as being a venue for the arts, the exhibition was, and always would be, a display ground for the voluntary societies. It was therefore a site in which gentlemanly capitalism reigned and displaying professionalism was infinitely more valuable than exhibiting one’s business concerns. A successful bourgeois life in Victorian society should distance you from the factory but also resist the hedonism and idleness that was thought to define aristocracy. Respectability was gained through self control and was judged according to one’s pursuit of genteel concerns, such as scientific inquiry or art appreciation. This is why exhibitions were such popular venues to see and be seen for the aspiring middle classes, and why photographers were keen to be affiliated with associations like the Society of Arts and the BAAS.

This chapter has argued that photography’s commercial ventures and professional rhetoric was introduced to the Scottish public through a series of exhibitions in the 1850s, which linked the medium’s aesthetic and professional standards to London-based, British associations. These early exhibitions had shaped how photography was first seen; namely, as a product of middle class institutions coloured by a subtle patina that promoted British unity and productivity. As competition on high streets increased, local studio photographers used these exhibitions to convert themselves into British

---

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

professionals. The chapter has also demonstrated how the British picturesque mode set a standard for photographers aiming to create the quintessential landscape view. As the models for this aesthetic were English scenes, Scottish photographers translated their local landscapes with an English language in order to ensure it was recognised as an ideal part of Britain, rather than an isolated unknown region of Scotland. The following chapter continues with this theme. It particularly examines the writings in photographic journals, to assess the extent to which photographers searched for a picturesque Scotland.

## Chapter Two Photographers Travel onto the Scene

---

George Washington Wilson left Aberdeen with his friend George Walker for a photographic tour of Scotland's west coast in early July 1860. The men travelled through Inverness, down the Caledonian Canal and spent several days exploring the peaks of Ben Nevis. They then boarded the ferry from Oban to the Isle of Iona, where Christians made a pilgrimage to view the landing place of St. Columba. Early one morning the friends were packing their belongings into a fishing vessel to cross the western strait and visit the basalt island of Staffa, when Walker turned to Wilson and commented that he had no "great anxiety to see this place." "For...I have seen so many pictures of it" he continued, "stereoscopic, and other, and I have read all about it so that I have a perfect idea of it, and could describe it to you with my eyes shut..."<sup>1</sup> However, as the boat advanced towards the vast colonnades of rock, Walker was awestruck. The lichens transformed the dark stone into a rainbow of colour, and the churning waters took on an ethereal stillness inside Fingal's Cave. It was unlike anything Walker had imagined.<sup>2</sup>

This episode tells us a number of important aspects. First, that 'perfect ideas' of places were usually formed with visual and literary aids. Second, it was felt that these aids provided a complete experience. And third, in reality it was obvious that they actually did no justice to the physical and mental perception of being in a landscape. This chapter investigates how the mid-Victorian commercial photographer, learning how to capture Scotland's landscape, negotiated a path through this territory. As such, it investigates a variety of preconceived ideas about what Scotland should look like, how landscape photography filled a niche in the commercial market for images and what

---

<sup>1</sup> Walker, *Private Journals*. Volume 3. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 290.

made a photographer a 'professional'. Starting with photography itself, nineteenth-century viewers were being encouraged by the best scientific minds to understand the photograph as intimately connected with its subject matter. It was literally viewed as an image drawn by the very light radiating from the objects in its field of vision.<sup>3</sup> Or, in Barthes' more recent terms, the photograph provided a thoroughly new way of verifying "what has been" and was therefore considered a visual record of a truthfully observed moment.<sup>4</sup> This is why Walker believed he had already encountered Staffa when, amongst other things, he had viewed its duplicate in a three-dimensional stereoscopic environment. Just a year previously, the American physician and amateur photographer Oliver Wendall Holmes (1809-1894) had suggested that the stereoscope had "divorced" form from matter. With its ability to transport the mind "into the very depths of the picture", Holmes believed the stereoscopic view was an interactive process that superseded reality. He went as far as to suggest that "a visible object is of no great use any longer, except as a mould on which form is shaped."<sup>5</sup>

The power of the image has its limits however, for Holmes's omen that the experience of objects would no longer be necessary is countered by Walker's physical reaction to Staffa as their small boat draws near. It is at this moment that his senses collided, and he had a phenomenological experience of the land. Like many Victorian travellers, Walker would have developed a preconceived idea of how 'wild' landscapes like the Western Isles of Scotland should 'feel' from Edmund Burke's treatise, *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757-1759). This had become a popular manual that was often carried by elite British tourists

---

<sup>3</sup> See for instance, David Brewster, "Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light," *Edinburgh Review* 76 (1843). 309-344.

<sup>4</sup> Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard, 2000 ed. (London, UK: Vintage, 1993). 80-84.

<sup>5</sup> Oliver Wendall Holmes, "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," *Atlantic Monthly* 3 (Boston, June 1859). 738-48. Quoted by Harrison et al., eds., *Art in Theory 1815-1900*. 668-67.

travelling through Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> Burke radically changed the way people approached the landscape. He preferred to focus on the psychological and physiological responses humans felt when overpowered by the wonders of nature, rather than understanding beauty as an objective experience. He specifically advocated that a sublime landscape first induces a physical reaction, triggered by fear, and this leads to a mental response, that consumes the senses. Burke wrote:

The passion caused by the great and sublime in nature . . . is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror. In this case the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other.<sup>7</sup>

It was this emotional astonishment Walker felt when arriving at Staffa, physically overwhelmed by its sheer size. The scene consumed his senses, disarming him of the rational assumption that reasoned knowledge would be sufficient preparation for a sublime experience. The ‘pictures’ and ‘writings’ about Staffa, Walker claimed to have seen in abundance, were most likely eighteenth and nineteenth century travel publications, filled with engravings or watercolours and produced when Staffa was being ‘discovered’ by elite travellers. One of the key texts was written by Thomas Pennant, a Fellow of the Royal Society. Pennant’s *Voyage to the Hebrides* (1772) was the first of its kind to visually record Staffa and the wider western isles. It was not a book that aimed to provide a picturesque landscape, but was instead designed to document and record an unknown area within the new territory of the British union.<sup>8</sup> And, some years later, the engraver Willian Daniell drafted hundreds of aquatints of the Hebrides, including several

---

<sup>6</sup> Marjorie Munsterberg, “J. M. W. Turner’s *Falls at Schaffhausen*,” *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 44, No. 2 (1985). 24-31.

<sup>7</sup> Edmund Burke. *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. (1757-1759). (Montrose, UK: D. Buchanan, 1808 ed.). Part 2, Section 1. 57. From website, “Google Books”. Accessed April 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Bray, *The Discovery of the Hebrides: Voyages to the Western Isles 1745-1883* (Edinburgh, UK: Birlinn, 1996). 71.

of Staffa, for the popular eight volume publication, *A Voyage Round Great Britain* (1814-1825).

These travel guides inspired artists and musicians to visit the more remote areas of Britain, which included the islands and highlands of Scotland. Staffa held particular resonance because Fingal's Cave was named after the hero from James Macpherson's Ossian cycle of poems (1760-61), which had popularised the Gaelic legend of Fionn, or Finn, who was thought to have built the basalt causeway between Ireland and Scotland. The mystic romance of the site was enhanced by visitors like Felix Mendelssohn, who visited in 1829 and wrote the *Hebrides Overture* the following year, and J. M. W. Turner, whose sketching tour of the isles in 1831 inspired the painting *Fingal's Cave, Staffa* (1832).<sup>9</sup> Turner was influenced by contemporary studies on optics and vision,<sup>10</sup> and understood Burke's philosophical theories about the psychological impact of landscape on man. Accordingly, *Fingal's Cave, Staffa* is a dynamic composition of whirling sea-mists and dark looming shadows. It is a painting that demands viewers imagine sailing through a storm, dangerously close to looming rocks, as dusk settles in the sky. Staffa is barely visible in Turner's painting. It is a small steamer, struggling through the churning sea, which is the central focus of Turner's composition. This painting captures the awe-inspiring nature of the site by helping viewers imagine their bodies on that steamer, in that storm. As such, it attends to Burke's formula for approaching the sublime. It transports viewers into the scene to elicit a physical response that will initiate an emotional reaction. As painters like Turner strove to provide a multi-sensory experience,

---

<sup>9</sup> Mendelssohn visited in 1829 and wrote the overture the following year. Turner visited in 1831.

<sup>10</sup> Turner was acquainted with David Brewster and was very interested in his experiments with optics and light. See, Alison Morrison-Low and Allen Simpson, "A New Dimension: A Context for Photography before 1860," in Sara Stevenson, ed., *Light from the Darkroom*. 15-28. For more on Turner and the sublime see: Andrew Milton, *Turner and the Sublime* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

photographers followed in their wake, particularly hoping that the craze for stereoscopic imagery would enhance the physiological impact of their landscape views.

Popular since the 1851 Great Exhibition, the stereoscope had established a niche market for landscape photographers.<sup>11</sup> In order to achieve the proper effect, the pairs of photographs had to be viewed in a particular way; usually by looking through a set of glasses at close range. This meant a spectator was forced to shut out their surroundings and immerse themselves in the detail of a landscape. This had the potential to elicit a physical and emotional response, while still providing minute documentation. It was radically new, and provided a visual experience that went beyond the efforts of traditional engravings and paintings.<sup>12</sup> As one commentator phrased it, “with this [stereoscopic] instrument you have before your eye, not merely a picture, but the object itself, in its length, breadth and height”, which means you can experience “the beauties of the primeval forest, the graceful valley, or the beautiful and sublime waterfall”. He concludes by claiming, the stereoscope photographs provided “a means of knowledge unsurpassed by even a visit to the lands of which we read.”<sup>13</sup> Yet, as Walker’s experience tells us, this was not necessarily true.

The stereographs Walker refers to had actually ‘volatized’ the real, because they were mediated compositions.<sup>14</sup> Wilson’s photographs were influenced by symbolically-

---

<sup>11</sup> This was the lenticular stereoscope, invented by David Brewster in the 1840s. See Morrison-Low and Simpson, “A New Dimension” in Sara Stevenson, ed., *Light from the Dark Room*. 28.

<sup>12</sup> Jonathan Crary has discussed the stereoscope in these terms. He shows that, for Charles Wheatstone who was working on its invention during the 1830s, “the desired effect of the stereoscope was not simply likeness, but immediate, apparent *tangibility*.” Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*. 123-124.

<sup>13</sup> Editor. “Miscellaneous,” *Photographic News* 3, no. 55 (23<sup>rd</sup> September 1859). 34.

<sup>14</sup> Jean Baudrillard’s theories on hyper-realism suggest photography helps “destabilise” reality, because it seemingly reflects the real but is actually a mediated vision. Photographs are founded on what we believe to be the real but what is actually a simulated, or symbolically-informed, reality. See, Jean Baudrillard, “The Hyper-realism of Simulation,” in *L’Echange Symbolique et la Mort* (Paris 1976). In Charles Harrison

informed visions, such as engravings and paintings, which were themselves influenced by subjective guides and stories about the Hebrides. The photographs, thus, added to images, text and music that had already steered opinion about the ‘reality’ of Staffa. And, it was such a persuasive ideal, that photographers were inspired to undertake the difficult journey to capture the island’s famed beauty for themselves. The amateur photographer John Muir Wood toured Britain in the early 1850s, taking some of the first recorded calotypes of the island.<sup>15</sup> Wilson was the first Scottish commercial photographer to go to Staffa in 1858 and produced the stereo views Walker wrote about in his journal.<sup>16</sup>

Photographers themselves were divided on whether their new medium could adequately convey the terrible beauty of a site like Staffa. One commentator suggested the sublime was “unavailable to photographers” but the beautiful and picturesque were suitable pursuits.<sup>17</sup> Others thought that “genuine photographers”, unlike “the ordinary tourist”, could transfer “with absolute truth and unerring pencil” the magnificence of a scene, so the sublime and poetic power of landscape could be recalled when “hundreds of

---

and Paul Wood, eds., *Art in Theory 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992). 1049-1051.

<sup>15</sup> Ray McKenzie, “Landscape in Scotland: Photography and the Poetics of Place,” in Sara Stevenson, ed., *Light from the Dark Room*. 79. For more on John Muir Wood see, Sara Stevenson, Julie Lawson and Michael Gray, *The Photography of John Muir Wood: An Accomplished Amateur 1805-1892* (Edinburgh, UK: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1988).

<sup>16</sup> There is no evidence that any other commercial photographs of Staffa existed before 1858. Walker had accompanied Wilson on his first commercial photography shoot away from Aberdeenshire, when they went to the Trossachs in 1858. Walker is clear that he persuaded Wilson to go further a field because his stereo views of Aberdeenshire had proved so commercially successful. See Walker, *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 271. The first list of Wilson’s stereo views was published in 1856 and only contained views of Aberdeenshire. It is printed in Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-1893*. 65. Walker describes their trip to the Trossachs two years later in great detail, noting that he had to return home, but Wilson stayed in the field, hiring a temporary assistant so he could keep working. Walker, *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 272. Evidently, Wilson took the ferry at this time, from Oban to Iona and on to Staffa, because a review in *Photographic Notes* in 1858 praised Wilson’s stereoscopic views on paper, pointing to “Fingal’s Cave, Staffa” as one of the very best. See [“Review”] *Photographic Notes* 3 no. 62 (1<sup>st</sup> November 1858). 253. As well as this, in 1860 when Walker recounts their visit to Staffa, he mentions that Wilson had been to the basalt island before, and had felt similar preconceptions about the site. See: Walker, *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 288.

<sup>17</sup> Edwards. *The Making of English Photography*. 239. Quoting from Henry Peach Robinson. *Pictorial Effect in Photography: Being Hints on Composition and Chiaroscuro for Photographers* (London, UK: Piper & Carter, 1869). 15.

miles from the original.”<sup>18</sup> This latter voice is that of Samuel Bourne, who became a highly successful commercial landscape photographer and ventured into the mountains of the Himalayas in search of the sublime. Before this, Bourne had sought magnificent views throughout Britain, and claimed that “genuine” photographers could convey the “beauty or romantic grandeur” of a region, especially in “the wild mountains of Scotland, the picturesque valleys of Wales or the sylvan ‘banks of the Wye’.”<sup>19</sup> This chapter looks more closely at statements that defined Scotland as ‘wild’, but also claimed photographs were able to transport viewers into the ‘magnificence’ of a scene. As commercial studios started to multiply, how did Scottish photographers prove they were “genuine” practitioners, and how did they prove their photographs could provide an “absolute truth”? Most importantly, what kind of truths were they promulgating? The answer to these questions can be found in the professional journal; a nationally-circulated periodical where photographers discussed their craft.

The journal was used as a forum for debating theory and practice, and analysing chemistry and aesthetics, but it was also a site where provincial photographers became British professionals. In the context of Scotland, the national journal provided local photographers with a means to discuss their work, their landscape and their contribution to the discipline. As the aim in this section of the thesis is to understand how photographers learnt to use their cameras most effectively in Scotland, I have chosen to look at the travelogue; a particular style of writing about landscape that is prevalent in the earlier decades of journal writing. While they do not overwhelm each edition of every

---

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Bourne. “On Some of the Requisites Necessary for the Production of a Good Photograph,” *Photographic News* 3, no. 81 (23<sup>rd</sup> March 1860). 347-348. In the last instalment of this series of articles, Bourne suggests that a true rendition “of the grand original” will only be realised with the perfection of colour photography. Bourne. “On Some of the Requisites,” *Photographic News* 3, no. 83 (5<sup>th</sup> April 1860).370-371. Quote 371.

<sup>19</sup> Bourne. “On Some of the Requisites,”(23<sup>rd</sup> March 1860). 347.

journal, travelogue articles appear with constant regularity until the later 1860s. Bourne, for example, wrote several. From 1859 to 1870 he produced a self-published book of a tour through the Himalayas and the highlands of Perthshire and wrote numerous articles for the *British Journal of Photography* about his trips through India.<sup>20</sup> These were articles designed to teach photographers how to approach landscape, but, at the same time, they boosted the author's profile.

I begin by assessing how the tradition of the travelogue and the travel guide presented Scotland to Victorian readers. This will demonstrate how photographers were operating through a discursive system, which informed them how to frame Scotland, their images of landscape and themselves. As the chapter unfolds, it becomes clear many commercial photographers wrote travelogues because they were popular stories guaranteed to entertain a wide scope of readers. They were an informal literary contribution that gave local photographers a unique chance to market their studio to a national audience. As well as this, the articles tended to wax lyrical about the hardships and heroism of roaming untamed lands, and presented the provincial trader as though he were a brave British gentleman, battling though the wild so others might be spared the trouble. This helped downplay the commercial aspects of photographers' endeavours, suggesting they were instead altruistic, socially-conscious, Victorian entrepreneurs. Ultimately, the travel writings reveal a consciousness on the part of commercial photographers that their images could be made to seem more immediate than the traditional mediums of painting and engraving. By taking viewers 'on location', photographers could prove their views

---

<sup>20</sup> For example, Samuel Bourne. *Scenery in the Himalayas and the Highlands of Perthshire* (Samuel Bourne, 1864); "Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas," *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 207-208, (1864); "Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts," *British Journal of Photography* 13, nos. 335, 337, 339, 342, 344, 347 (1866) and Vol 14, nos. 348, 351, 353 (1867). He also wrote a series of articles in *The British Journal of Photography* during 1869 and 1870 about his travels in "the higher Himalayas".

were not unfounded simulation, but direct images of nature and thus able to provide viewers with a deeper, more sublime, visual experience.

### **The Travelogue and the Traditional Guide Book**

In the battle for commercial success, photographers wrote travelogues both to legitimate their position as an authority and promote their images as authoritative. Writing about the Orientalist sightseer, Ali Behdad has nuanced the “textual attitude” of travel writings; he makes a formal distinction between the discourse of the guide and the travelogue. The latter is written in the first person, by someone who is authorized to make meaning, but who is a “savant”, exploring for their own ends. This is how photographers approached their writing. It was a literary style that gave them “discursive authority” to provide readers with a unique and hard won story. Behdad points out, “such a differential positioning is often delineated in the very beginning of the travelogue where the traveller describes the difficult conditions of the journey and the egotistical satisfaction in pursuing such an arduous journey” so it may be “pedagogically beneficial to the reader.” This is in contrast to the guide, a book that is designed as a set of itineraries, whose author assumes the reader is “a potential traveller.”<sup>21</sup> These latter books had built up the traditional outlook on Scotland and its people. They were texts that provided the empirical foundation upon which it was thought travelogues could add the human story.

Travelogues written by photographers were found in the specialised journals. They often described the harrowing and difficult journeys men took with their cameras across deserts and over mountain ranges, overcoming harsh weather and encountering dangerous natives. In these accounts, there is a tendency to hyperbole and digression.

---

<sup>21</sup> Ali Behdad, *Belated Travellers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution* (Durham, NC and London, UK: Duke University Press, 1994), 40-41.

This is known to help “elide alterity with drama” and distinguish the writer’s travel experience as unique, while ensuring the story is an enjoyable read.<sup>22</sup> In the inaugural edition of *The Photographic News*, for example, the reader found the first instalment of “Photography in Algeria.”<sup>23</sup> Preferring to remain anonymous, the writer introduced himself as “a stranger in a strange land” and extended his desire to “amuse and instruct”. His intention on setting out had been to capture those mysterious sites he had learnt about in school. Yet he used the first article to recount the details of a murder and remind readers that he placed himself in danger on their behalf. “Perhaps I may devote the next rainy day to an account of my adventure,” he concluded, “for the edification and warning of [those]...tempted to wander amongst a half-civilised tribe in search of food for the camera.”<sup>24</sup>

Although not intended for public consumption, Walker’s journals quoted above are also travelogues. They recount some of Wilson’s earliest photographic trips into Scotland, and reveal a great deal about contemporary attitudes towards commercial photography, the ‘exploring’ photographer and the ideal Scottish landscape. Walker described the trials and tribulations of taking pictures in the countryside, with incorrect maps, rough roads, hill tracks, limited railway routes and bad weather. He claimed to sacrifice all luxuries in pursuit of the correct view. He and his assistant got up before dawn, waited for hours in the cold for the mist to clear, or stayed in the poorest, meanest accommodation and rode the most uncomfortable wagons. This life of labour in pursuit of beauty imbued photography with the right sort of moral value in a Victorian society dedicated to the benefits of entrepreneurial self-help and hard work. It also reinforced the

---

<sup>22</sup> Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1991). 4-6.

<sup>23</sup> C. A., “Photography in Algeria,” *The Photographic News* 1, no. 1-22 (1858-1859) First Instalment. 5-7.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* First Instalment. 7.

ideal that Scotland, most especially the Highland and Islands, was on the margins of the civilised earth, or, as Walker put it at one point, “at the back of the world.”<sup>25</sup> The travelogue provided photographers with a means to convert these private musings into a public discourse. In 1864 Wilson published a series of articles entitled, “A Voice from the Hills.” At the very start of this travelogue he listed all the chemical equipment and tools he required for his trips “in search of the picturesque”.<sup>26</sup> His language was informal but instructive throughout, for he aimed to embrace the reader while imparting technical and practical knowledge. He mentioned his assistant Mr. Gellie, whose ‘strong and willing’ help made it possible to reach any hill or dale. It is not just physical strength that photographer’s require, Wilson continued, it is also mental fortitude. He illustrated this point by suggesting:

We have long ago made up our minds to endure the little blow to our vanity of being sometimes mistaken for itinerant umbrella menders, or perhaps occasionally – as once happened in Devonport, - for Highland bagpipers; but our organs of self-esteem are too largely developed to allow such mishaps to have much effect upon us, and our enthusiasm for the art, combined with the pleasure of a free Bohemian sort of life, make us as independent as the old Scottish earl, who wrote above his door – “They say – Quat say they? Lat them say!”<sup>27</sup>

This comment, thrown in amongst a detailed lesson on what to take on a photographic tour, was designed to authenticate the experiences Wilson described, but also to entertain the reader. It played with the many characterisations of Scotland evident in earlier travel writings. Being mistaken for a Highland piper or a roving tradesman was not something that raised expectations about one’s professionalism, but on the contrary made you a target for jokes. It was the native Gaelic culture which was anti-modern, and therefore an embarrassment to the contemporary man of business. Yet, in the same statement there was also support for the “bohemian” independence of Scotland’s culture,

---

<sup>25</sup> Walker, *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 287.

<sup>26</sup> Published in installments from 16<sup>th</sup> September, 1864: George Washington Wilson, "A Voice from the Hills: Mr Wilson at Home," *The British Journal of Photography* 11, nos. 228-233 (1864). 352-354, 374-375, 288, 410. Quote here from no. 228: 352.

<sup>27</sup> George Washington Wilson, “A Voice from the Hills,” no. 228: 353.

which Wilson linked to the freedom of being a travelling photographer. He was the libertarian who could magically control the scene, while the reader was the interested learner being taught the value of such picturesque framing. All the photographers writing travelogues employed the same techniques and, in doing so, extended the tradition of travel writing on Scotland into the new literary space of the photographic journal.

These writings built on a specific tradition for touring that had created what Chloe Chard has called, “imaginative topographies or geographies”; visions of “other” lands that were written for the aristocratic tradition of the grand European tour with the intention of entertaining members of one’s own class. This established an insular textuality, which interpreted the ‘foreign’ in relation to the ‘finer’ qualities of English culture.<sup>28</sup> By the advent of the nineteenth century the ideals of the European Grand Tour were being co-opted by the increasingly wealthy middle class citizen. The merchants, industrialists and professionals who had gained financial success and civic leadership were starting to engage in the luxury of travel. This induced demand for additional guide books that provided suitably edifying texts on key sites to visit, both abroad and at home. What had been at least a year on the continent for aristocrats was metamorphosing into a series of short tours, to be taken by those wishing to be seen ‘improving’ themselves. All the guide books directed readers to roam in a civilised manner and, most importantly, to see the world through the eyes of an English gentleman.

The authenticity and reliability of these guide books was undisputed. Ever since John Murray published his first *Handbook for Travellers* in 1836, the travel book became “the

---

<sup>28</sup> Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*. 10. For most recent essays on the Grand Tour, see: Lester Borley, ed., *The Grand Tour and Its Influence on Architecture, Artistic Taste and Patronage: Proceedings of a Conference Held in Edinburgh, September 2007, in Conjunction with the Royal Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, UK: Europa Nostra, 2008).

most indispensable item in travelling gear.”<sup>29</sup> The writing was factual, bland and informative. It was a book that dryly listed the most worthy views or sites in each region, and scheduled tours with strict itineraries. Its significance was such that, “even when tourists saw with their own eyes something that called Murray into question, they tended to believe the guide.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, the guide book established the power for all travel writing to say “this is how a country is”, to the extent that the text acquired more authority than the reality it described.<sup>31</sup> Massimiliano Demata has documented the increasing number of articles on travel that were published in the first half of the nineteenth century in the popular *Edinburgh Review*.<sup>32</sup> Demata believes readers were actively encouraged to view travel literature as “unprejudiced” fact, because it was presented as anthropological knowledge and used by professional writers to prove their theories about civil society.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, James Duncan and Derek Gregory have suggested that travel writings developed relationships between readers and ‘others’ that were shot through with power and desire. They translated “one place into the cultural idiom of another”, allowing authors to interpret provincial symbolism with their own value system; thus western readers could imagine themselves in a place they might entertain visiting.<sup>34</sup> This was true

---

<sup>29</sup> Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Hampshire, UK and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). 19.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 21.

<sup>31</sup> Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1979). 93.

<sup>32</sup> Massimiliano Demata and Duncan Wu, eds., *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review: Bicentenary Essays* (Hampshire, UK and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). 83-88. From 1802 to 1807 each edition of the *Edinburgh Review* featured sometimes as many as four articles on travel literature. From 1805 to 1807 travel books dominated the reviews. After 1807, contributions to travel writing grew longer and were always given priority. By 1815, forty-one editions (out of a possible forty-eight) contained at least one such article on travel.

<sup>33</sup> Demata Massimiliano, “Prejudiced Knowledge: Travel Literature in the *Edinburgh Review*,” in Ibid. 82-101. Quote 85-86. Praised for its “precise and reliable accounts of communities outside Europe”, Lord Kames’s *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774) was based on second-hand information. Similarly Adam Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), popular for having established “the basic uniformity of man’s social nature”, borrowed from writings on ‘savages’ by traveller Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix (1682–1761), who wrote extensively on North America, Japan and Paraguay.

<sup>34</sup> James Duncan and Derek Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London, UK: Routledge, 1999). 5.

of the accounts of Scotland, which were rife with English voices reassuring readers that Scots culture had much improved since the union of 1707, and hence was safer to tour.

### **Tour Guides on Scotland**

Two distinct concepts emerged from the early nineteenth-century travel literature on Scotland; these can be roughly described as difference and hope. The idea of difference was highly influenced by traditional cartographic illustrations that demarcated borders within the British Isles. Maps literally illustrated a land divided by thick black lines and distinctive blocks of colour.<sup>35</sup> Travel writing reinforced this difference by highlighting the disparity between the turbulent, rugged and untamed landscapes of Scotland and the ordered, civilised, green and pleasant lands of England. The element of hope stemmed from the rhetoric of education and empire: travel was a method of civilising the world with English sensibilities. As such, descriptions of the landscape became synonymous with descriptions of the people. The Scots were often defined as the unruly children of the Union who, like any students, needed time to learn proper manners and a cultivated attitude.

In *An Account of the Pleasure Tours in Scotland*, published in 1827, an anonymous writer aimed to assist the ramblings of tourists by pointing out areas worthy of their attention. In doing so, Dr. Samuel Johnson's tour of northern Scotland, written forty years previously, was quoted at length. Johnson had famously berated the manners of the Scots, suggesting that it was not until the Union, and their "acquaintance" with English culture, that their skills and domestic life had started to take proper shape. There is hope

---

<sup>35</sup> Historian Marjorie Morgan mentions this, noting that the publisher John Murray had recounted visiting the border between Scotland and England as a boy. He found a small ditch at the boundary line and straddled it, placing one foot in each country. He remarked that he was surprised that he saw no difference between the landscape of the north and south. The importance, Morgan states, lies in Murray's assumption that a change actually existed at the border and stemmed from cartographic diagrams that reinforced difference. Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. 48.

however, Johnson had noted, “since they have known that their condition was capable of improvement, their progress in useful knowledge has been rapid and uniform...But they must be ever content to owe to the English that elegance and culture.”<sup>36</sup> By utilising Johnson’s eighteenth century tirade against the Scots, the author of *Pleasure Tours in Scotland* aimed to highlight the “improvement and change of manners” evident in nineteenth-century ‘native’ life. At no point does the author of this latest travel guide doubt that it was English civil behaviour that drove the development of Scotland’s ‘civilised’ society. Accordingly, the book was designed as a life raft for readers who required a safe and contented route to view Scottish advancements.<sup>37</sup>

The concepts of difference and hope often coalesced in travel writing to induce a patriotic reminder that Britain was stronger under a “cordial union”. This is something English politician William Cobbett specifically reminded his readers in the preface to his tour of Scotland and the Northern counties of England in 1833.<sup>38</sup> Historian Katherine Grenier suggests that for English travellers heading to Scotland, the tour was “an act of British patriotism”, as many “seemed chagrined to know so little of a place that was now part of their own nation.” However, this was a patriotism that had a distinctly “Anglocentric bias” because travellers conflated “British with English pride, implying that Scotland’s role in the Union was to become more like England.”<sup>39</sup> Ideally, travel helped self-identification and provided a sense of one’s homeland. Guide books were not

---

<sup>36</sup> Anon, *An Account of the Pleasure Tours in Scotland: Illustrated with Maps, Views of Remarkable Buildings Etc., with an Itinerary*, 4th ed. (Edinburgh, UK: John Thomson, 1827). 86.

<sup>37</sup> Samuel Johnson’s account was from a trip made in November 1773. It was written up in the publication, *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, (1775). He made the trip with his friend James Boswell, who also wrote an account, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, (1786).

<sup>38</sup> William Cobbett, *Cobbett’s Tour in Scotland and the Northern Counties of England* (London, UK: Mills, Jowett and Mills, 1883). iii-iv. William Cobbett was MP for Oldham in Lancashire. He was known as an ardent reformist and filled his publications with suitably vociferous political language. In 1832 he toured Scotland giving lectures on the Reform Bill passed that year. He then proceeded to publish his notes, to demonstrate how a “cordial union” made Britain powerful and free.

<sup>39</sup> Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*. 17.

designed to evoke empathy in readers as much as they were designed to distinguish difference.<sup>40</sup> As such, Scotland was often defined in the same terms as British colonies in Africa or Asia, and travel writings reinforced legends and folk traditions for the edification of a gentleman curious about vanishing nations. Texts on Scotland might focus, for instance, on the nation's early resistance to Rome and suggest that Gaelic indigenous culture was an ideal form of romantic libertarianism. In *New Picture of Scotland*, a traveller in Perthshire wistfully regarded the landscape around Dunkeld saying it reminded him "of the conquests of the ancient Romans in Britain, and the energy with which their victorious arms were opposed by our Caledonian ancestors."<sup>41</sup> Others used the mysterious words of Ossian, promoted as Scotland's ancient poet by Macpherson in the mid-eighteenth century. Claiming to have found fragments of writings, Macpherson reawakened the Gaelic myth of Fingal, which witnesses Fionn the hero-king saving his people in their hour of need.<sup>42</sup> There was much debate about the veracity of Macpherson's claims. However, the "epic of the raw and uncorrupt Caledonians, pure in their native vigour, unseduced by rationalism and commerce",<sup>43</sup> worked to develop a romance for Scotland's wild and barren landscapes. It fed a belief that the spirit of the Fianna was still slumbering beneath the Highlands, and one day these mythological ancestors would restore Gael's ancient powers.<sup>44</sup> This mystic ideal ratified Burke's theories on the sublime, which suggested the dark mountains and gloomy valleys, replete with their rocky harsh conditions, were evidence of spiritual

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>41</sup> "Mr. Heron" quoted in, Anon, *New Picture of Scotland* (Edinburgh, UK: J. Turnbull, 1807). 15.

<sup>42</sup> *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands* was published by Robert Macpherson in 1761; *Fingal* was published in 1762.

<sup>43</sup> Murray Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1991). 74.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. 6.

intervention on earth and symbolised ‘absolute power’.<sup>45</sup> Consequently, the tourist looking for the quintessence of Scotland’s identity travelled to these sublime landscapes, rife with their “rugged, primitive, [and] patriarchal associations.”<sup>46</sup> The travel guides provided the Biblical, Gaelic and Roman references, which, like pieces of a puzzle, only fitted in certain places. This all constructed a picture of Scotland that buried its independence safely in the past.

Traditional nineteenth-century travel writings pictured the wild north through an imperial lens to explain its potentially anarchic space. As Morgan has suggested, “attitudes towards landscape reveal that the English notion of liberty did not imply unbounded freedom or anarchy. What characterised the English and their landscape was a capacity for embodying liberty and order *simultaneously*.”<sup>47</sup> Accordingly, accounts that framed Scotland with an English eye consistently reinforced a diametrically opposed nation; one in which the order of the city was always compared to the untamed landscape. Inevitably, those who occupied these spatial terrains were incorporated into this hypothesis. Scots who had not embraced commerce and industry were seen as ignorant and slothful, and those who were engaged with modernity (specifically in towns like Dundee, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh) were defined as assiduous contributors.<sup>48</sup> Philip Homer, a contemporary observer, wrote “with the proper encouragement Gaels could become active and industrious.” Homer’s book, *Observations on a Short Tour of the Western Highlands of Scotland* was published in 1803 and told readers that more urban centres, businesses and transport would “excite the

---

<sup>45</sup> Edmund Burke *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*, (2nd ed., 1759). Quoted in: Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999). 133.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 133.

<sup>47</sup> Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. 68.

<sup>48</sup> Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914*. 20-24.

industry of the people”, and make the Highlands “one of the most valuable districts in the British Isles.”<sup>49</sup>

There was no straightforward division between England and Scotland or between the rural and urban sphere; it was rather a more nuanced relationship whereby Scots who wished to align themselves with British modernity chose to malign local provincialism. Morgan has shown that Scottish writers discussing foreign lands or city life were more likely to describe themselves as British, identifying with the more impersonal and political unity that made them modern. Alternatively, their Scottish identity emerged only when they were discussing those Highland hills or Lowland streams that contained historic or mythic references to past heroisms.<sup>50</sup> They were apt to praise the Highland landscape for its sublime hills, for example, but dismiss its rural communities. Dingwall near Inverness was described in 1863, by Professor Blackie of the University of Edinburgh, as “one of those stunted little growths of stone and lime which, having lost its original beauty as a village, without having attained to the dignified dimensions of a town, satisfies no sense, and leaves no distinct impression on the mind of the visitor.”<sup>51</sup> It is this attitude that is most evident in the majority of travelogue writings by photographers, for they were invariably penned by modern urbanites in search of Scotland’s rural idyll. As we shall see, photographers used this literary style to promote their professionalism, the ‘gentlemanly’ nature of their work and the useful contribution they were making to a British way of life.

---

<sup>49</sup> Philip Homer, *Observations on a short tour made in the summer of 1803, to the Western Highlands of Scotland; interspersed with original pieces of descriptive and epistolary poetry* (1803). Quoted by Grenier, in *Ibid.* 27.

<sup>50</sup> Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. 76-82.

<sup>51</sup> John Blackie, "The New Excursion Route from Oban to Gairloch," *The Aberdeen Journal*, 26th August 1863.

## The Useful Picturesque

A common perception found in many tour guides was that the Scottish rural peasant was always a happy, ignorant soul, devoid of cultural impetus. As one travel writer in 1827 told his readers, people in small villages in Scotland do not desire better dwellings. They live in “abject poverty...[yet] feel no want.”<sup>52</sup> Hill and Adamson’s 1843-8 calotypes of Scottish fisher people had illustrated how photographers might picture such quaint people in their village life, establishing a tradition for capturing Scottish folk on camera. Their image of the St Andrews fishing community, for example, (figure 1) could easily be paired with the words of another photographer who ventured into the country twenty years later, and wrote of his experience searching for the rural ideal. His tent was pitched in a pasture field “facing a highly-picturesque corner of the village”, with “a partly broken down outside stair, on which an “auld wife” sat nursing a baby, and a thatched gable, some carts on end, a barrow which had come to an untimely end, several farm tools, and a whole legion of juvenile joskins.”<sup>53</sup>

By highlighting the trip as a hunt for the picturesque, a photographer’s travelogue could reinforce an intention to capture ‘honest’ pictures of landscape. Steve Edwards has shown how the concept of honesty in landscape images did not signify ‘truth’, but implied a scene was ‘truth-loving’ because it was framed with picturesque principles. John Constable’s paintings exemplified a ‘truth-loving’ landscape. They were used by journal writers like Alfred H. Wall as guides, for they contained well-known picturesque signs and symbols (such as the old church, oak tree and quiet country lane), that photographers could find in their own local landscapes.<sup>54</sup> As such, photographs were

---

<sup>52</sup> Anon, *An Account of the Pleasure Tours in Scotland*. 214-221.

<sup>53</sup> A Member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society, "My First Photographic Trip to the Country," *British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 162+164 (1862). 146-147.

<sup>54</sup> Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 241-246.

judged successful when they instructed, entertained, were pleasing to the eye and provided “truthful” and “charming morceau’s [sic] of scenery”.<sup>55</sup>

Photography was not divesting Scotland’s landscape of any preconceived notions but rather investing a new, third, dimension onto the impressions left by poets, writers and painters. In an early 1807 guide book, *New Picture of Scotland*, a female traveller looked from a crag down into Glencoe and commented: “Whether I looked around me, or in front to the glen, all was a scene of wilderness which no pen can describe. It was sufficient to strike a timid mind with horror, and fill a contemplative mind with wonder and amazement.”<sup>56</sup> As the writer struggled to pen her experience, the reader was left wanting for something that could help convey this dramatic scene. Forty years later, in a guidebook entitled *Highland Sports and Highland Quarters*, the author still had no solution, suggesting that engravings and paintings simply did not have the capacity to translate reality. He wrote:

We are off for the land of the mountain and the flood! Our hearts beat with excitement, from anticipation of sport and pleasure! We go to visit the beauties of nature in reality, to see pictures in fact not theory; for Art, glorious as it is, can but faintly imitate Nature.<sup>57</sup>

As James Ryan has pointed out, the camera obscura had already primed audiences with a “discursive desire for photography” of landscapes. Even the inventor of the calotype, Talbot, had famously turned to photography because of an inability to capture the land with pen or paint. It is little surprise then that photographers saw a valuable niche in the market for images of popular tour routes that did not “faintly

---

<sup>55</sup> Editor, " 'Stereographic Pictures - English and Welsh Scenery' by William Russell of Sedgefield," *Photographic News* 1, no. 15 (1858). 173.

<sup>56</sup> Mrs. Murray’s account of Glencoe in: Anon, *New Picture of Scotland*. 191.

<sup>57</sup> Herbery Byng Hall, *Highland Sports and Highland Quarters*, 2 vols., vol. 1., (London, UK: H. Hurst, 1847). 21.

imitate nature” but were created by nature’s hand itself.<sup>58</sup> By 1863, Wilson’s catalogue contained over 440 photographs of tourist spots, from views of Cornwall and Durham in England, to every site found in “the standardized ‘picturesque tours’ of Scotland”.<sup>59</sup> Wilson had views of Iona, Loch Katrine, Walter Scott’s Abbotsford, Roslyn chapel, Dunkeld, Ben Nevis and Princes Street in Edinburgh.<sup>60</sup> Reviews in *The British Journal of Photography* in 1860 waxed lyrical about Wilson’s “Scottish Gems.” They were reviewed extensively, being considered “out of the ordinary class of stereographs”.<sup>61</sup> As one critic put it, the “wide diffusion” of Wilson’s stereograms of Scottish scenery would “carry a gleam of sunshine into many a home”.<sup>62</sup> They were extremely popular and highly profitable, confirming Wilson’s decision to expand his business and open a printing factory to increase the speed of production.<sup>63</sup> His 1863 catalogue reveals an exponential growth in stock from the first forty-four stereoscopic views of Braemar and Deeside published in 1856. As well as a vast array of new views, Wilson offered a wide

---

<sup>58</sup> Because the rays of the sun created a photograph it was still widely accepted that the image was from nature’s hand. See, John Glover, “The Art Bearings of Photography,” *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 210 (1864). 96-97.

<sup>59</sup> Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914*. 22.

<sup>60</sup> For Wilson’s 1863 catalogue of stereoscopic and album views see: Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-1893*. Appendix 2. 174-176.

<sup>61</sup> “Scottish Gems,” *The British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 109 (1860). 6-7. Quote from page 6.

A second review in the following issue heaped equal praise: “Mr Wilson’s Scottish Gems,” *The British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 110 (1860). 23.

<sup>62</sup> “Mr Wilson’s Scottish Gems.” 23.

<sup>63</sup> In 1860, when Walker accompanied Wilson to Staffa, he remarks that in the short day they were on the island, the photographer turned out two dozen negatives, only one being no good. He could have sold the glass plates outright for £10 each, but their currency as negatives was considerably higher because they could be used to produce countless prints. Walker, *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 291. Taylor has written that Wilson probably moved his printing premises out of the city, renting an old distillery building in Glenburnie from 1861. See: Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-93*. 109. Wilson’s son Charles recounted that, at Glenburnie in 1864/65, Wilson’s photographic business produced 553,331 prints. 789 negatives of landscape views came from just one camera. The view department’s total sales figure for that year was £6,145. 2. 10. See: Charles A. Wilson’s Correspondence with Helmut Gernsheim in “Business Information: Residues: Facts and Figures,” *Roger Taylor Collection of Papers on George Washington Wilson* (Aberdeen, UK: University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives). MS 3839. All copies of Charles’ letters were gathered by Taylor are from the “Gernsheim Collection,” held at the Arts and Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas, Austin.

range of new products, from the album print to the carte de visite, with prices to accommodate any member of the touring middle class.<sup>64</sup>

Wilson's success with landscape was undoubtedly due to the photographer's decision to emulate the popular picturesque vision of Scotland. Taylor has noted that Wilson's "Fall of Foyers, Inverness" (figure 2) replicated guidebook descriptions of "the most magnificent cataract, out of all sight and hearing, in Britain." This was a popular stop in a tour of northern Scotland and Wilson's image looks up at the falls, placing the viewer immediately within range of the blinding spray. In doing so, it ably visualises the description in *Black's Picturesque Guide*, which suggests the waterfall creates a deafening "dashing, clashing, and tumbling" sound that mocks the fragility of man.<sup>65</sup> While travel literature, paintings and engravings used the picturesque to codify landscape for English sensibilities by making the foreign familiar and horrors agreeable, the photograph extended this tradition by adding the idea of empiricism. It provided a virtual reality that allowed viewers to feel they had experienced a scene even if they had never travelled. Photographers had discovered that they had a unique chance to provide multiple views of the same landscape, a niche no artist had yet conquered. Wilson's photographs of Staffa, for example, depict the basalt rock from every angle. Some look towards the island from the perspective of an approaching boat, while others place the viewer inside Fingal's Cave looking out. In one of the latter images (figure 3), a fragile human is silhouetted against the entrance to the cave. The viewer stands in the interior darkness with the photographer, as if trapped in a Grecian underworld. This

---

<sup>64</sup> The photographs ranged from: cartes de visite, priced during these earlier years at 2 shillings 3 pence a dozen, to the stereo-views, costing 4 shillings 6 pence a dozen, and the new, larger, album-size print (an enlarged view from one half of a stereo slide), priced up to 6 shillings a piece. The album print was 4 ¼' x 3 ¼' and had been reduced to the simpler formula of 4' x 3' by 1877.

<sup>65</sup> Taylor quotes *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: A&C Black, 1844). 266. In Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-93*. 79.

contemplative gaze was largely unappreciated by the average visitor to Staffa, who arrived at the rock by steamer, was given a chance to disembark for a wander and then swiftly steered on to the next site.<sup>66</sup> The photograph provides a leisurely look such an itinerary does not schedule. It also makes it easier for viewers to transport themselves into the scene, by converting the drama of the site into a domesticated interior that can be easily translated later, while in a drawing room setting. This particular image includes a hand-rail weaving towards the viewer and a comforting boat waiting patiently by the entrance. It is like many of Wilson's photographs of the Highlands, which included inns, hotels, pony traps and rambling sightseers, all of which welcomed the viewer into a scene making them feel at home and unafraid. Crucially, it was the photographer's travelogue that augmented this experience, for it took readers 'on location' equipped with a set of comforting English principles.<sup>67</sup>

A travelogue by a retired medical practitioner and diplomatic messenger to the Queen, John Gutch, aptly illustrates how these texts predisposed photographers to frame Scotland through a particular lens. Gutch's "Recollections and Jottings" were the result of a tour through Britain in search of health cures and picturesque views. Gutch started his trip in England, travelling to Devon, Dorset and along the south coast.<sup>68</sup> The instalments were timed especially to allow readers to "gather useful information from his

---

<sup>66</sup> Wilson and Walker went to Staffa in 1860, as described at the outset of this chapter. They worked the morning until "steamer passengers" arrived at one point and "streamed all over the place." The men took this opportunity to eat their midday meal, which suggests the tourists were on Staffa for less than an hour. After the tour boat had left the men continued with the photography. Walker. *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 290.

<sup>67</sup> James Duncan and Derek Gregory, eds., *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing* (London, UK: Routledge, 1999). 4.

<sup>68</sup> Ian Sumner, "Gutch, John Wheeley Gough (1808-1862): English Photographer and Editor," in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, ed. John Hannavy (New York, NY and Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008). 627-628.

experience” during “the season for photographic tours.”<sup>69</sup> So, when Gutch wrote about Scotland he did so to guide prospective travellers on when they should visit certain areas, what times of day they could expect to procure the best light and which camera angle was preferable for particular sites. He started with the standard ‘Abbotsford Pilgrimage’. While standing in front of Melrose Abbey, he tried to envision the ruin for himself. He complained that the galleries of paintings and libraries of books on the Abbey had failed to give it justice, and struggled to turn a “deaf ear” to these renditions so that he might frame a new view with his camera. He then moved on to visit Scott’s home on the Tweed, and was disappointed. He wrote:

Shall I own to a feeling of disappointment which I felt on first seeing this world-known house. I had expected much more from the situation. The hills, as all the Scotch hills are to my mind, wanting in verdure, and the fields wanting their hedgerows, presents the same un-picturesque expanse of verdure that one sees through France and other parts of the Continent; wanting in fact the very essence of a beautiful landscape, the hedgerows and tree-covered hills and glades of old England.<sup>70</sup>

Walter Scott’s writings had provided a metaphoric hyperbole for authors and artists who wished to underline both the historic specificity and picturesque validity of a scene. This is discussed in more detail further on, but is noted here to illustrate Gutch’s expectation that, of all places, Scott’s home territory would have been ‘picturesque’. He realised that artistic license had volatised the reality of Abbotsford. Yet he did not critique the art and literature that forced Scottish landscape into this English aesthetic, nor did he examine the original symbolism of Abbotsford on its own terms; instead, he rejected the building as “un-picturesque.” Gutch even went as far as labelling the experience as a bad omen: if Scott’s ‘heart of mid-Lothian’ was unworthy then what chance was there that any part of Scotland would be civilised?! He concluded that it

---

<sup>69</sup> Sutton’s introduction to John Gutch’s article: John Gutch, “Recollections and Jottings of a Photographic Tour, Undertaken During the Years 1856-1857,” *Photographic Notes* 3, no. 51-53 (1858). Quote from no. 51. 127.

<sup>70</sup> Gutch, “Recollections and Jottings,” no. 52. 136.

would be his mission to answer this very question, listing other sites in Scotland that did indeed qualify as picturesque and might salvage the nation's image as a respectable part of the British Union.

When Gutch praised Dryburgh Abbey he labelled it “the most picturesque fragment of a ruin that I had yet visited.” He used the site as a standard, commenting that “the beautiful foliage of the trees enlivening these ruins particularly struck me – a beauty that most of the Scotch ruins are sadly wanting in.”<sup>71</sup> In contrast, he dismissed Dunfermline, calling it a “miserable and dirty town” with an inn so bad it rivalled any other for filth and discomfort in “civilised Europe.”<sup>72</sup> Yet, St Andrews was deemed suitable because it had a highly-regarded college, church and castle ruins. It was a town with a gratifyingly ancient history and aristocratic reputation and, therefore, appropriate for the photographer seeking a “quaint and most picturesque town”. Blair Castle north of Dunkeld fell short of Gutch's expectations. It should have had turrets or ghostly ramparts, he wrote, but instead it is a white-washed baronial mansion and looks more like a “parish union workhouse.” The English picturesque, with its trees situated amongst ruins and snatches of costumed peasants, was the picture of Scotland Gutch explained he was trying to find. He was looking for a landscape of quiet magnitude and easy solace, which could both excite and sooth an Englishman on holiday, as well as provide the photographer with ‘good’ pictures.<sup>73</sup> As such he ignored specificities, only highlighting the toil he undertook while boldly traversing the worst areas of the country for the benefit of the photographic community.

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. no. 53. 146.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

These jottings of a British gentleman, aiming to map an authoritative picturesque, and by association ‘civilised’, route through unfamiliar territory, typifies the style of most travelogues found in the photographic journals during the 1850s and 1860s. They are articles that set the urban traveller against the parochial ‘native’ and use stereotypes to evoke humour and amuse readers. Another photographer, who pitched his “first excursion into the country” to the Edinburgh Photographic Society as a serious photographic venture, told a tale that swiftly descended into a comedy of errors.<sup>74</sup> Recounted for a wider circle of readers in the *British Journal of Photography*, the narrator highlights how arduous and haphazard it was packing their apparatus, how they struggled to carry their tools and how chemical bottles shattered, and cameras tumbled. Then, while taking the images, they were mistaken for itinerant salesmen. At this point the story becomes farcical; the author liberally using vernacular terms to enhance the ignorance of the rural ‘natives’ and to convince viewers of the authenticity of his experience. Like Wilson in his “A Voice from the Hills”, this photographer poked fun at locals by imitating their parochial accent. This was a common trope in travel writing, used especially to “assure the reader that the traveller has indeed managed to collect evidence of a difference from the familiar.”<sup>75</sup> Here it locates Scottish rural life outside modern British society; the unfamiliar dialect starkly contrasting with the author’s dulcet English tones. To enhance this distance from modernity, it was customary to suggest that rural ‘folk’ were unfamiliar with the camera. Their behaviour was explained as ‘quaint’; a crucial element of the ‘picturesque’ scene. Alongside the old oak or the stalwart crumbling bridge, the rural Scot was a relic from the past and a vital component to include in an ‘honest’ picture of the Scottish landscape. The rural Scot as the content and ignorant ‘noble savage’ also provided an ideal opposite, against which middle class

---

<sup>74</sup> “My First Photographic Trip to the Country.” 146-147

<sup>75</sup> Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour*. 4.

individuals might define themselves. I discuss how portrait studios provided opportunities for consumers to model themselves in relation to others in chapter five. At this point, however, we turn our attentions to the space of the specialised journals to establish how commercial photographers benefited from contributing travelogues.

### **Very British Journals**

Emerging in England throughout the 1850s, the photographic journal operated as a specialised textual site. While they contained a variety of voices, from the amateur to the chemist and the studio photographer to the university professor, the journals were driven by bourgeois concerns. Just as contributing to an exhibition was important for marketing a photographer's professionalism, so was participating in journal debates. As Steve Edwards has noted, journals gave "access, indirect and strained as it might be, to the world of a particularly vocal section of the petit bourgeoisie."<sup>76</sup> The journals provided an educationally superior site within which photography could be abstracted from its association with rough trade, and converted into a product of gentlemanly capitalism.<sup>77</sup> These periodicals were arenas for local commercial photographers to advertise new techniques, demonstrate knowledge in scientific or aesthetic theory, and legitimate their professional place on a national level. It was through their writings that photographers could promote themselves as socially-conscious educators.

By the nineteenth century, literacy had "conquered middle class levels"<sup>78</sup> and reading became the primary method of cultivating learning. "Literature worked as a cultural force in the nineteenth century", notes Deborah Wynne, at a time when the middle classes felt

---

<sup>76</sup> Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 6.

<sup>77</sup> Here Edwards references Christopher Hill. *Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 257. Quoted in *Ibid.* 124.

<sup>78</sup> Steven Roger Fischer, *A History of Reading* (London, UK Reaktion Books, 2003). 272. The Public Library Act of 1850 introduced civic libraries to cities across Britain. Prior to this, libraries were started by educational institutes, and access was granted through private subscription.

it was their moral duty to educate society's lower levels.<sup>79</sup> Books, pamphlets, journals and newspapers all became vehicles through which the dominant classes aimed to improve their social inferiors. Accordingly, a surfeit of literature was published to reflect the key middle class principles of hard work, "discipline...and civic responsibility through traditional Christian values."<sup>80</sup> This led to increasing levels of intervention into the style and content of literature, with a particular rise in "the Evangelical encouragement of reading as moral instruction and rational recreation, and the utilitarian promotion of reading for technical instruction and self-advancement."<sup>81</sup> As Robert Snape has pointed out, "instruction and didacticism" typified the Victorian's "intervention in reading"<sup>82</sup> in the mid-century at a time when lower classes were gaining increasing access to libraries and elementary education, while middle class citizens were distinguishing themselves by seeking specialised secondary training. A basic education system had been operating in Scotland from the mid-sixteenth century. Funded by charities and the Kirk, it was a parish-based system that had attempted to provide reading and numeracy skills to the children of all families. Yet, evidence suggests, three centuries later literacy levels were still dependent on social conditions. Although reading levels were higher than those in England and Wales, those who were benefiting most from Scotland's system of secondary education at universities and academies were the middle classes. Elementary education, especially in rural areas, was still dominated by religious doctrine.<sup>83</sup> Within the vast range of reading available in the mid-nineteenth century, it was the periodicals that provided the newly educated middle classes a polite site for specialized dialogue. They created a "dynamic intertextuality" between writers, editors

---

<sup>79</sup> Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). 166.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> Robert Snape, "The National Home Reading Union," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 7, no. 1 (2002). 86.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 87.

<sup>83</sup> T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, Revised ed. (London, UK: Penguin Books, 2006). 91-100. Quote, 98.

and readers across Britain.<sup>84</sup> The journal became the respectable alternative to the popular novel, which was often serialised in newspapers and circulars and said to be responsible for encouraging behaviour that was antithetical to family values.<sup>85</sup>

*Notes and Queries* was the first journal to discuss photography. From 1852 it answered enquiries and offered advice. As Roger Taylor has noted, the timing of this inaugural event was fortuitous; it was the exact moment when Talbot relaxed his calotype patent in England, and a London photographic society was being planned. This bi-weekly publication therefore “tapped into a reservoir of eager and anxious correspondents” desperate to know more about the practice of photography.<sup>86</sup> Then, in 1854, the London and Liverpool Photographic Societies started their respective journals. Two years later, Thomas Sutton, based in Jersey, founded *Photographic Notes*. And finally, in 1858, *Photographic News* entered the fray, introducing itself as “the recognised organ of photography.” It claimed jurisdiction as:

...the guide and instructor of the beginner, the medium of communication and interchange of ideas between the more advanced students, and the record of all improvements and discoveries which may take place in the art, or in the allied sciences.<sup>87</sup>

Three years previously, the editor of the *Liverpool Photographic Journal* had already emphasised the importance of teaching, saying:

Those who know a subject, are too apt to presume a knowledge on the part of their hearers or their readers...in the present state of Photographic science and the sudden and enormous expansion of the art, the greater number of those interested must inevitably be as children, and require to be provided for accordingly.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*. 167.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. 88. For more on Victorian anxieties about novels and novel reading see: Patrick Brantlinger, *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998).

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, *Impressed by Light*. 58.

<sup>87</sup> William Crookes, "Introductory Address," *The Photographic News* 1, no. 1 (1858). 1.

<sup>88</sup> "Editorial," *Liverpool Photographic Journal* 2, no. 1 (1855). 1.

The consequence of allowing these infantile practitioners to run riot in the market place, this editorial continued, was the certain annihilation of good quality photography and the loss of any hope that photographers would be viewed as serious artists. All the journals followed this line of reasoning, the editors guiding the format with a firm and ideologically inspired hand. William Crookes was chosen as the first editor of *Photographic News* after irreconcilable differences had forced him from an editorial position at London's Journal.<sup>89</sup> He was a chemist, whose mission was to school readers on the science of photography. This had been antithetical to the London Photographic Society's ambition to develop an aestheticism for the discipline.<sup>90</sup> In order to widen the readership and compete for subscriptions Crookes designed *Photographic News* to be a journal for popular education. He reserved over half the journal to "notes and queries" and the other half to a series of didactic columns. Along with a dictionary of photography, which defined scientific and artistic terminology, each issue provided readers with lessons in photographic chemistry and a question-and-answer section entitled "A Catechism of Photography." Here is a sample:

- *Question:* What is a camera obscura?
- *Answer:* A box fitted with a lens, through which the images of exterior objects are received, and transmitted to a piece of ground glass, placed at the back of the camera.
- *Q:* By whom was the camera invented?
- *A:* By Giovanni Baptiste Porta, a Neapolitan physician, about two centuries ago
- *Q:* For what purpose was the camera obscura formally employed?
- *A:* It was used in drawing, especially by landscape and panorama painters, as sketches could be obtained with facility and accuracy [...]
- *Q:* What is the usual size and cost of a camera?

---

<sup>89</sup> This was to become the *British Journal of Photography* in 1860.

<sup>90</sup> Crookes, "Introductory Address." 1. The discussion of aesthetics and artistry in this photographic journal is discussed at length by Edwards throughout *The Making of English Photography*. For specific discussion on Crookes see pages 4-7. See also: William Hodson Brock, *William Crookes (1832-1919) and the Commercialization of Science* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008). Especially pages 43-44.

- A: They are of various sizes, according to the dimensions of the picture to be taken by them, and their cost is from a guinea upwards [a footnote suggests readers refer to the advertising pages for more details].<sup>91</sup>

This catechism invited the viewer to purchase a camera from one of the retailers advertising their wares in the journal. It was a commercial transaction shrouded in a veil of education. Such informative discussion placed all readers in an equivalent position as learners, while the writer assumed a position of authority.<sup>92</sup> As well as catechisms, which invited readers into debates, editors knew that ‘good’ stories were the key to a periodical’s success.<sup>93</sup> Despite being considered a moral threat, the popular novel did have one advantage, which was its ability to humanise a conceptually or technically challenging subject. This literary structure lightened dense material and allowed readers to participate in the respected art of self-education. Circulars, newspapers and journals were teeming with anecdotal stories designed to convey moral lessons or empirical data. Most were entitled “sketches”, “notes” or “impressions”, and all were concerned with capturing fleeting moments, tension and metaphorical relationships so readers felt they had witnessed events.<sup>94</sup> While many readers called for clarity in periodicals, despising the moralistic tips hidden in personal diatribes,<sup>95</sup> photographic journals readily adopted this story-telling technique and travelogues became the most modish form of tutorial on how to approach landscape photography.

In May 1858 Sutton published the first such commentary, entitled “Recollections and Jottings.” It was sent in by a photographer who claimed to have traversed the length and

---

<sup>91</sup> "A Catechism of Photography," *The Photographic News* 1, no. 1 (1858). 9.

<sup>92</sup> Crookes was not a trail blazer in this regard. Two years previously, Thomas Sutton had devoted a large portion of his *Photographic Notes* to a section entitled, “Replies to Correspondences.” See: Thomas Sutton, "Introduction to Second Edition of First Two Numbers," *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 1+2 (1856). i.

<sup>93</sup>In a discussion on periodicals in this period, Patrick Bratlinger provides evidence that the most successful were those including good stories. Bratlinger, *The Reading Lesson*. 99.

<sup>94</sup> Hagen Schulz-Forberg, “European Travel and Travel-Writing. Cultural Practice and the Idea of Europe,” in Hagen Schulz-Forberg ed., *Unravelling Civilisation* (Brussels, BE: Peter Land, 2005). 28-29.

<sup>95</sup> Bratlinger, *The Reading Lesson*. 100.

breadth of Britain.<sup>96</sup> Aiming to become the most popular journal in the photographic genre, Crookes swiftly followed suit and published a quick succession of articles, including: "Photography in Algeria" (September 1858);<sup>97</sup> "Notes from a Travelling Photographer"<sup>98</sup> and "Notes for Alpine Photographers" (October 1858);<sup>99</sup> as well as "A Catechism of Photography: Photographic Excursions," (May 1859).<sup>100</sup> Part of this flurry of travelogues was a piece by Andrew Mactear, published in February 1859. Mactear described a trip he had taken into the Trossachs in order to test the merits of wet versus dry collodion, for the purpose of taking landscape photographs.<sup>101</sup> It is a travelogue that illustrates the balance photographers struck between demonstrating their technical skill and entertaining readers with a 'cultivated' sense of humour.

Mactear had added a photographic depot to his successful lithographic and engraving business in Glasgow in 1859. Therefore it is likely he was using the journal to boost his national profile in the field of photography. His article was indeed poised to tackle a contemporary debate. The advantages of wet collodion had been under discussion from 1857, when a dry plate version was commercialised.<sup>102</sup> While the wet method achieved superior tonal range and acquisition of detail, it was a process that required very cumbersome equipment and on-site development of negative plates. Conversely, photographers using collodion dry plates could store their negatives and develop prints at

---

<sup>96</sup> A series that began in May, 1858: John Gutch, "Recollections and Jottings of a Photographic Tour, Undertaken During the Years 1856-7.," *Photographic Notes* 3, no. 51-53 (1858). 125-7; 136-137; 145-147.

<sup>97</sup> As referenced at the beginning of this chapter: C. A., "Photography in Algeria." (1858-1859).

<sup>98</sup> A series that started in October, 1858: Viator, "Pages from the Note Book of a Travelling Photographer," *Photographic News* 1, no. 8-24 (1858-1859). 91-92; 140-141; 224-225; 285.

<sup>99</sup> S., "Notes for Alpine Photographers," *Photographic News* 1, no. 4 (1858). 38-39.

<sup>100</sup> Editor, "A Catechism of Photography: Photographic Excursions," *Photographic News* 2, no. 36-37 (1859). 114-115; 127.

<sup>101</sup> Andrew Mactear, "The Wet Versus the Dry Process," *The Photographic News* 2, no. 27 (1859). 9-10.

<sup>102</sup> Horatio Ross mentions he had just acquired the process in London, during a speech at the Photographic Society of Scotland, February 1857. See: Horatio Ross, "Paper Given at the Photographic Society of Scotland, 10th February, 1857," *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 23 (1857). 95-97.

a later stage, making the whole process of travel photography more manageable.<sup>103</sup> Mactear's contribution was therefore timely. However, while his project had didactic import, it was highly embellished with anecdote and poetry. The educational value of Mactear's article lay solely in his claim to undertake a practical expedition to test the merits of two processes, for his conclusions were not edifying; they simply reaffirmed well known facts. He simply deduced that the wet process was superior, largely because the results could be checked before leaving a site. While he noted that the dry plate method did indeed produce fine pictures, he also stated the obvious by reminding readers to store negative plates in a sealed box while travelling through the landscape.

What Mactear actually provided was a rambling narrative punctuated with poetic references. While his notes were confined to a single page, he quoted heavily from Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, which had popularised the Trossachs region since its publication in 1810.<sup>104</sup> At one juncture he used Scott to supplement his own description of the magnificent views at Loch Vennacher and Loch Achray. "We were perfectly entranced" Mactear wrote, adding: "*So wondrous wild, the whole might seem/ The scenery of a fairy dream.*" Then he used Scott's words as a trumpeting interlude to augment a mild description of their trip to Loch Katrine. Events were not extraordinary. They met tourists and spent time organising their equipment, but Mactear eulogised: "We

---

<sup>103</sup>On describing a trip into Wales in 1860, the Englishman James Mudd stresses how little the camera interfered with his pleasure in "peeping" at a variety of views with his friends, because he was using dry collodion and was only carrying a box of plates and a camera. He then compares his experience with the labours of a photographer they witnessed on their travels using the wet collodion process. See: James Mudd, "On the Collodio-Albumen Process - Paper Read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Photographic Society of Scotland," *The Photographic Journal* 6, no. 95 (1860). 179.

<sup>104</sup> Much is written about the effect of Scott's writings on the imaginative topography of Scotland. As discussed in the Introduction, the most recent is: Graham Smith. "William Henry Fox Talbot's 'Scotch Views' for *Sun Pictures in Scotland*," in Patrizia Di Bello et al. eds., *The Photobook from Talbot to Ruscha*. 17-34.

set out to work...*Where the rude Trossach's dread defile/ Opens on Katrine's lake and Isle.*"<sup>105</sup>

Travelogues were informal statements with didactic impact and by using poetry and the literary style of a popular novel they blurred the distinctions between fact and fiction. Walter Scott's novels were particularly popular resources for this because they too combined history with romance. As Ian Duncan has suggested, Scott created "an imaginary construction of reality ratified by custom." His novels highlighted a modern, Victorian, "liberal ideology" that rejected "primitive" modes of belief, such as superstition and fanaticism, in favour of increasingly rational and intellectual approaches to life.<sup>106</sup> Accordingly, Scott's work helped reduce history to a series of parables that were then used to understand contemporary problems. His prose and verse soon displaced empirical evidence, being easier to quote and consume than any historiographical manuscript. Guide books on Scotland consistently used Scott and other Romantic poets to prove the historic validity of a landscape or a heritage site, and photographic journals followed suit, using poets as evidence of a photograph's faithful documentation of nature. While reviewing stereographs by a Montrose photographer, for example, a critic for *The British Journal of Photography* used Lord Byron's words from *Childe Harold*. The verse helped the writer convey how a photograph of the waterfall at the Hermitage near Dunkeld so perfectly captured the scene. The quote read in part:

The roar of waters! – from the headlong height  
Velino cleaves the way-worn precipice;  
The fall of waters! rapid as the light  
The flashing mass foams, shaking the abyss;  
The hell of waters; where they howl and hiss  
And boil in endless torture...<sup>107</sup>

---

<sup>105</sup> Mactear, "The Wet *Versus* the Dry Process." 9.

<sup>106</sup> Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007). 28-29.

<sup>107</sup> Editor, "Stereographs. Picturesque Scenery of the Highlands of Perthshire by William Rodger of Montrose," *British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 131 (1860). 348.

*Childe Harold* is a poetic travelogue that followed a melancholic hero on a pilgrimage across foreign soil. In choosing to marry this romantic text to stereographs of Scotland the writer elicited the epic drama of raw nature while reinforcing the notion that northern Britain was beyond the pale of civilised England. In a similar review of Wilson's stereographs of Scottish scenery, a writer waxed lyrical about the Aberdonian's scenes of Loch Katrine and Ben Venue. He initially described them in his own words, writing: "The waters winding amongst the rugged, rocky mountains, clothed in patches with luxuriant forms, fragrant heather, are charming in their seeming caprice." However, the author stated, in order to give the photographs justice, "we must give recourse to the poet", for only then can we comprehend how "*We have left the world behind, We have lost the beaten track.*"<sup>108</sup> The reviewer moved on to quote from Queen Victoria's favourite poet, Adelaide Anne Procter, in which she describes a mountain pass as a transcendental site that links the earth with the heavens.<sup>109</sup> The lines embroidered the landscape with the emotive notion that an ethereal presence lay just beyond one's gaze.

Like dreary prison walls  
 The stern grey mountains rise,  
 Until their topmost crags  
 Touch the far gloomy skies:  
 One steep and narrow path  
 Winds up the mountain's crest,  
 And from our valley leads  
 Out to the golden West.<sup>110</sup>

By using Procter's poem, the writer suggested that Wilson's photographs captured this mysticism. It played with the commonly held assumption that the photograph was an

---

<sup>108</sup> "Stereographs: Scottish Lake Scenery, Illustrated by George Wilson, Aberdeen," *The British Journal of Photography* 8, no. 140 (1861). 145.

<sup>109</sup> Adelaide Anne Procter. *Legends and Lyrics*. (London, UK: George Bell and Sons, 1884). This publication had an introduction penned by Charles Dickens. Procter's poems had originally been published in the periodicals *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, both of which were edited by Dickens. For more information on the poet see Gerald Massey, "Adelaide Anne Procter," <http://gerald-massey.org.uk/Procter/index.htm>. First accessed 3rd December, 2009.

<sup>110</sup> "Stereographs: Scottish Lake Scenery, Illustrated by George Wilson, Aberdeen." 145.

image drawn from the sun, therefore, an uncanny product of divine light. Thus the use of poetry and florid prose transformed otherwise mundane travel experiences into moments of magnitude. This is why Andrew Mactear, the Glaswegian commercial photographer travelling into the Trossachs, liberally applied poetic references to his travelogue. Mactear's reason for taking readers on this trip into "fairy" land was to educate them on the collodion processes. What he actually did was share jokes with his friends on the precarious nature of taking photographs in the cold, wet, tourist-laden lands of Walter Scott's imaginary topography. At one point Mactear recalled an incident when "a young English gentleman" pitched his camera tent in front of them and obscured the view. As a form of punishment, one supposes, this intruder was then disturbed by coach loads of tourists winding their way back and forth from steamer to loch side. The writer then mentioned a young boy who was selling "Highland nuts" to gullible tourists, and the beautiful "ladies of the lake" walking with their father. Mactear, like many others, reinforces stereotypes about Scotland and her people by using concepts gathered from traditional poetry and prose. His literary style is also typical, in its blend of didacticisms and personal narrative. And, it is a familiar story that stresses the hardships of outdoor photography. Mactear's text shows how travelogues validated a photographer's work. His images are the evidence that supports the authentic, hard-won experience he writes about. As writers, therefore, photographers became authoritative, professional auteurs, known for their wit and adroit perception. Crucially, for commercial photographers, the national journal ensured this ideal reached the widest possible audience. By submitting an article on the benefits of varying collodion techniques, Mactear aimed to market his professional status beyond Glasgow. He stressed at one point that he believed contributing to the *Photographic News* was a natural extension of his labours, for in

Glasgow he was a member of “a practical society” and the *News* was the leading journal promoting “practical” photography in Britain.<sup>111</sup>

### **A British Explorer**

Photographic journals contained writings provided by British readers and foreign correspondents. As such they imparted a multi-faceted content, albeit tightly controlled by a requisitioning editor. The rise of the circulating periodical was directly related to advances in science and enlightenment ideas, but it was also due to a renewed interest in British unionism. Britain had gained a diversity that was well suited to a wide, consistent distribution of literature that could juggle a variety of voices.<sup>112</sup> Like the daily newspaper, journals generated “imagined communities” of anonymous individuals who were all joined by the act of reading. As such, these periodicals established, what Anderson has called, a “remarkable confidence of community in anonymity.”<sup>113</sup> All the editors of the national journals were based in England and, therefore, bound disparate photographers to an English centre, creating a professional community for measuring and attaining standards. While editors wished to increase their subscriptions, societies hoped to demonstrate their skill and aptitude to the widest possible audience. Scottish presence in the journals reflects this. In 1856, Thomas Sutton wrote to the newly formed Photographic Society of Scotland asking whether they wanted to use his “notes” to publish their proceedings. At the same time, this Edinburgh-based society was contacted by the London Photographic Society asking whether they would like to report in their

---

<sup>111</sup>Mactear was a founding member of the City of Glasgow and West of Scotland Photographic Society (est. 1854), which would soon dissolve because members considered the council too dictatorial. Mactear would lead this disruption and become the first vice president of a new Glasgow Photographic Association, established in 1862. See: “City of Glasgow and West of Scotland Photographic Society,” *The British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 169 (1862). 237. A *Photographic News* article in 1862 called the society “a small dictatorship.” This can be found in *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. MS 250.

<sup>112</sup>Fiona Stafford, “The *Edinburgh Review* and the Representation of Scotland,” in Massimiliano Demata et al. eds., *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review*. 41.

<sup>113</sup>Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. 35-36.

journal.<sup>114</sup> This led to a series of letters from Sutton offering the Edinburgh photographers incentives, such as their name on the title cover, reduced charges and flexibility on the length and content in their copy. The Scots asked that their society be placed first in the title. Sutton agreed, providing a sub-heading that read: *Journal of the Photographic Society of Scotland and the Manchester Photographic Society*. However, committee members did not want to restrict the Photographic Society of Scotland's coverage to the pages of *Photographic Notes* and continued to send articles to other journals. This did not please Sutton. In just a year, the Edinburgh committee were admitting that arrangements with *Photographic Notes* were "not altogether agreeable" and that "other means" should be found for increasing the circulation of the society's meetings.<sup>115</sup> They quickly decided that the London Photographic Society's journal gave them what they were looking for. It is clear that members of the local societies and editors of the national journals understood their symbiotic relationship; both standing to gain subscriptions and notoriety. The public presence a provincial photographer acquired through the journals was highly valuable, being relatively free from class constraints and associated with a British professionalism. Thus, writing was as important as taking photographs, for it allowed photographers from across Britain to become part of a professional collective. Whether representing a society or themselves, individuals contributed enthusiastically, and often mimicked the journal's predominant literary style of entertaining didacticisms.

With its English centre, the journal swiftly became a domestic site from which to view the 'savages' of far-flung places and all the authors of travelogues adopted this

---

<sup>114</sup> In, "General Correspondance," *Photographic Society of Scotland Papers*. (Edinburgh, UK: National Archives of Scotland). GD356/16. 1-12.

<sup>115</sup> "Circulars: Annual General Meeting Report. 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1857," *Photographic Society of Scotland Papers*. GD356/3.

paradigm. A correspondent reporting from Japan described the country as devoid of Christianity and therefore replete with immorality by European standards.<sup>116</sup> In a twenty-one week serialised travelogue the anonymous writer told readers that he dressed in native clothes, spoke the language and darkened his skin to bring readers the shocking ‘facts’ that: Japan had the largest beggar population, the women approved of being treated as chattels, their artistic tendencies were distinctly antiquated, their views on modern medicine backward and their local leadership and systems of punishment medieval.<sup>121</sup> These stories, designed to entertain, were layered with educational advice on photographic equipment and how to choose a vantage point when composing a landscape view. However, they were imbued with an Orientalist attitude that, as Edward Said has suggested, created a “textual attitude” towards reality.<sup>122</sup> The travelogue did not promote inquiry, but established the authority to communicate fact. Even when photographers travelled to the birthplace of Christianity, the photographer used the travelogue to provide stories that focused on disasters, altercations with disreputable individuals and dramatic incidents. The Glaswegian commercial photographer John Cramb went to Palestine in April and May 1860 and wrote a series of articles for the *British Journal of Photography*, in which he declared his intention was to “inform” western audiences about ignorant natives, antiquated accommodations and “old-world” remains. He wrote of the “solace” he found when taking photographs during his travels, for “all ills” were forgotten once he was absorbed in the “consummatory labours” of taking pictures.<sup>123</sup> Cramb was a business man, exploiting what historians have called the “biblification” of

---

<sup>116</sup> "Through Japan with a Camera," *The Photographic News* 3, no. 57-77 (1859). 56-58; 68-70; 80-82; 92-93; 104-105; 116-117; 130-131; 139-140; 150-151; 163-164; 177-178; 188-189; 200-201; 209-210; 225-226; 238-239; 250-251; 262-263; 275; 288-289; 301-302.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* 225-226; 68-69; 250; 263; 150.

<sup>122</sup> Said, *Orientalism*. 93.

<sup>123</sup> The series started on 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1860: John Cramb, "Palestine in 1860: Or, a Photographic Journal of a Visit to Jerusalem," *British Journal of Photography* 8, no. 133-156 (1860-1861). 32-33; 46-47; 130-131 146-147; 237-238; 255-256; 287-289; 364-365; 388-389; 425-426; 444-445. Quote from issue no. 139. page 131.

the Middle East, a phenomena instigated by the renewed interest in the bible and a popular romance for anything “exotic.”<sup>124</sup>

Cramb was in fact marketing his new method for albumen photography, and capitalised on the expeditions of other photographers who instigated a fashion for images of the east, like Francis Frith who was in Egypt, Sinai and Palestine from 1856-1859.<sup>125</sup> Cramb explicitly stated in his commercial album, *Jerusalem in 1860* (e.g. figure 4), that he aimed to provide an “exact and faithful representation” and “meet the demand for information on the Holy Land.”<sup>126</sup> I do not wish “merely to throw light on the Views themselves” Cramb wrote in the album, “but on the geographical features, topographical associations, and Scripture history of the various scenes present.”<sup>127</sup> This photographic project was therefore embedded with science, Christian values and Western progress, for it came from a Scottish traveller whose perception of the world was shaped by his wider association to the British Empire. As James Ryan has shown, the camera was a symbol “of Christian civilisation and scientific knowledge” during this era, and represented the “transference of ‘light’ into the ‘dark’ recesses of the globe”. It was a tool, consistently used by British travellers as “a powerful means of organising and domesticating Imperial landscapes”.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> Issam Nassar, "Bibliofication in the Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century Photography," *Third Text* 20, no. 3 (2006). 317.

<sup>125</sup> Ryan, *Picturing Empire*. This is Ryan's premise throughout chapter two.

<sup>126</sup> John Cramb, *Jerusalem in 1860: A Series of Photographic Views by John Cramb, Photographer to the Queen* (Glasgow, UK: William Collins, 1860). Preface.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Ryan, *Picturing Empire*. 20. Also see James Ryan, “Imperial Landscapes: Photography, Geography and British Overseas Exploration, 1858-1872,” in Morag Bell, Robin Butlin, and Michael Heffernan, eds., *Geography and Imperialism, 1820-1940* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995). 53-79. And, as mentioned in the introduction, broad discussion on this subject can also be found in, Schwartz and Ryan, eds., *Picturing Place*. (2003).

Cramb's aim was to extend his reputation beyond Glasgow by producing a commercially successful set of albumen images. He used a contemporary curiosity for the land that saw the birth of Christianity as a means to achieve this, and was successful. As well as earning national recognition as a photographer who had 'significantly contributed' to the "progress of the art" in 1861, debates continued for some time as to the merits of his photographic skill.<sup>129</sup> Yet his travelogue did not focus on didactic or commercial crudities; it instead focused on trials and hardships. This is because the travelogue did not aim to convey reason, but focused more on the emotional and physiological experience of being in the landscape. Yet, as Behdad has noted, highlighting "trial and hardship" had another distinct advantage; it valorised "otherwise unheroic" acts of observation, so that "non-events" become dramatic struggles through unknown regions.<sup>130</sup> There is little doubt that expeditions were arduous, with heavy equipment, dangerous chemicals and complicated development processes, but these procedural difficulties were often outweighed by descriptions of brave encounters with natives or dangerous terrain. During a trip to Algeria for instance, a photographer likened himself to St Denis, "who walked a league with his head under his arm", when he joined fifteen other men at a local feast who ate with their fingers and treated food like "little boys manufacturing dirt pies at home."<sup>131</sup> Such descriptions highlighted the photographer's role as a modern, Christian crusader rather than a technician. Thus, any landscape images resulting from such a trip became evidence of an altruistic quest to shine a light into the darkest corners of the world.

---

<sup>129</sup>The review praises the "great practical value of the albumen process" shown in the "admirable pictures obtained by Mr. John Cramb of Glasgow, during his professional tour through the Holy Land." See, "Recent Progress in Photographic Art," *The North British Review* 36 (1862). 172. This was taken from an article originally published in three instalments in: *Photographic Journal* 7 (1861). 185-187; 233-236; 247-249. Cramb also presented his findings in "The Dry Albumen Process," *Photographic News*. 4, no. 118 (1860). 372-373. A great debate was sparked on the validity and innovation of his methods.

<sup>130</sup> Behdad, *Belated Travellers*. 104.

<sup>131</sup> C. A., "Photography in Algeria - 1-4." 233.

This image of heroism was promulgated by some of the most influential commercial photographers of the day. Antoine Claudet, for instance, marvelled at the bravery of the landscape photographer in lecture given in Edinburgh in 1860. They carry the lantern of civilisation into the outer regions of the world, Claudet declared, in order that Western audiences may examine “not only the picture” of other countries, “but the model, in a tangible shape.” We have the advantage of sitting “by our fireside”, he continued:

...without being exposed to the fatigue, privation, and risks...[of those] daring and enterprising artists who, for our gratification and instruction have traversed lands and seas, crossed rivers and valleys, ascended rocks and mountains with their heavy and cumbrous photographic baggage. These artists, in penetrating to the most remote scenes of the world, are constantly surprising the simple and ignorant natives, and, by initiating them in the marvels of our science and knowledge, are infusing in them the wish of becoming acquainted with our civilisation and sharing its advantages.<sup>132</sup>

Horatio Ross had already understood the importance of promoting himself as a heroic traveller. When he described his trip into the Scottish Highlands to Edinburgh photographers in 1857, he started by admitting “the disappointments that I met with were endless and certainly proved that a Highland photographer required patience and perseverance.” Ross stressed the efforts he made in climbing a mountain, only to reach the summit and be forced back by mist and rain. He told readers that when he developed a collodion print the wind blew through his tent bringing in the light and destroying his negative. He also emphasised that all his equipment was carried by hand when pack horses could no longer negotiate the challenging terrain.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>132</sup> Claudet was speaking about the stereo view at this point. Antoine Claudet, "Photography and Its Relation to the Fine Arts," *The Photographic Journal* 6, no. 98 (1860). 266.

<sup>133</sup> Ross, "Paper Given at the Photographic Society of Scotland, 10th February, 1857." *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 23 (1857). 96-97. Ross neglects to mention that he had servants who would have carried the equipment, although this was probably inferred as he was projecting himself as a 'gentleman-in-the-country'.

These notes were designed to augment Ross's fifty-two Highland views, exhibited at the Photographic Society of Scotland's inaugural exhibition in December 1856. Many of the collodion prints included vignettes of the popular gentlemanly sports of hunting, shooting and fishing (e.g. figure 5), famously enjoyed at the time by figures like Prince Albert while staying at Balmoral. Ross's text activated the artistic intent of the photographs, which aimed to present Scotland as a cultural space where men could "live up to the *'beau-ideal'* of the great hunters of the past." His words turned the images into a modern animation of "deer hunters like Fionn, and salmon hunters like Scott's Redgauntlet, who speared fish from horseback",<sup>134</sup> and brought to life a masculine standard, away from the matriarchal rule of England. This escapism was made real by Ross's physical presence, which is documented both in a travelogue and with his photographs. Images of a stag hunt and a salmon fishing trip, accompanied with details of a dogged attitude, confirmed the Highlands as a de-politicised place of leisure for those respectable individuals who could help themselves.

Heroism and hardship were literary devices employed to demonstrate that photographers worked hard to gather pictures that were drafted with skill, while tackling untrammelled routes. The photographer was converted into a respectable middle class citizen who was seen providing a useful service to the community, rather than a business man intent on commercial gain. This was a key weapon against powerful art critics, like John Ruskin, who were decrying photography's claim on truth and artistic status. As Michael Harvey has shown, Ruskin's distaste for the camera lay in his growing critique of "the effects of mechanisation and industrialisation on society". From his first writings in the late 1840s, Ruskin believed photographs could, at their best, be used as aids for

---

<sup>134</sup> Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*. 103.

scientific study while, at their worst, they could create fastidious viewers unable to believe in the truth of paintings. “Photographs will give you nothing you do not work for”, Ruskin had said at one point; true ‘art’ is only achieved by “human labour regulated by human design.”<sup>135</sup> By proving his toil through writing, a photographer could suggest his images were the result of human labour and design. This claim on artistic merit became more important as more entrepreneurs entered the field of photography and Scottish tourism escalated. Photographers who wished to distinguish themselves could not simply offer their viewers non-descript landscape views. Instead, they had to produce picturesque compositions (the design), preferably with written evidence of the heroic quest undertaken to obtain them (the labour).

### **An Image Cannot Speak For Itself**

The photographer’s travelogue and the nationally-circulating journal were key devices in the early decades of commercial photography. First, they suggested studio owners were socially-conscious, brave British gentlemen, and they downplayed any suggestion that their mission was to acquire profits. Second, they helped create a sense of camaraderie and brotherhood among landscape photographers across the nation, which was especially important for those in Scotland who wished to be recognised as British professionals. And third, they turned the photographers, who were essentially petit bourgeois traders, into elite, celebrated travellers. The aim with a travelogue, as an author writing on the Highlands had noted, was to be seen coping “off-road.” One must enter the “regular” glens, and avoid those that have “a macadamised road, with halting points of admiration made for tourists, like vistas cut through the labyrinths of a Dutch garden.”<sup>136</sup> There is of course an irony here, because it was the photographer’s images that fuelled the mass market this author alludes to, and prompted the expansion of train

---

<sup>135</sup> Michael Harvey, "Ruskin and Photography," *The Oxford Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (1985). 25-31.

<sup>136</sup> Hall, *Highland Sports and Highland Quarters*. 171-172.

tracks, tarmac and tourist spots. But photographers worked hard to distinguish themselves from the tourists who purchased their images. Their travelogues were designed to demonstrate that they were men with tranquil attitudes and studied minds. Wilson's "Voice from the Hills", for example, transformed him from a business trader into a gentleman of leisure, waiting patiently in the hills for a transcendental experience, and this was noted as being evident in the quality of his work. People "have supposed", one 1864 review read:

... that artistic photographs of scenery are produced at any time with ease and certainty. Mr Wilson's experience tells a different tale. We have known him to wait for three weeks for the purpose of securing a view, illuminated in a way which he considered the best for good effect; and all this under circumstances of personal discomfort which few of us would care to undergo."<sup>137</sup>

Wilson's presence in the journals had transformed him into an influential voyager, who was posthumously compared to the explorer Dr. Livingstone. It was his ardent dedication to searching through unknown territory that was remembered, along with his willingness to share his discoveries generously with the public.<sup>138</sup>

This chapter has focused more on the writings than the images photographers were producing in these initial decades. This is because the Victorian journal played such a crucial part in teaching photographers how to craft their images and approach countries like Scotland. Photographers must have known that the image could not speak for itself. The sheer volume of writing in the periodicals attests to this. The travelogues illustrate the extent to which photographers believed they could enhance their landscape images with a literary analysis. I believe they knew that a tangible experience of the land could not be appreciated from a single image. So, by uniting old literary traditions with the new

---

<sup>137</sup> "Mr Wilson's Negative Process," *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 233 (1864). 409.

<sup>138</sup> George Walker, "In Memoriam: George Washington Wilson (1822-1893)," *Brown's Bookstall* 16 (1893). 55.

technology of the camera, the commercial photographer created a picturesque empiricism that could give viewers more of a virtual experience of landscape than paintings or engravings ever had. This created a niche market for supplying sublime views to the public – a niche that artists like Turner had been trying to fill for decades. The photographs themselves were marketed as duplicates of the real and were deemed more honest than the ‘finer’ arts they superseded. Coupled with a travelogue text, these landscape photographs could potentially bridge the gap between an artistic vision of the picturesque and a real experience. Ironically, as we have seen, this did more to build stereotypes about Scotland than to counter them. The texts actually carried viewers further away from a ‘real’ experience of Scottish life. This was because photography was a social object, structured by an active middle class who used the discursive practices of travel writing and literary journalism, permeated by colonial attitudes, to demonstrate their active participation in British culture. In doing so they framed the landscape with Anglo-centric picturesque values. As the following chapters will demonstrate, these were the photographs and writings that set the standards upon which all landscape photography subsequently took its inspiration. While this first section has examined how national exhibitions and journals informed image production and reception in Scotland, the second half of the thesis attends to specific photographs and studios to illustrate how photography operated at a more intimate level.

## Section Two Case Studies

---

This section of the thesis examines specific photographs and studios to illustrate how photography shaped perceptions of Scotland during the mid-nineteenth century. As John Tagg has perceptively written, photography itself has little identity; its status and nature are defined by the institutions and agents that use it. As such, “its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence and its products are legible and meaningful only within the particular currencies they have.”<sup>1</sup> The goal with these remaining three chapters therefore, is to highlight how photographs operated at specific moments for a particular group of people. As a collective, the middle class was a dynamic socially active body that cannot be defined as a single group, but was rather a broad spectrum of traders, business men, professionals and industrialists who lived at a variety of differing economic levels. This was the mid-section of society, and individuals were bound within an ideological framework of gentlemanly capitalism, which advocated that success be balanced by a visible expression of hard work, an entrepreneurial spirit and a system of charitable values. In Scotland, we also see the added phenomena of unprecedented industrial growth and tourism in an era when the nation was balancing its identity within the union of Britain. I wish to illustrate how these wider concepts can be located in the work of commercial photographers across Scotland. Rather than re-work discussions on the effect of a rising tourist market and show how photographers responded to the desire for low-cost images of Scotland’s tour routes, my approach intends to provide a more nuanced evaluation of how photographs catered to local and regional clients. There is a detailed analysis of albums created for Lanarkshire

---

<sup>1</sup> Tagg discusses photography in this way in the introduction to his essay on nineteenth-century slum photography of Leeds. Tagg, *Burden of Representation*. 118.

merchants and industrialists, for example, which demonstrates the degree to which Scottish photographers used the picturesque aesthetic to provide the nouveau riche with a respectable lineage. There is also a study of the tactics local portrait photographers used to foster the aspirational imaginings of a diverse group of middle class citizens eager to establish themselves in the public eye. However, we start with a look at how a set of urban photographs was used to align Dundee with British civil society.

## Chapter Three Dundee Old and New:

---

### How Commercial Images were used to Pave Progress

The focus of this first case study is the album *Dundee Old and New* (figure 1), assembled in 1880 with a series of photographs by the Dundonian studio photographer James Valentine (figure 2).<sup>1</sup> It was designed by council members as a retirement gift for Frank Henderson, the Police Commissioner who had led Dundee's town improvements throughout the 1870s (figure 3). The importance of the album is two-fold: first it reveals an unconsidered side to the early work of Valentine and his sons, and second it demonstrates how photography was used by local middle class leaders to legitimate their work of modernizing the town.

The album contains a visual narrative that highlights the before and the after. It establishes a dialectical relationship that turns the process of architectural ruination into both a memorial for inevitable loss and an index of continuance. It was photography's fluid nature that allowed this to occur, oscillating as it did between being a document of authenticity and an aesthetic object. As Alan Sekula has suggested "the ideological custodians of photography" were always moving from a positivist to a metaphysical position while discussing the uses and wonders of the medium. It was a commonly held view, for example, that a photograph could simultaneously function as a magical index of nature and a tool of commerce, science and art.<sup>2</sup> John Ruskin is a case in point. A

---

<sup>1</sup> This album was not commissioned and many of the photographs in the album are not signed. Many of the images in the album are listed in Valentine's public catalogue, but there is the distinct possibility that some of the photographs might have been taken by other photographers. The research for this study only found a wide selection of Dundee views in catalogues by Valentine, however, this is because scant material on commercial studios survives. It does not mean other photographers in the local area were not producing similar views. For the purposes of this study, I postulate that *Dundee Old and New* was composed largely of views from Valentine's commercial stock. They have been dated with information from two of the earliest catalogues (1872 and 1875) which are preserved. Images in this chapter labeled 'attributed' to Valentine were not listed in these catalogues.

<sup>2</sup> As cited in the introduction, Sekula, "The Traffic in Photographs." (1981). 15-25. Sekula specifically mentions the American physician and commentator on photography Oliver Wendall Holmes, "Doings of

vociferous critic of photography, Ruskin publicly derided its images from the 1850s onwards as vile products of an increasingly mechanical age. Yet, in the preface to his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), he openly referred to photographs as “precious documents” and encouraged photographers to preserve old buildings with their cameras.<sup>3</sup>

The photograph for Ruskin was valuable only as a record, but it was a record of privileged knowledge, a magical gem. Then, later in 1870, Ruskin unwittingly enhanced photography’s mystery while he was deriding it as an art form. He declared that photographic images had “so much in common with Nature that they even share her temper of parsimony”.<sup>4</sup> This is a precursor to Tagg’s assertion that a photograph’s value only appears when it is activated by a viewer. Ruskin’s argument that a painting was a product of “human labour regulated by human design” was contrasted with his belief that the photograph was an empty vessel. Like nature, it was an object waiting for interpretation.

If Ruskin’s words are to be taken literally, a photograph’s meaning is provided by those who view it and, therefore, varies depending on the context in which it is displayed and the extent to which it “flickers” across culturally specific institutional spaces.<sup>5</sup> As such, photographs can easily be laden with discourses, those time-specific, formal displays of tacit beliefs and conventions.<sup>6</sup> The inevitable gap between a photograph’s inception and reception means images like Valentine’s, produced for a catalogue and

---

the Sunbeam,” *Atlantic Monthly*, 8, no. 49 (July, 1863). 8. He also refers to Wendall Holmes’ article used here in chapter two, Holmes, “The Stereoscope and the Stereograph.” (1859). Sekula quotes from page 738.

<sup>3</sup> Harvey, “Ruskin and Photography.” 26.

<sup>4</sup> From Ruskin’s First Lecture on “Light” as Slade Professor of Art at Oxford, 1870. Quoted by Harvey, “Ruskin and Photography,” *Ibid.* 31.

<sup>5</sup> Tagg writes that photography “is a flickering across the field of institutional spaces.” See: Tagg, *Burden of Representation*. 118.

<sup>6</sup> Sekula, “The Traffic in Photographs.” 15.

then later used to create private albums for a specific purpose, hold several sets of discourses.

This chapter therefore has a dual mission. First, to locate the photographer himself as a member of Dundee's merchant middle class, and reveal how his photographs "inflect" the context of their production.<sup>7</sup> Then, second, to demonstrate how the album *Dundee Old and New* operated for its owners, glossing over any anxieties about the productivity and success of local town improvements. The chapter starts by assessing the local value of Valentine's business and his visual archive of Dundee. Then it contextualizes the photographs within the larger terrain of urban reform, paying close attention to the commissioned improvement photography of Thomas Annan and Archibald Burns. This is a material history informed by theories about the production of space and the romance of the ruin. The urban environment of Victorian Scotland is discussed here as a contested terrain whose morphology was a direct result of industrial capitalism. This is where Henri Lefebvre's description of urban modification is most instructive, for it illustrates how 'improvements' suffuse certain spaces with surplus value. These sites of regeneration require examination for they can uncover how ideology and power are exercised by particular groups of people at particular moments.<sup>8</sup> This chapter argues that the photograph was used by specific groups of people to fetishise particular spaces in Scottish cities. With its unique ability to antique, and turn the specific into a conceptual, timeless, representation, the photograph became a particularly useful tool for de-politicising the contemporary restructuring of the urban landscape.

---

<sup>7</sup> Again, Tagg mentions historians should look at how photographs "inflect" their context, rather than simply "reflect" it. Tagg, *Burden of Representation*. 119.

<sup>8</sup> Andy Merrifield, *Dialectical Urbanism: Social Struggles in the Capitalist City* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 2002). 158-159. For more on Lefebvre, see: Andy Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction* (New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge, 2006).

## Valentine's Studio

Current writing on James Valentine mainly focuses on the growth of his business after his death in 1879. His early work is only briefly mentioned as being founded on an engraving and copper-plate printing business, while the company's contribution to art history tends to be reduced to the global success of their twentieth century trade in post-cards. Valentine's early views are often dismissed because they echo the work of photographers like the Aberdeen-based George Washington Wilson. Valentine's pursuit of images was even lampooned by Wilson's children, who suggested: "Valentine's photographs so resembled their father's that they 'must have used the same tripod holes to achieve their results!'"<sup>9</sup>

Repetition indicates the presence of dominant trends, beliefs and ideas. Predominant images provide evidence of how Victorians saw, or wanted to see, their world. Valentine certainly followed tradition, his early catalogues providing requisite views of all the major tour routes through Scotland. His focus on the Trossachs and Loch Katrine, for example, demonstrates the market value of Walter Scott's romantic vision for Scotland (figures 4 and 5). Similarly, Valentine's images of Edinburgh consistently deferred to the popular image of the city as the 'Athens of the North'; the enlightened, cultured capital, replete with castle, rocky crag, civilized townscape and ancient history. Views like *Holyrood from Calton Hill* c.1874 (figure 6),<sup>10</sup> neatly condensed these elements. Standing on the seat of the Enlightenment, the viewer has a panoramic view from the ordered railings of the city over both the wilderness of Arthur's Seat and the royal charm of Holyrood Palace.

---

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Roger Taylor from an interview he had with Wilson's grand-daughter, Mrs. L Fraser-Low, in 1976. In, Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photography, 1823-1893*. 149.

<sup>10</sup> This is listed as number 183 in Valentine's 1875 Catalogue. James Valentine, "Price List of Valentine's Photographic Publications," in *Lamb Collection* (Dundee, UK: Central Library, Local History Department, January 1875). 251b.

Valentine certainly understood how to provide a suitable souvenir that visually demonstrated Scotland's unique topography within the British homeland. While this chapter does not focus on the tourist view, it is primarily concerned with how catalogues stocked with images like *Holyrood* were used by the middle classes. The photographs chosen to construct the album *Dundee Old and New* came from Valentine's commercial collection. Therefore, even before they were sorted into a narrative on street reform, they were simply prints available for purchase on the open market. They were commodities, taken with a target market in mind and offered to consumers as a viable image of a British landscape. As products from Valentine's studio they also bore the hallmark of their maker, which would almost certainly have affected how they were consumed by locals.

By the time the council members were picking out images to compile the album for Henderson's retirement gift, Valentine had died. However, his reputation survived through a business which had flourished since he had started working with his father in the mid-1830s. John Valentine had been a successful lithographer and engraver, having acquired his freedom as a Burgess of Dundee in 1836. After a trip to Paris, James established his own printing business in 1838, operating from a third floor flat at 9 Overgate, just west of the main retail centre of the High Street. By 1845 he had moved to the east end of the High Street, establishing himself at 98 Murraygate and acquiring the same trade freedoms as his father.<sup>11</sup> It was amid these years that Valentine worked diligently to build a business of pious repute that could specifically cater to Dundee's bourgeoisie. By 1851 Dundee was Scotland's third largest industrial centre, with a

---

<sup>11</sup> Dundee City Council, "Record of Burgesses Dundee," in *Valentine Collection: Research Sources, Booklets, Cuttings etc* (St Andrews, UK: Special Collections Department, University of St Andrews, 1839-1851). Box 2. 10/18.

populace of nearly 79,000. Whereas the two leading cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh had a wide range of middle class workers, from the less well off clerks and shop assistants to the wealthier retail owners, Dundee's middle class was comparatively diminutive being overshadowed by weaving mills and working class tenements. Checkland has described Dundee as being so dominated by the production of flax and jute that the city became "polarized."<sup>12</sup> Those middle classes who could afford it lived outside of town. They commuted from coastal areas like Broughty Ferry, while the wealthier factory owners purchased estates in Angus and Fife. David Baxter, for example, lived on the estate of Kilmaron in the East Neuk of Fife and worked in Dundee for the family weaving firm, while remaining active in city politics and philanthropy. When he died in 1872 his assets were valued at over a million pounds. He was part of a distinct minority, for only 1% of Dundonians had any property worth more than £10,000 during these years.<sup>13</sup> Despite this, Dundee was not exclusively a city of poor labourers. It had a strong middle class body that was thriving from the business of feeding, clothing and providing luxuries to both the workers and their employers. It has been recorded that, during the mid-century in Dundee, there were nearly 450 independent grocers, 350 brewers, innkeepers and spirit dealers, and ninety-one tailors;<sup>14</sup> as well as twelve artists (including painters, engravers and daguerreotypists). Valentine was one of these artists. At first he lived in town, alongside his business. Then, as his profits increased, he moved to larger properties outside the city centre.<sup>15</sup> Competition for customers necessitated that

---

<sup>12</sup> Sydney and Olive Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914* (London, UK: Edward Arnold, 1984). 45.

<sup>13</sup> Louise Miskell, "Civic Leadership and the Manufacturing Elite: Dundee 1820-1870," in Louise Miskell, Christopher A. Whatley and Bob Harris, eds., *Victorian Dundee: Images and Realities* (East Linton, UK Tuckwell Press, 2000). 65. The worth of David Baxter's estate upon his death on October 13<sup>th</sup> 1873, is mentioned by the mill manager, then senior partner of Baxter Brothers, Peter Carmichael in his memoirs: Peter Carmichael, "Reminiscences; Life and Letters," in *Peter Carmichael of Arthursstone (1800-1891)* Archive (Dundee, UK: University of Dundee Archives, c. 1887-1891). MS102/1/3. 31.

<sup>14</sup> Louise Miskell, "Civic Leadership," in Miskell, et al., eds., *Victorian Dundee*. 54-57.

<sup>15</sup> Statistics on artists from: *Dundee Post Office Directory* (Dundee, UK: Advertiser Office, 1851). The *Dundee Post Office Directory* provides evidence of merchants moving house as their businesses became

businesses distinguished themselves. Valentine's business became successful because his products were well crafted, but also because he had spent some time building up a respectable image for himself as a middle class trader who reflected the central tenets of Christian life, and was known for balancing his work with a social conscience.

Initially, Valentine developed an association with the American social activist Eli Burrit, producing a number of illustrated propaganda envelopes for Burrit's International Congress of Peace, which was held in Edinburgh in 1853 (figures 7 and 8). These envelopes were a visual part of a campaign to initiate an international penny post, something Burrit believed would encourage correspondence, trade and 'universal brotherhood'. Valentine would almost certainly have remembered the efforts of a local printer and bookseller, James Chalmers, who had petitioned the House of Commons in 1838 to create a uniform postage stamp. As one commentator remembered it, Chalmers won the gratitude of local businessmen, because of "his strenuous and successful efforts" towards the "acceleration of the Scottish mail to and from London."<sup>16</sup> As well as supporting the efforts to increase trade and communication nationally and globally, Valentine was most concerned with local affairs. He became an active member of the Congregational Church and an ardent supporter of the evangelical temperance movement, of which he was made Honourable Director in 1874, a title he held until his death five years later. He also worked with a variety of philanthropic associations, such

---

more or less profitable. In 1834 John and his son James were in the narrow of Murraygate in the centre of Dundee, but by 1840, James Valentine lived over his own printing business at 98 Murraygate, in the centre of Dundee. By 1846 James could afford to separate his business and living accommodation and, while his printing house stayed in Murraygate, he moved to Blackcroft. This was on the Broughty Ferry road, going east from the centre of town, and had an open view over the River Tay. By 1853, Valentine's business was profitable enough for him to purchase a house on Perth Road, overlooking the river west of town, away from the busy docks and factory fumes. Finally, in 1861, he was living on Tomson Street, located further out of town on Perth Road, closer to the banks of the Tay.

<sup>16</sup> J. M. McBain, "Eminent Arbrothians: James Chalmers," *Arbroath Herald* (1890) in *Lamb Collection* (Dundee: Dundee Local History Library) 128 (8). Chalmers died on 26<sup>th</sup> August 1853, the year Burrit held his conference in Edinburgh.

as the Band of Hope youth groups who were educating young men on the value of temperance and religious faith. Valentine's active participation in these local causes illustrates the presence of, in Stefan Collini's terms, the common "Evangelical moral psychology" that pervaded middle class economic activity during these years. It was considered a duty to demonstrate how the world of work was "a proving-ground of moral discipline" and popular rhetoric found in the writings of Jeremy Bentham or Samuel Smiles was used to prove that unemployment was a signifier for the "sin of moral failure."<sup>17</sup> Specifically, Bentham's theories on utilitarianism enhanced the ideology of feminine domesticity by suggesting it was a moral sin for a man to be out of work and therefore unable to provide for his wife and family. In reality, these ideals did not transfer to the lower classes in Dundee (or much of Scotland) for it was a weaving town uniquely dominated by female factory workers and unemployed males engaged in domestic tasks.<sup>18</sup> Moralistic temperaments were therefore the prerogative of Dundee's middle class. Their temperance societies linked propriety with prosperity and allowed them to construct safe sites of public decency in the city, which could distinguish their lives from the socially suspect body of the 'undeserving poor'.

Valentine exhibited the right balance of entrepreneurial spirit and philanthropic engagement and, following Smiles' advice from the popular manual *Self Help*, he publicly distinguished himself by exhibiting "knowledge, integrity and power" as well as a "patriotism and munificent philanthropy."<sup>19</sup> Smiles' doctrine was particularly useful for

---

<sup>17</sup> Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1991). 105.

<sup>18</sup> This point is made by many historians, see: K. Theodore Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886* (Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998). 523. Also, William Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800 - Present* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1999). 143-44. And Jane Merchant's article, "'An Insurrection of Maids': domestic servants and the agitation of 1872," in Miskell, et al., eds., *Victorian Dundee*. 118.

<sup>19</sup> First published in 1859, this publication was the result of a series of lectures Smiles gave across Britain. In the introduction of an enlarged and revised edition Smiles tells his readers that he was asked to give

businessmen, for it tied capital gain to philanthropic engagement by linking economic activity to good Christian life. Smiles' advice was specifically gleaned from the words of preachers like the Free Church evangelist Thomas Chalmers, who had normalised what Michel Foucault has called "disciplinary individualism"; a concept that suggests freedom is obtained through voluntary compliance with a rationalised order.<sup>20</sup> Chalmers had specifically approached working class groups and used religion to encourage individuals to aim for social, rather than material, gratification. In other words, seek work to enhance your spirit not your household goods. Smiles reinforced this, suggesting to his middle class audiences that work should be used to advance an individual's soul rather than social rank.<sup>21</sup> Those businesses that were seen to be focusing on social gratification and 'giving-back' to the community were therefore highly respected, for their pursuit of profits was suitably shrouded in a morally-sound set of ethics.

The evidence suggests Valentine was concerned with curbing the use of alcohol in the public sphere, the abolition of slavery, and the democratic advantages of free trade and the penny post. By ensuring he marketed his studio with the right balance of distinction and modesty, Valentine effectively promoted his work to be an endeavour for collective good. This is evident in his advertising literature, where he claimed to have the largest glasshouse in the Kingdom but at the same time offered free advice on how to sit for a portrait. He also boasted that his training was undertaken at the "Photographic Academy" of M. Billoch in Paris, and then ensured his retail list contained suitable

---

lectures in a "Northern Town" for men of "humblest rank." Samuel Smiles, *Self Help with Illustrations of Character and Conduct*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866). Google, "Google Books," <http://books.google.com/books>. Accessed, March, 2010. Quote. 277. For more information on Smiles and the success of this publication see Peter W. Sinnema's introduction in an edition of *Self Help* published in 2002. Smiles' *Self Help* will be discussed in more depth in chapter five.

<sup>20</sup> Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995). 99-100.

<sup>21</sup> This is discussed in relation to photographic portraiture in chapter five.

portraits of all the local clergymen.<sup>22</sup> As his preliminary photography work was portraits, he was eager to create a respectable studio space in which key members of Dundee's elite would sit and the aspiring middle classes would follow. His studio thrived as a direct result. By 1858 the demand for his services had risen so significantly that Valentine procured larger premises on the High Street, at the heart of Dundee's commercial scene (figure 9).

Having established a prosperous portrait business, Valentine turned his attention to the landscape and, with the help of his extensive family, the business strengthened considerably over the following decade. Out of nine children, several of Valentine's daughters assisted in the studio by preparing and finishing the photographs or dealing with customer service. His two eldest sons from his second marriage played more prominent roles. James' eldest son William took charge of the view department in 1863, after graduating with a chemistry degree from University College in London. While his

---

<sup>22</sup> The first catalogue of calotype portraits James Valentine advertised to locals in Dundee consisted largely of ministers. Out of the 60 figures, 45 were men of the church and the rest were doctors. The images were available for general sale at 5 shillings each, or customers could order them grouped; either requesting a print of ministers of the Free Church, men from Various Denominations, or the Congregational order. This was published in a small booklet: James Valentine, *James Valentine: Engraver, Plain and Fancy Stationer, and Photographic Artist*, Lamb Collection, Dundee Central Library ed. (23 High Street, Dundee: James Valentine, 1860). This publication also contained a *Sketch of the History of Photography* designed to reassure clients that for a "moderate charge" one can at last obtain "a faithful delineation of the features of those we revere and love." Despite misspelling Talbot's name (calling him Talbert), Valentine's overview of photography tutors the reader, furnishing them with the confidence to attend a portrait session. Valentine even addresses two specific questions he is frequently asked: "What kind of weather is best adapted for portraiture?" and "What is the best dress?" he concludes by reassuring clients that he has studied in the "Photographic Academy" of M. Billoch in Paris and has "one of the largest glass houses ever erected" for taking portraits. This claim is also made in an 1855 newspaper article advertising the development of his studio at 100 Murraygate, before he moves to 23 High Street in 1858. James Valentine, "Photographic Portraits," *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser*, 13th July 1855. See also, James Valentine, "Lithographic Circular for James Valentine's New Photographic Rooms at 23 High Street," in *Valentine Collection: Research Sources, Booklets, Cuttings etc* (St Andrews: Special Collections Department, University of St Andrews, 1858). Box 1. 12/6.

brother George later managed the portrait studio, until he left for New Zealand in 1884 due to ill health.<sup>23</sup>

By 1866, the stationery, printing and engraving shop had become a streamlined business, with work divided into discrete tasks. The firm had upwards of thirty employees, many of whom were contracted to take views.<sup>24</sup> By this time, James had built a portable dark room in his carriage in order to travel through the Highlands gathering images.<sup>25</sup> In 1864 the Valentine's had sent an album of views to the Queen. It was titled *In Memoriam of 1861* and specifically displayed sites that Victoria and Albert had relished during their time in Scotland before the Prince's untimely death.<sup>26</sup> The Queen was grateful and sent word of thanks through her host at the time, Lord Dalhousie. Valentine's gesture was not altogether selfless, however, for he subsequently publicized the Queen's approval in marketing literature,<sup>27</sup> and sent the album's prints for peer review to the editors of the *British Journal of Photography* (BJP). The review duly mentioned the Queen's open "approval of them as works of art" and concluded by admiring James' "successful" turn to landscape. Moreover, the BJP article suggested that Valentine's Highland scenery was of great interest for its "national" content, because it

---

<sup>23</sup> For a recent publication on George Valentine, who set up a photographic business in New Zealand see: Ken Hall, *George D. Valentine: A Nineteenth-Century Photographer in New Zealand* (Nelson, NZ: Craig Potton Publishing, 2004).

<sup>24</sup> A brief overview of the Valentine business was written by James' grandson, William's son, Harben. Harben claims that his father William should take credit for being the founder of the print business, for it was he that expanded the views into England and handled the print and production to meet a growing demand for their images. A copy can be found in the University of St Andrews Special Collections: J. Harbin Valentine, "History of Valentine's Dundee," in *Valentine Collection: Research Sources, Booklets, Cuttings etc* (St Andrews: Special Collections Department, University of St Andrews, 1999). Box 1. 3a/1.

<sup>25</sup> In 1867 James wrote an article describing his carriage and equipment, and mentions he had been using it for the last three years. See: James Valentine, "A Substitute for a Dark Room in Field Operations," *British Journal of Photography Almanac and Photographers Daily Companion* (1867). 100-101.

<sup>26</sup> *In Memoriam of 1861* is in the Royal Archives. It contains 19 pages of photographs, starting with the Prince's Well at Glenmark, a memorial site fifteen miles south-east of Balmoral erected by the Earl of Dalhousie to commemorate a visit by Victoria and Albert just months before the Prince's death. The album then travels through Invermark and Glen Esk to Fettercairn.

<sup>27</sup> The Valentines were quoting from the letter James had received from Lord Dalhousie. They used this in their advertising campaigns until James died in 1879. See advert: James Valentine, "Photographs of Scottish Scenery by J. Valentine," in *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* (Edinburgh, UK: Adam and Charles Black, 1879). np.

illustrated areas the Royals had particularly admired, as well as favourite viewpoints where Victoria had sketched.<sup>28</sup> This implies that the success of these photographs was their effective English translation of a Scottish landscape, and points to the significant role Victoria played fashioning the Anglicized view of Scotland. It was, in John Morrison's terms, a period that saw the rise of "Highlandism"; a romantic way of seeing Scotland that was heavily informed by Victoria's love of the north east.<sup>29</sup> When Victoria and Albert purchased Balmoral in 1848 and started taking holidays in the Highlands, they helped strengthen the ideology of unionist-nationalism. Scots could believe that their nation was a part of a familial Britain because it was united by a beneficent matriarch. Victoria and her romance with Highland culture had brought out, what Morton has described as, "the singularity of being Scottish-and-British."<sup>30</sup>

Valentine, like all other business men, understood the important influence of both Royal assent and English approval, and his seemingly altruistic gift gave him the publicity he was seeking.<sup>31</sup> Over the next few years, Victoria ordered extra cartes de visite and album prints from the 1864 album and, in 1868, she commissioned Valentine to take a large series of Highland views. This latter project took several weeks. Valentine hired a photographic assistant to travel from Aberdeenshire down through the Highlands into Perthshire. He finally presented the Queen with over thirteen dozen images, and was

---

<sup>28</sup> Editor, "Our Editorial Table," *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 223 (1864). 295.

<sup>29</sup> Morrison, *Painting the Nation*. 107+148.

<sup>30</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 19-21. Queen Victoria would publish her *Leaves from the Journal of our Life in the Highlands from 1848-1861* in 1868. It took readers to the places she and Albert had enjoyed. The book was an instant bestseller and propelled tourism in Deeside to new heights. For more on Victoria's influence on middle class tourism in Scotland see: Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914*. She touches on the subject throughout her book, but first discusses it on pages 56-58.

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion on the importance of Royal patronage for photographers in this period see: Roger Taylor, "Royal Patronage and Photography 1839-1901" in Frances Dimond and Roger Taylor, *Crown and Camera: The Royal Family and Photography 1842-1910* (London, UK: Penguin Books, 1987). 11-25.

paid over £56 for his labours; more than a skilled craftsman could earn in a year.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the profitability of this work, Valentine was awarded a Royal Warrant, an honour that granted him the privilege of marketing himself as *Photographer to the Queen*. This undoubtedly boosted his trade and was a distinction George Washington Wilson did not receive for another five years.

With a thriving portrait business, and a reputation for some of the best landscapes in the photographic trade, Valentine and his son William focused on accumulating a vast stock of images. The earliest surviving retail list is from 1872 and it publicizes over 800 different Scottish views. The catalogue provided thousands of different prints and catered to a diverse set of customers. Prices ranged from six pence for a small photograph to fit a visiting card or frame, to a shilling for the larger 6x4 inch cabinet prints or stereoscopic cards. In addition, wealthier clients could spend as much as £3 for a grander accordion-styled panoramic book or a leather-bound drawing-room album.<sup>33</sup> *Dundee Old and New* was a drawing-room album, a product described in Valentine's 1872 catalogue as having "Handsome Morocco Bindings, Suitable for Presentation." These were albums clients could customise. They had twenty-five cardboard leaves, upon which fifty to a hundred views of varying sizes could be arranged. I will attend to the cultural value of the album for middle class Scots during a discussion on rural landscapes in the following chapter.

---

<sup>32</sup> After the Ten Hours' Act of 1847 young mill labourers were paid as little as 3 shillings 3 pence a week, while an apprentice engineer could earn up to 5 shillings. See: T. C. Smout and Sydney Wood eds., *Scottish Voices 1745-1960*, 2 ed. (London, UK: Fontana Press, 1991). 74-76. By 1864, skilled artisans, like the millwright John Sturrock who worked fitting and repairing machinery in Dundee, were paid up to 19 shillings a week. (£1=20 shillings, therefore, with 52 weeks of work a skilled craftsman would earn no more than £50 a year) See: Christopher A. Whatley, ed. *The Diary of John Sturrock, Millwright, Dundee: 1864-65*, Sources in Local History (East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press in Association with the University of Dundee Archives and Manuscripts Department, 1996). 6-7.

<sup>33</sup> James Valentine, "List of Photographs of Scottish Scenery by James Valentine of Dundee," in *James Valentine Collection* (St Andrews, UK: Special Collections Department, University of St Andrews). Box 1. 14/2.

At this juncture, it is important to look in more detail at Valentine's catalogue to assess how it catered to a local market.

### **Valentine's Dundee**

The range of prices evident in Valentine's 1872 catalogue meant his images were accessible to a wide variety of middle class consumers, and demonstrates the photographer's awareness that market conditions were tied to bourgeois aspiration. As economic historian Jan de Vries has shown, consumer culture throughout Europe during the 1850s was subtly tied to ideas about family values and household respectability. The purchase of luxury goods was a public declaration that a family's basic needs, like water, sanitation and nutrition, were satiated. It insinuated the presence of a proficient patriarch sufficiently supporting a domesticated wife and educated children.<sup>34</sup> Photographic studios catered to this market for luxury items, a photograph being anything but an essential necessity. More specifically, the landscape image provided precise visual evidence of touring, a leisurely activity that signified surplus time and money. Valentine's 1872 catalogue focused on panoramas and detailed close-ups of sites along the conventional tour routes. He therefore catered directly to the middle class citizen eager to brandish their status as experienced travellers by showing evidence they had acquired knowledge by gathering both the details and over-arching image of a place.<sup>35</sup> Yet, within Valentine's 1872 catalogue there was also a curious collection of sixty-six images of Dundee and its vicinity. It is 'curious' because Dundee was not a popular tourist destination. It was a town included in *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland* (1851), but it was noted that the view of "most uncommon beauty" was to be seen from

---

<sup>34</sup> Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008). 189-190.

<sup>35</sup> Demand for the detailed holistic view was popularised by earlier nineteenth-century panoramas. As noted in chapter one, the best source for information on the panorama is: Comment, *The Panorma*. (1999).

the steamer *leaving* Dundee towards Perth.<sup>36</sup> While many writers praised its bustling seaport and rampant manufacture of textiles, Dundee was most commonly understood as a town “wanting in elegant attractions.”<sup>37</sup> One commentator in the 1840s had suggested that the “volumes” of factory smoke and the bleach-fields were specifically ruining rivers and fields and making the area “offensive” for both travellers and residents.<sup>38</sup> Edinburgh, on the other hand, was predominantly described as “one of the most beautiful cities in the world.”<sup>39</sup> As the seat of government, philosophy and law it was infinitely more fashionable. Yet Valentine’s 1872 catalogue offered twenty-two more images of Dundee than it did of the capital.

Valentine is the only known photographer to have published a selection of Dundee views during these years.<sup>40</sup> He added more in 1875, also advertising a new panoramic book on the town; one of the most expensive products ordinarily reserved for the most popular tourist sites.<sup>41</sup> It is because Dundee was not associated with the picturesque tour that these photographs are intriguing. They do not cater to the tourist but were designed for local middle class citizens. These were photographs that visually complemented a spate of publications about the town’s modernity, respectability and heritage, such as A. J. Warden's *Linen Trade Ancient and Modern* (1864), W. Norrie's *Dundee Celebrities of*

---

<sup>36</sup> *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, 9th ed. (Edinburgh, UK: Adam and Charles Black, 1851).

Footnote on 361.

<sup>37</sup> Francis H. Groome, ed. *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1885). 412.

<sup>38</sup> The Reverend David Cannan on Dundee, in: *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Vol. IX. (1845). Quoted by Morrison, *Painting the Nation*. 94.

<sup>39</sup> R. M. Ballantyne and Archibald Burns, *Photographs of Edinburgh with Descriptive Letterpress*, National Library of Scotland ed. NLS A.118.b.1 (Glasgow, UK: Andrew Duthie, 1868). Introduction.

<sup>40</sup> Washington Wilson’s 1863 catalogue shows no available views of Dundee. Surviving images in Wilson’s archive at the University of Aberdeen suggest that the company’s main series of Scotland were numbered 2,000-6,000. These were most probably taken in the early to mid 1880s. This is when Wilson would have gathered his first images of Dundee. A later 1902 catalogue by Wilson lists only 18 images of Dundee, all of which have much higher registration numbers (in the 13,000 range). This suggests Wilson’s company did not focus on Dundee until at least the 1890s.

<sup>41</sup> Other panoramic books in this 1875 catalogue included: Edinburgh; Abbotsford; Melrose and Border Abbeys; The Trossachs; Loch Lomond; Callander and Crieff; Aberfeldy; Killcrankie and Blair Atholl; Oban and Glencoe; Balmoral and Deeside.

*the Nineteenth Century* (1873) and *Handbook to Dundee Past and Present* (1876), as well as a renewed edition of an 1847 *History of Dundee* by James Maclaren and James Thomson (1874). These literary works all placed Dundee at the heart of Britain's Imperial homeland, suggesting it was a town rooted by its history and defined by its industrial prowess. In doing so, they reflected a wider cultural trend for defining the perimeters and nature of the Empire's centre during a period of rapid expansion and exploration.<sup>42</sup> Photography played a significant role in normalising what this centre should look like. In terms of urban space, British towns should be models of the English ideal: a light, spacious and ordered city that was a visual contrast to the irregularity of 'colonial' village life. Valentine's photographs of Dundee operated within this discourse, and authenticated the town's place at the heart of civilization rather than beyond its pale.<sup>43</sup>

In the first place, Valentine provided five panoramic views of the town and accentuated its unique physical geography lying resplendent on the river Tay (figure 10). The panoramic photograph was a popular view, often used as the primary image in an album, for it provided a "static monumentalism" and positioned the viewer as the "monarch of all he surveys", proffering a sense of entitlement and ownership over the land.<sup>44</sup> As Christine Boyer has noted, the popularity of the panorama stemmed directly from increasing urban density and sprawl, which was having a profound impact on how humans related to their surroundings. By the nineteenth century, the experience of a city

---

<sup>42</sup>W. J. T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," in Mitchell, ed. *Landscape and Power*. 17.

<sup>43</sup> For British-ness being defined as that which is not the "other", see Keith Robbins, "An Imperial and Multinational Polity: The 'scene from the centre', 1832-1922." In Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer, eds., *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995). 244-254.

<sup>44</sup> From a talk by Ali Behdad of University of California at Los Angeles, entitled "Contact Vision: On Photography and Orientalism," Given on March 15, 2011 at the University of St Andrews. Behdad discussed photograph albums of Turkey created in the nineteenth century, noting that they always started with panoramas of Istanbul, then continued with individual historical monuments and concluded with images of Turkish and ethnic 'types'.

could only be gathered in fragments or discrete pieces, but the panorama provided an objective overview. It re-centred the individual and “reconstituted urban landscapes” by recomposing multiple views to make one unified image.<sup>45</sup> Valentine had received specific requests for panoramic views from some of his wealthiest clients eager to see the expanse of their urban property. In the 1860s, for example, he provided a set of album prints for the Baxter Brothers of their mill site, Dens Works. As the largest manufacturer of jute and linen in Dundee, the Baxter’s had extended their works in 1850 so it covered twenty-one acres and housed a five storey factory, with 250 feet of street frontage north-east of the town centre.<sup>46</sup> Valentine’s album-sized photographs provided the Baxters with panoramic views that ably celebrated the magnitude of their Dens Works (figures 11 and 12). They situated the viewer high above the buildings, looking down over the factory’s undulating roofs and provided an empirical celebration of power, wealth and industrial progress. Fittingly, the images do not give more than an impression of the site; there is no detail, and certainly no hint at the noise, dirt and heat buried inside.

Valentine’s public catalogue provided this kind of broad distant view of Dundee, but there was also a large selection of more detailed scenes. The panoramic views from the various points of the compass gave viewers an outlook over the city and hinted at its economic prosperity, by picturing new middle class houses being constructed on the outskirts of town.<sup>47</sup> These photographs could be supplemented with a variety of carefully

---

<sup>45</sup> Christine M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, MA and London, UK: MIT Press, 1996). 252-253.

<sup>46</sup> By 1861, the Gilroy Brothers who owned the Lochee works had surpassed the Baxters by extending their building to 392 feet. Noted in: Adam and Charles Black, *Black’s Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, 15th ed. (Edinburgh, UK: Adam and Charles Black, 1861). 299.

<sup>47</sup> The building of large stone houses outside the cramped city escalated in the 1850s, as the wealthier middle classes migrated along westward routes, buying property on the water front at Magdalen Green or along the side of the Law overlooking the town. The proliferation of building works in the ensuing decade depleted stone stocks in local quarries and saw the south face of the Law drawn up into lots, leased or sold to the more affluent middle class. This is described by Peter Carmichael in his reminiscences held at the Dundee University Archives and quoted above: Carmichael, "Reminiscences; Life and Letters." 101-105.

selected fragments of the town's interior. Brought together, they provided a holistic view of Dundee, providing evidence of its modern, actively religious and commercially-viable community. Valentine had captured all the key municipal buildings, such as the Royal Exchange and the Infirmary (figure 13), the court houses and the Albert Institute (figure 14). His catalogue also listed the highly-regarded dock yard, sixteen different church buildings, Balgay and Baxter Park (funded by mill owners hoping to satiate the factory worker's desire for leisure), and views of note, like the commemorative Royal Arch (figure 15) built after Victoria and Albert disembarked at Dundee on their way to Blair Atholl in 1844. Then, in 1875, Valentine augmented his catalogue with a selection of views under a new category: "Old Dundee." This section offered customers photographs like *The Foot of Bonnet-Hill* (figure 16), *The Bucklemaker Wynd* (figure 17) and *The Head of the Seagate* (figure 18). These were images chosen by council leaders when they were compiling an album to commemorate improvements in Dundee.

While there is no evidence that Valentine was commissioned to take images of the town, he and his sons were integral members of a merchant class eager to improve and to be seen improving. Their business had started out in the Murraygate and by 1858 it was on the High Street. Both of these areas were extended and widened during the 1870s. It is most likely that the photographers grasped the opportunity to capture their neighbourhood during a decade of extreme change. By adding images that marked street reform to their catalogue, the photographers knew they were providing local middle class citizens with a tantalizing record of change. Valentine's "Old Dundee" was a category within a wider collection of images that depicted improved public markets, busy docks and the elegant facades of new museums and hospitals. The photographer had thus created, what Alan Sekula has called, a "subordinate" archive; a body of images that

seemed mutually exclusive and independent from any other project, yet actually operated within a larger “terrain”.<sup>48</sup> Particularly, Valentine’s images operated within the wider field of urban reform, a terrain in which photographs were already being liberally used to simultaneously sentimentalise the past and mark the advances of a modern city.

### **Paris and Glasgow set the Precedent**

As one of the fastest growing industrial cities in Europe, Glasgow had been the first to actively seek out solutions for controlling a burgeoning working class who were overwhelming its inner city slums.<sup>49</sup> In 1866, the city council sent a delegation to appraise the contemporary restructuring of Paris;<sup>50</sup> a city whose maze of medieval streets were thought to have fostered the powerful working class alliances that had helped spark the French Revolution of 1848.<sup>51</sup> Baron Haussmann’s wide boulevards, radiating from central squares and open parks, epitomised Napoleon III’s new regime of powerful surveillance and became the symbol of urban modernity. Haussmann hired photographers to justify street clearance and provide a record of everything that was to be lost. As the official city photographer, Charles Marville worked with the Parisian municipality to produce a large series of photographs that focused on the cramped conditions of the medieval lanes, the lack of light and “insalubrious rivulets of surface

---

<sup>48</sup>Sekula discusses the archive in relation to photography’s role in imaging the body, in, Sekula, “The Body and the Archive.” 10.

<sup>49</sup>See: G.F.A. Best, “Another Part of the Island: Some Scottish Perspectives,” in H. J. Dyos and Michael Wolf, eds., *The Victorian City*. 2 vols., Vol. 1 (London, UK and Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973). 394-395.

<sup>50</sup>The Glasgow delegation filed a municipal report upon their return: “Notes of Personal Observations and Inquiries, in June 1866, on the City Improvements of Paris, with Appendix, presented to the magistrates, town council and other representatives of the City of Glasgow on Tuesday 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1866,” (Glasgow, UK: Strathclyde Regional Archives, Glasgow City Libraries, Mitchell Library). D-TC 14.2.2, Report 27. Thanks to Venda Pollock for this reference. As suggested in the introduction here, for more on this subject, see: Pollock, *Negotiating the Terrain*. (Unpublished Thesis, 2003). Quote here from page 95.

<sup>51</sup>For more on this see: Roger V. Gould, *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1995). And: Patrice Higonnet, *Paris: Capital of the World*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, First Harvard University Paperback ed. (Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). Especially the chapter “Mysterious Capital of Crime.”

water”, as well as street name plates and intimate architectural details.<sup>52</sup> Marville’s images are strikingly like those by Thomas Annan, commissioned in 1868 to record the wynds and closes of Glasgow slated for demolition.

Most recently, Venda Pollock has proposed that Annan’s commission was directly influenced by Marville’s Parisian project. The Glasgow delegation had been to Paris the year the first volume of Marville’s *Histoire Generale* was published. It is described by Pollock as a visual celebration “that applauded the Emperor’s inquiring into the past as a way of obtaining meaning for the present, in readiness for the future.”<sup>53</sup> This was one of many key books that made “old” Paris fashionable later in the century, when the memory of the “cesspools laid bare by the new construction” had dimmed.<sup>54</sup> As well as focusing on the historic areas, Napoleon III also commissioned photographs of the ‘new’ Paris. Édouard Baldus was one such photographer asked to document the Emperor’s ambitious goal of combining the Louvre and Tuileries Palaces to create a majestic museum. Baldus’ project started in 1855 and he generated thousands of images, documenting every piece of art and architectural ornament as well as the completed pavilions themselves. The results of his endeavours were then assembled into lavish albums and presented by Napoleon III to French ministers, members of the Imperial

---

<sup>52</sup> Barrie Ratcliffe, “Imaged Places/Imagined Spaces in Mid Nineteenth Century Paris: Deconstructing Early Photographs of the City; Reconstructing Popular Cultures,” *Humanities Research Group Working Papers* 10(2002), <http://www.phaenex.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/index.php/HRG>. 55-56. For more information on the Parisian photographs see: Elizabeth Anne McCauley, *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

<sup>53</sup> Pollock demonstrates that Marville’s documentation of Parisian redevelopment began as a sentimental and personal mission, but by 1862 he had become officially employed “to record the full process of Hausmannisation”. He made a thorough examination, taking images of streets from many different angles and photographing the process and results of the improvements. Pollock, “Negotiating the Urban Terrain.” 97-98.

<sup>54</sup> Patrice Higonnet has noted that “a counter myth” arose in the 1890s for “old” Paris. In the 1840s the old city was considered repellent but only fifty years on it had become quaint, mostly because of nostalgic publications that promoted a sentimental gaze. Higonnet, *Paris: Capital of the World*. 86.

family and to reigning monarchs across Europe.<sup>55</sup> Subsequently, what had been an archive of documented civic change became a public statement of an Emperor's wealth, intellect and modernity. Marville's photographs also contributed to the Parisian Council's positive image of Paris, for in 1876 he was commissioned by the Municipal Council of the City to take another set of images of the improved streets. The photographs were then collated into two albums, entitled *Public Works*, and displayed at the 1878 Paris Exposition. As Collette Wilson has described, this Exposition marked a point when the French capital was starting to appear "herself again" after the second revolution of 1871. The photograph albums usefully provided clear evidence of Paris as a city of light, order and peace. This was highlighted by the concurrent display of *Album of Bygone Paris*, which contained 425 of Marville's originally commissioned images of the old city.<sup>56</sup>

The use and distribution of Annan's photographs by Glasgow leaders between 1868 and 1878 bears a strong resemblance to how Marville's images of Paris were used and displayed. Yet, it is an aspect of the Glaswegian improvement photographs that has often been overlooked. When the 1866 delegation returned from Paris, a report was presented to the council that suggested the demolition, clearance and restructuring of Glasgow's streets would effectively control "the poorer and more dangerous classes." Most particularly, clearance would deal with those "loathsome types of utterly degenerate native that abounds to such an appalling extent" in the wynds and closes.<sup>57</sup>

The city's architect, John Carrick, was among the delegates who reported to the council

---

<sup>55</sup> For more information on Baldus and this specific project see: Malcolm Daniel, *The Photographs of Édouard Baldus* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994). Also see Daniel's more recent article on the Metropolitan Museum of Art's website: Malcolm Daniel, "Édouard Baldus (1813-1889)," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* October (2004), [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bald/hd\\_bald.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bald/hd_bald.htm)

<sup>56</sup> Collette Wilson, "Memory and the Politics of Forgetting: Paris, the Commune and the 1878 Exposition Universelle," *Journal of European Studies* 35 (2005): 57.

<sup>57</sup> Words from the Municipal Report, "Notes of Personal Observations and Inquiries, in June 1866. 4. Quoted by Pollock, "Negotiating the Urban Terrain." 96-97.

and became the general director of the Improvement Trust. Carrick led the reconstruction schedule and was responsible for instructing Annan on which areas to record.<sup>58</sup> Pollock has already suggested that, by visiting Paris, Glasgow's civic leaders would have gleaned an understanding of the power photography had to promote "the improved demeanour of the city and the success of its municipal policies". This would have helped the Glaswegians see how photographs could be used to legitimate their own expenses.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, in 1867 Glasgow's Improvement Committee pertinently reported that it was "keen for the public to see the benefits of the work – the reason behind disruption."<sup>60</sup> At first, the original thirty one photographs Annan produced were only seen by an elite public, being bound into albums and presented to select Glaswegian council members. It was not until the following decade, when economic depression hit the city and improvement works came to a standstill, that the distribution of Annan's images was significantly extended. They were placed in an exhibition at the Kelvingrove Museum, on the walls of the Council and published for general sale. While the details of what was commissioned have been well documented by historians,<sup>61</sup> there has been little analysis of why it was felt they would be "of great and daily increasing interest" and a "source of public gratification."<sup>62</sup> Nor has anyone scrutinised why the council did not simply reprint

---

<sup>58</sup> Edwards notes the importance of Carrick, suggesting he provided the single-minded view that led the improvements during these years. See: Brian Edward, "Glasgow Improvements, 1866-1901," in Peter Reed ed. *Glasgow: The Forming of the City* (Edinburgh, UK: University of Edinburgh Press, 1999). 84-103. Edwards is also quoted by Pollock in an unpublished article: Venda Pollock, "'Notes of Personal Observations and Inquiries...'" Into Thomas Annan's *the Old Streets and Closes of Glasgow*," (2005). np.

<sup>59</sup> Pollock, "Negotiating the Urban Terrain." 100.

<sup>60</sup> Report of the Committee to Trustees, "Improvement Trust Committee Minutes Vol.1," in *City of Glasgow Corporation Minutes* (Glasgow, UK: Mitchell Library, 1866-1869). Meeting on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1867. 100.

<sup>61</sup> Mozley, *Thomas Annan: Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877*. In her introductory essay, Mozley provides the detail that one hundred copies of a new album, *Photographs of the Old Closes, Streets, Etc., taken 1868-1877*, were available for public sale by the beginning of 1879. She also mentions that the council had requested a set of framed prints to hang on their walls, and the Librarian of the University of Glasgow's Medical Faculty obtained a copy for his archive on the medical and sanitary history of the city. Later, there were two 1900 editions of photogravures issued by T. & R. Annan and Sons, but this publication is outside the time frame of this thesis.

<sup>62</sup> From: *Minute Book of the Trustees under the Glasgow Improvement Act* (Glasgow, UK: Glasgow Corporation Archives, Mitchell Library, 1866). May 16th, 1877. The full entry is as follows: "There was

the 1868 prints, but decided to spend money on collating a new album and asked Carrick to write a descriptive letterpress and commission “such supplementary views as he might judge proper.”<sup>63</sup> In fact, what Carrick did was build a new narrative on street reform that highlighted preservation and progress at a moment of economic crisis in Glasgow. In 1877 the City of Glasgow Bank had failed,<sup>64</sup> councillors and business men were being accused of embezzlement and fraud and the property market slumped dramatically by 30%. This had led to a loss of confidence amongst middle class traders, which profoundly destabilised their “perceptions of urban progress”.<sup>65</sup> With a growing distrust for municipal leadership and a property crisis, investors and landowners became overly cautious and money for many projects, including street improvements became scarce. As Irene Maver has described it:

With no demand for the land it held, the Trust faced financial difficulties. It ceased to demolish property and found itself the largest slum landowner in Glasgow. Outside factors were given the responsibility for maintaining the properties and collecting rents, but their approach was less than sympathetic and the financially embarrassed Trust was by no means a model landlord.<sup>66</sup>

---

submitted, and read, a letter from Bailie Macbean, addressed to Councillor Morrison, asking his influence in procuring from the Trust, for exhibition in the Kelvingrove Park Museum, a set of the photographs of various old and historical parts of Glasgow as existing previous to the commencement of the operations of the Trust, as such photographs were of great and daily increasing interest, and could not fail to be a source of public gratification. The meeting instructed Mr Nicol to order from Mr Annan, who has possession of the photographic negatives, a series of the said photographs suitably mounted."

<sup>63</sup> On July 25th, the minutes note: "The Chairman mentioned that several members of the Trust had requested copies of the series of photographs taken some years ago of the more interesting parts of the City since, to a great extent, demolished by the operations of the Improvement Scheme, and it was agreed that a copy in the form of an album be furnished to each member of the Trust. Mr Nicol was instructed to order the necessary copies, and a remit was made to Mr Carrick (1) to prepare the accompanying introductory and descriptive letter press, and (2) to have such supplementary photographs added as he might judge proper. It was also agreed that copies of the photographs should be furnished for exhibition in the Mitchell Library, and Mr Nicol was instructed to communicate with the Library Committee as to the shape and style in which these copies should be presented."

<sup>64</sup> The crash was caused largely by poorly secured debt and heavy share investment in speculative land and railway businesses. See Nicolas Morgan, "Building the City," in Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, eds., *Glasgow: 1830-1912*, 2 vols., Vol. 2 (Manchester, UK and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1996). 28.

<sup>65</sup> Irene Maver, "Glasgow Town Council in the Nineteenth Century," in T. M. Devine, ed. *Scottish Elites* (Edinburgh, UK: John Donald Ltd., 1994). 118.

<sup>66</sup> Irene Maver, "Glasgow's Civic Government," in Fraser and Maver, eds., *Glasgow: 1830-1912*. 419.

This embarrassing position forced the council to initiate a publicity campaign. Council leaders attempted to foster an image of a “Greater Glasgow”, in which more citizens could become socially and financially responsible for improving the inner city ward. They widened the city boundaries to include the wealthier suburbs, in the hope it would make the council seem less insular, and open to new investors.<sup>67</sup> This activity extended into the 1880s, but the 1877 call for a display of photographs of city improvements and the knowledge that they would “interest” and “gratify” the public, marks an early awareness for the need to restore faith in municipal affairs. While the 1868 photographs were commissioned to provide visual proof of progress and circulated to boost the confidence of investors,<sup>68</sup> the 1878 album was designed to convince the wider bourgeois classes that urban regeneration was morally-sound and planned just for them. It did not focus on specific conditions. Instead, the album relied on panoramic shots to provide an overview of the project and build a linear narrative that could highlight progress in a novel manner. Carrick commissioned eight new views of historic buildings scheduled for demolition. This included an eighteenth-century print of the Trongate. This latest 1878 album opened with one of the new photographs. *Head of High Street* (figure 19), is a long-view that highlighted shops, clear pavements and lighting in the old town; all appropriate signs and symbols of urban productivity.<sup>69</sup> This 1877 image emulated one of Annan’s original 1868 prints, *High Street, from College Open* (figure 20), which Carrick placed fourth in the new album. This latter photograph provides a

---

<sup>67</sup> Maver, “Glasgow Town Council in the Nineteenth Century,” in Devine, ed. *Scottish Elites*. 119-120.

<sup>68</sup> Glasgow’s Improvement Committee was directly responsible for the intricacies of redevelopment. However, they reported to a body of wealthy manufacturers who sat on the Board of Trustees for the city council. By 1869, the committee was actively persuading trustees to visit areas around Saltmarket, Gallowgate, Trongate and the High Street to view improvements. See: Trustees, “Improvement Trust Committee Minutes Vol.1.” Meeting on, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1869. 220. And, 24<sup>th</sup> August 1869. 256-7. The same trustees were being asked to support building projects with their own money to encourage other benefactors to financially support the works. See: Meeting on, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1867. 99-100.

<sup>69</sup> George Gordon suggests that the storefronts and warehouses were the key part of Glasgow’s development in this period. See: George Gordon, “The Morphological Development of Scottish Cities from Georgian to Modern Times,” in T. R. Slater, ed. *The Built Form of Western Cities* (Leicester and London, UK: Leicester University Press, 1990). 221.

similar extended outlook down a street that is a hive of activity. In-between these two open views, Carrick then inserted two images of the closes; *Old Vennel, off High Street* (figure 21) and *Broad Close, no. 167 High Street* (figure 22). These photographs provided evidence of activity (a shop sign and lamps), but their focus was the wet cobbles, the jumble of windows and doors in deteriorating buildings, and the loitering children. They reinforced the absence of light, a concept well understood at the time to suggest a lack of divine presence, and frequently used in evangelical literature to suggest dark slums “nurtured sin and disorder”.<sup>70</sup>

The seven other additional images focus on buildings not people. One of these was plate sixteen, *Old Buildings, High Street*, (figure 23) which was placed directly next to an 1868 image *High Street from the Cross* (figure 24). The former photograph highlights the concept of ‘old’ Glasgow, illustrating dilapidated pediments and roof lines, an abandoned cart and evidence of dung on the cobbled road. In comparison, the latter image is taken from a great height and is an illustration of Glasgow’s potential. The view takes in the wide, open and clean streets, a gleaming white awning over a shop window providing an index for a respectable and prosperous trader. Annan’s images demonstrate how photography was used by civic leaders to prove that space and light induced working class productivity. This was the evidence they required to show that demolition and clearance of the wynds was the only solution for solving urban crime, disease and disorder. The photographs were perfect conduits for bringing these ideas to a middle class audience, because they transported viewers into dark spaces but conveniently removed anything that was dangerous or offensive to the senses. As such, the photograph was proving its mettle as a medium that could fuel Victorian’s imaginations, for it

---

<sup>70</sup> Tagg, *Burden of Representation*. 131.

allowed viewers to safely study the macabre and sensational world of ‘others’.<sup>71</sup> At the time, for example, body waste elicited profound anxiety for much of the middle class. Suitably, Annan’s photographs did not therefore include the steaming dung piles that were commonly found in the inner closes and courtyards.<sup>72</sup> The slick contagion glistening on the cobbled streets of the wynds was enough to suggest the presence of effluence and deliver a respectable image of sensational difference (figure 25).<sup>73</sup> The photographs suitably animated popular texts that were taking middle class readers into the slums, such as Alexander Brown’s articles *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, which had been in circulation since 1857.<sup>74</sup>

Like many writers, Brown had asserted that his judgemental observation was an objective study, and Annan’s photographs did nothing to counter these claims.<sup>75</sup> They were first-hand evidence that implied a direct knowledge of urban poverty and suggested the councillors were conscious of all the issues at hand. Yet they were also consumable objects that could be sold and distributed to provoke middle class curiosity. For these

---

<sup>71</sup> In describing the Romanticism that developed from eighteenth century Sentimentalism, Colin Campbell suggests “Romanticism is recognized as embracing a popular movement focusing upon emotionality and a craving for the sensational and macabre, as well as the more widely studied intellectualism and idealism of an elite.” Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (London, UK: Blackwell, 1987). 179.

<sup>72</sup> Edwin Chadwick’s report of 1842 specifically states that Glasgow’s wynds and closes were some of the worst in Great Britain. He describes the dunghills, lack of privies and drains and the significant money to be made in turning dung into saleable manure. Edwin Chadwick, *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*, ed. M.W. Flinn, 1965 ed. (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1842). 97-98. For more on attitudes to dirt in Victorian society see: Tom Crookes, “Putting Matter in Its Right Place: Dirt, Time and Regeneration in Mid-Victorian Britain,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* 13, no. 2 (2010). 200-222.

<sup>73</sup> Handy, “Dust Piles and Damp Pavements,” in Christ and Jordan eds., *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*. 111-124.

<sup>74</sup> Alexander Brown aka ‘Shadow’, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs: Being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds and Dens of the City*, University of Glasgow Press, 1976 ed. (Glasgow, UK: Thomas Murray and Sons, 1858). This 1976 edition is introduced by Scottish historian John F. McCaffery who explains that Alexander Brown was a letter press printer who had already written some ‘midnight scenes’ for the *Glasgow Argus* in 1857. 12. As mentioned in the introduction, this material is discussed in an article by Ian Spring: Spring, “Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs: Thomas Annan’s Glasgow,” in Mancoff and Trella eds., *Victorian Urban Settings*. 195-213.

<sup>75</sup> Anthropologists like Elizabeth Edwards have explored how the camera was used this way. See her introduction in: Edwards, ed. *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*.

reasons, Annan's photographs were ideal marketing material; they seemed to offer a sobering, shared, experience yet they were actually, in Marx's terms, inherently fetishistic commodities. Annan's images were objects that appeared connected to reality because of their detail. However, they were not valued for the material relations that produced them but more for their role as "independent" products, "endowed with life" and powers of their own.<sup>76</sup> They were placed in albums and exhibitions that liberated them from reality, and were therefore easily converted into abstracted symbols for concepts like 'progress' or 'improvement'. Again, it was the panorama that instigated the fashion for manufacturing such abstracted urban views. Designed to add detail to a holistic gaze, the panorama was a spectacular vision of the city, which "rejected the prerogatives of art in order to flatter not only a facile taste for the new and sensational but also intellectual naivety and laziness."<sup>77</sup> This was a fetishisation of space that did not create 'class consciousness' because it separated buildings, monuments, public spaces and entire neighbourhoods from their socio-political context, and was designed solely to be entertaining information.<sup>78</sup> In Andy Merrifield's terms, Marx's concept of class consciousness is only achieved when "the fetishism between process and experience is punctured, when the unintelligible process is rendered intelligible in daily life when a common shared experience is identified and comprehended."<sup>79</sup>

This was not the goal of the panorama show. Nor was it the role of Annan's photographs, which did not rupture any reality, being commissioned specifically to create a smooth narrative advocating street reform. All the views that Carrick commissioned in

---

<sup>76</sup> Karl Marx. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. (1867). Volume One. Part One. Commodities and Money. Chapter One, Section Four "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof." Quoted here from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867>. Accessed May, 2011.

<sup>77</sup> Comment, *The Panorama*. 119.

<sup>78</sup> This was also Henri Lefebvre's theory on urban space, explained in: Merrifield, *Dialectical Urbanism*. 159.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 165.

1877 eradicated any solid human presence. In the middle of the album, plate twenty-two, three and four, were all photographs of streets that deliberately detailed architecture and infrastructure not people. *King Street* (figure 26) is one example. This is an extended view down a vacant thoroughfare. Yet on closer examination, ghostly smudges indicate the presence of human figures that have been erased by a lengthy photographic exposure. These ‘smudges’ are an index of labour and do rupture the glossy surface of the photograph. They show how the images were manufactured to liberate buildings and public spaces from their communities. They reveal how the photograph evaporated human activity and released the architectural space from any contentious references to nepotistic building contracts or mass evictions.<sup>80</sup> The 1877 album was designed to applaud the inevitability and positivism of change. In one example, Carrick specifically commissioned Annan to photograph the eighteenth-century engraving of *Trongate in the Olden Time* (figure 27) and then placed it beside an 1868 panoramic photograph of *Trongate, from Tron Steeple* (figure 28). This comparison augmented a narrative that reduced the morphological development of Glasgow to a playful comparison of ‘old’ and ‘new’. It was this edited ‘before-and-after’ picture of urban change that Edinburgh leaders had also used when their improvement programme ran into controversy during the early 1870s.

### **Edinburgh’s ‘Picturesque Ruins’**

Archibald Burns was appointed to record an area being demolished south of the west end of Edinburgh’s High Street in 1870. Members of the public and councillors were then given the chance to view his twenty-six photographs in the council chambers during February, 1871. Prints were immediately presented to Provost Chambers, who had

---

<sup>80</sup> The area Annan photographed, which included Gallowgate, the High Street and Saltmarket, housed 21,433 persons in 1866. The improvement committee had suggested only 7,553 of this number “need to be relocated.” See: Trustees, "Improvement Trust Committee Minutes Vol.1." First report to the Trustees, 1866.

initiated the improvements, and then each member of the Improvement Trust was encouraged to purchase a set, as a “faithful record” of historic buildings. Like Annan’s photographs, Burns’s images were designed to signify the council’s caring attitude towards both its city’s heritage and future during uncertain times. However, unlike Annan’s, Burns’s photographs achieved this by specifically exploiting the ideal of the ‘natural’ picturesque ruin.

It has been well documented how Edinburgh’s improvement works were instigated in 1865, by a commissioned report on the sanitary conditions of the city by Dr. John Henry Littlejohn, and there is little reason to re-visit the conclusions of his findings. The one point I wish to examine here is Littlejohn’s assertion that Edinburgh was divided by the ‘old’ and ‘new’. To the north was the New Town, constructed by the 1830s as a residential area for the wealthier middle classes and the city’s commercial hub. While to the south was the Old Town, with the castle, Holyrood Palace and the university. Here, the poorer classes resided in multi-storied medieval tenements and densely packed wynds that extended from the High Street. These two disparate topographies were safely separated by public gardens at the base of the castle’s rock.<sup>81</sup> Littlejohn’s report was fuelled by a middle class fear of contagion, both literally in the form of disease and metaphorically in the guise of working class solidarity and a subsequent uprising. It was imperative, as it had been in Paris and Glasgow, that a means of surveillance and control be installed by dismantling these communities. As such, street improvements were driven by a desire to create a civilised centre, and market the picturesque history of the old

---

<sup>81</sup> By 1861 the residential population had diminished in favour of shops and it is suggested there were roughly 95 people per acre. In contrast, the residential population in the Old Town was increasing. It was highest in the closes of the Tron district off the High Street, at 325 people per acre. This was a higher ratio than the poorest districts of the New Town, like the 10 acre Water of Leith village that housed 151 people per acre. Henry D. Littlejohn M.D., *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the City of Edinburgh. Written for the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, UK: Colston and Sons, 1865). 5-20.

town. This was actually stated by Littlejohn, who recommended the council divided the longest wynds, while improving drainage, washing facilities and communal cesspools, but he also stressed that it would be in the council's best interest to move the poorer classes into the more "obscure districts" outside the city. Littlejohn wrote:

Our closes are narrow, and the poor inhabitants naturally ventilate themselves in the High Street, which, for its proportions and width, contrasts remarkably with the contracted streets of the same period in other capitals. The places of refreshment, which are too frequently the resort of the poor, are all situated in the chief street. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the visitor, after inspecting Holyrood, when he walks to the Castle, sees Edinburgh poverty and Edinburgh vice in its most repulsive form. Our principal educational institution, the University and our busy Law Courts, in which the judicial business of the kingdom is transacted, cannot be reached but by crossing this great thoroughfare. Besides this, the traditional and historical associations of our city are to be found in close proximity to the meanest localities. At every step, therefore, poverty is met, and is justly the subject of remark.<sup>82</sup>

Poverty has no place in a civilized townscape. As the guiding centre of law, religion, finance and philosophy in Scotland it was imperative that Edinburgh fit squarely in the British homeland ideal. This meant eradicating any sign of the "meanest" local life, and accentuating the town's cultured aspects. Accordingly, by 1877 the largest part of Edinburgh's improvement budget had been spent on demolishing wynds and closes off the High Street, in order to expand academic buildings, provide wider thoroughfares for more exclusive retailing and establish a national museum for art and industry. At the heart of this scheme was the construction of Chambers Street, which led to 2,700 homes being levelled and only 340 being rebuilt. All residents were in the meantime re-housed in those neighbouring tenements deemed sanitary, many of which were conveniently located at a distance from the High Street's tourist landscape. Areas like Abbey Hill,

---

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. 112.

which is tucked away on the north-east side of Holyrood Palace, duly experienced an exponential growth in population from 1861-1881.<sup>83</sup>

The council were aware of the balance they had to strike between the commercial interests of merchants and the sanitary needs of the poor. They were being vilified, for example, by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, for driving people from their houses and redeveloping sites for wealthy merchants.<sup>84</sup> At the same time, religious authorities, like the Parochial Board of St Cuthbert's and the popular reformer Reverend James Begg, were declaring that the problems of congestion would not be solved by spending public funds on demolition but should be directed instead to the construction of affordable housing.<sup>85</sup> Additionally, the majority of the bourgeois class was voicing its concerns over the overwhelming speed with which buildings were being knocked down, especially since the authorities provided no definitive scheme for reconstruction. Many saw the feuing of lots on and around Chambers Street as a positive opportunity to obtain prime trading ground, close to key heritage sites, a new industrial museum and the university. The fear was that lots would be sold quickly and under market-value to key landowners associated with the council. This trepidation led to vitriol in the press, as many middle class traders called for a thorough and transparent process in council affairs.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Statistics from, Richard Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001). 433+445.

<sup>84</sup> These were comments reported to have taken place in a council meeting held at the time Burns was hired to take photographs for the works committee, see: "Edinburgh Improvement Trust," *The Scotsman*, 29th October 1870. 7.

<sup>85</sup> P. J. Smith, "Planning as Environmental Improvement: Slum Clearance in Victorian Edinburgh," in Anthony Sutcliffe, ed. *Planning and the Environment in the Modern World: The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800-1914*, vol. 1 (London, UK: Mansell, 1980). 125.

<sup>86</sup> "Progress of the City Improvements," *The Scotsman*, 8th February 1870. 3. Edinburgh's 1867 Improvement Act had originally laid out plans to modify a much larger portion of the city centre at an estimated cost of £300,000. This scheme was a scaled-down version of the original plans, designed to clear "a number of unsightly houses", open "a spacious and handsome thoroughfare", and to form Chambers Street in a rapid manner so "a very material improvement" could be seen "in the neighbourhood of

The public face of the improvements required polish. The council had to devise a way of reassuring people that its mission was to clear nefarious spaces to make way for social progress, in all its guises. The decision to use photography was made swiftly by front-line members of the Works Committee, without the initial approval of the Trustees, and in direct response to the allegations that buildings were being cleared and demolished more expediently than expected.<sup>87</sup> They hired a photographer whose images were already circulating in a publication entitled *Picturesque Bits of Old Edinburgh* (1868), and in one move lifted street reform into the popular discourse of romantic realism. As Sophie Thomas has suggested, Victorian conventions for viewing stemmed from an eighteenth-century tradition that believed the eye should oscillate between a focus on nature and on art.<sup>88</sup> This had established the convention of the picturesque style, which aimed to provide audiences with intelligent and ‘honest’ images of ‘natural’ beauty. Thomas looks at the image of the picturesque ruin as an example, exploring how it romanticised the real by depicting both the invisible and visible, and played with time to present a view of the past and the future. The author of *Picturesque Bits*, Thomas Henderson, proclaimed he was using Burns’s photographs to preserve architectural “vestiges” with honest and unbiased documentation, and wished to translate Edinburgh in terms of its “quaint old thoroughfares.”<sup>89</sup> Henderson suggested at one point that readers

---

Netherbow and High Street.” This is a description from Francis H. Groome, ed. *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland*. Quoted here from *Scottish Gazetteer of Scotland*. [www.scottish-places.info](http://www.scottish-places.info). Accessed June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2011. np.

<sup>87</sup> Edinburgh Improvement Committee Trustees, “Trustees Minutes,” in *Edinburgh City Improvement Act* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh City Archive, 1870-1872). 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1871. 189-191.

<sup>88</sup> Sophie Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History and Spectacle* (New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge, 2008). 8.

<sup>89</sup> The introduction states that the import of the book was to take its readers through the “quaint old thoroughfares” and “preserve a record” of the “vestiges” that remained. Photographs were to be the primary voice, in order that readers received an honest and unbiased illustration of the city’s old town. Thomas Henderson and Archibald Burns, *Picturesque "Bits" From Old Edinburgh*, Edinburgh Public Libraries, Y. DA. 1829. 9 (868) ed. (Edinburgh, UK: Edmonston and Douglas, 1868). 6. Burns also published *Photographs of Edinburgh with a Descriptive Letterpress* in 1868. It contained thirteen views of the city, most of which were panoramas and long views.

“forget the every-day throng of the street” and he used the photograph of *Advocates Close* (figure 29) to transport them into the habitat of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century ‘native’. He pointed to the “picturesque gables, and the pointed arches”, not to the effluent glint in the gutter or to the sheer depth and height of the tenement that was almost invariably over accommodated.<sup>90</sup> Henderson’s goal was not to bring his readers closer to the reality of living in the old town, but rather to romanticise the reality of ruins in Edinburgh’s townscape. According to Henderson, these back lands were a curiosity which the middle classes had a right to explore, and the “wanton demolition of the old landmarks” by civic leaders, on a quest to make their mark while in office, was causing the real “epidemic” in the city.<sup>91</sup> Henderson’s text often descended into such vitriolic attacks on Edinburgh’s civic dignitaries that it seems plausible the councillors hired Burns for a counter attack. Roddy Simpson believes that the initiative for the improvement photographs came from Burns himself, due to his affinity for the “picturesque bits” of Edinburgh.<sup>92</sup> However, it is much more likely that committee members had seen the value of photographic evidence used in Glasgow, and understood the merits of using the language of the picturesque ruin to infuse their civic project with a romantic realism.<sup>93</sup> By hiring the same photographer who had illustrated *Picturesque Bits*, councillors could make a case for being sympathetic to the great antiquities of Edinburgh, while also proving that certain areas were in desperate need of improvement (a direct rebuttal to vocal critics like Henderson). As one trustee mentioned in a meeting in 1871, “It is only necessary to refer to these photographs to be satisfied of the deep

---

<sup>90</sup> Henderson and Burns, *Picturesque "Bits" From Old Edinburgh*. 30.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* 18.

<sup>92</sup> Roddy Simpson, "Archibald Burns: Photographer of Old Edinburgh," *Studies in Photography* (2009). 73.

<sup>93</sup> A delegation went to Glasgow in 1868 to ask their improvement committee about the terms they had acquired for borrowing money to support their schemes. It is fair to say they would have been aware of Annan’s commission. See: Edinburgh Trustees, "Trustees Minutes." August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1868. 162.

interest they excite, and of the importance of securing such a faithful record of this old historic part of the city, which in a few days will be entirely swept away.”<sup>94</sup>

Unlike Annan, who was taken into the wynds and closes of Glasgow while they were still occupied, Burns entered this area well after it had been cleared of inhabitants. His images are therefore filled with a litany of symbols for dilapidation and desolation. One could walk amongst the rubble of *College Wynd* (figure 30) and then survey *College Wynd* (figure 31) from a vantage point further east on North College Street. Similarly the viewer could survey the *Head of Horse Wynd* (figure 32) to gauge its depth and width<sup>95</sup> and, because Burns took photographs at various points down the wynd, see the finer details. His images itemized the confining walkways and slick, muddied cobbles, boarded up windows, silent doorways and walls with peeling plaster, as well as smashed glass, tipped chimney pots and sliding roof tiles. Like Annan’s buildings that float like objects in space, these symbols of ruin are dislocated from contemporary life. However, this effect is heightened in Burns’s images because of their affiliation to *Picturesque Bits*, and Gilpin’s popular guidelines on reading landscapes. Victorians knew that a picturesque scene “privileged the roughness of texture introduced by fragmentary forms, and regarded the derelict and the ruined as a source of ‘natural’ beauty.”<sup>96</sup> As images of ruin and fragments of a city, Burns’s photographs contained these symbols. Thus, they were easily read in terms of the picturesque and provided effective propaganda that

---

<sup>94</sup>Edinburgh Trustees, “Trustees Minutes.” February 14<sup>th</sup>, 1871. 190.

<sup>95</sup>On a description of Burns’ photograph, *Head of Horse Wynd*, by William Cowan, antiquarian and chairman of Edinburgh’s public library, who compiled an album of photographs of old Edinburgh. Cowan writes that Horse Wynd was “almost the only descent from the southern suburbs by which a horse could safely approach the Cowgate.” See: William Cowan, *Photographs of Edinburgh, 1866* held at Edinburgh Public Libraries, Museums and Galleries. Reference number, DA 1829.9 (866). np.

<sup>96</sup>William H. Gilpin. “Picturesque Travel,” in *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; on Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, UK: Blamire, 1794). Quoted by: Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality*. 21.

highlighted the beauty, rather than the trauma and reality, of municipal improvement works.

In Sophie Thomas's terms, the ruin is a suggestion of "an absent whole" which calls to mind perseverance and preservation; appearance and disappearance. The ruin always has specificity in time and place. In contrast, the fragment is not as attached to a specific moment in time. The fragment can be seen as a whole in itself, but also an object in constant flux; that is, "in a state of becoming and never to be achieved." It is therefore easily de-contextualised, taken from its original context, and converted into a free-floating symbol for concepts like 'picturesque', 'old' or 'new'.<sup>97</sup> The rise of archaeology and the study of antiquities in the eighteenth century specifically popularized the fetishisation of fragments. Individual objects became un-tethered icons that were believed to provide insight into past civilisations and allow individuals to picture themselves within a historical trajectory.<sup>98</sup> As images of architectural ruin and fragments of the old city, Burns's photography heightened the effect of these two discourses. In the first place, the contextual specificity of street improvement is replaced by a widely circulated "general abstraction", so the ruined streets and buildings become symbols for wider concepts like "disease" or "unsanitary conditions."<sup>99</sup> Second, the dilapidated buildings off the High Street, like those behind the old Customs house (figures 33 and 34), represented more than absence and loss; they symbolised human continuity amongst change. Crucially, the photograph itself contributed to this idea of the ruin being an index for preservation. As a means of freezing time, the photograph literally seems to halt the

---

<sup>97</sup> Judith Keilbach, "Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust: On the (Im)Possibility of Depicting Historical Truth," *History and Theory* 47, no. 2 (2009). 68-69.

<sup>98</sup> This is indicative of a modern, more self-conscious approach to history, which Sophie Thomas has recently noted marks this period of Romanticism. See, as above, Thomas, *Romanticism and Visuality*. 48. Also see: Stephen Bann. *Romanticism and the Rise of History*. (New York, NY: Twayne Publishers, 1995).

<sup>99</sup> Keilbach discusses photographs of Nazi concentration camps to illustrate how they lost their contextual specificity. Mass circulation has turned individual images into "general abstractions" of reality, reducing them to symbols for "evil" or "Holocaust." Keilbach, "Photographs, Symbolic Images and the Holocaust."

process of decay. In Eduardo Cadava's terms the photograph of a ruin is a "witness to the enigmatic relation between death and survival, loss and life, destruction and preservation, mourning and memory."<sup>100</sup> Or, as Michael Roth has alluded, the photograph of a ruin is a paradox, for it attempts to preserve a site while it is in a state of decay.

Framing objects within this accelerated passage of time reminds viewers of their own mortality, their "own existence as mortal beings who can remember and be remembered in turn."<sup>101</sup> Burns's images therefore told viewers as much about themselves as they did about the decaying buildings. As Roth explains, "by fixing ruins on photographic paper, we don't repair them, but we have the illusion of reclaiming them from the further effects of nature and of time – that is, from death."<sup>102</sup> Photography is therefore an ideal tool for suggesting buildings are being saved rather than destroyed.

Annan and Burns's commissions illustrate the varied discourses within which street improvement photography operated during the mid-nineteenth century. First, as an imperial lantern illuminating the darkest corners of the globe, the camera was known to produce images that allowed individuals to contrast 'ungodly' outlying areas with their own enlightened and civilized centre. Second, photographs of improvements helped civic leaders legitimate demolition and clearance to a middle class eager to believe facts when they were presented in a picturesque or ideal frame. And third, the images catered to the Romantic spirit of the age, allowing individuals to see themselves as part of history, turning the ruin into a fetishistic fragment of the pre-industrial era and hinting at man's ability to survive destruction. The difference between Valentine's photographs and those

---

<sup>100</sup> Eduardo Cadava, "'Lapsus Imaginus': The Image in Ruins," *October* 96 (2001). 35.

<sup>101</sup> Michael Roth, "Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed," in Michael Roth, Claire L. Lyons, and Charles Merewether, eds., *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed* (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1997). 8.

<sup>102</sup> Roth, "Irresistible Decay," *Ibid.* 17-18.

produced by Annan and Burns was original intentionality. However, as we shall see, Valentine's images also existed within the terrains of urban reform and middle class respectability, and were therefore easily filled with the same beliefs and conventions. This meant the album *Dundee Old and New* could function as both a swansong and an elegy to progress.

### **Dundee Old and New**

Regimented improvements started in Dundee after 1869, on the heels of two decades of unprecedented population growth. In Dundee's case urban morphology was largely dependent on the success of the mills. In the 1820s and 1830s the textile trade was rising, power looms were being installed into vast factory floors and steamers were feeding trade from Dundee ports into America. Despite this, a combination of bad debts, wild speculation on shares in a variety of new business ventures (such as the railways) and a bank crisis, meant industrialists had lost large sums of money and trading opportunities, and the town's development remained stagnant during the 1840s. The city's condition was then intensified with a vast influx of Irish people looking for work.<sup>103</sup> Then the town experienced a renewed vigour due largely to warfare. With government contracts to supply naval canvas in 1848, for the Crimea in 1854 and to the Americans during their Civil War of 1861-65, Dundee's textile mills grew at an exponential rate. In 1836 when Baxter Brothers opened the first power-loom factory they

---

<sup>103</sup> Irish immigration has been well documented by historians and is considered one of the major reasons for the rise of Scottish Nationalism. The 1861 Census records 7% of the Scottish population (about 204,000 people) were Irish. In 1851, 19% of births in Dundee were registered as Irish; 18% in Glasgow. The Irish were often described in the newspapers as slothful, indigent and dirty, and their Catholicism further ostracized them from a predominantly Presbyterian middle class. Ireland's poverty, and the eight million pounds given to the country after the famine of 1846, were rallying points made by the only nationalist group to emerge in Scotland during the nineteenth century, the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. In the first meeting held in 1853 in Glasgow, for example, it was argued that Scotland was losing out to Ireland, despite the fact the Scots contributed more to the Exchequer and was supporting many of Ireland's 'undeserving' poor. For more on this see: Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 133-154. And, Eric Evans. "Englishness and Britishness: National Identities, c.1790 - c.1870," in Grant and Stringer, eds., *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*. 236-240.

employed nearly 400 workers: by 1873 (the height of production) the firm had 4,500.<sup>104</sup> Dundee was redeveloped by these mill owners during the boom years. They financed parks, educational establishments and medical institutions. Upon the death of Prince Albert in 1861, for example, a decision was made to build a new cultural institute in his name that would provide gallery space, a free library and rooms for education. A limited liability company was formed to raise money through the sale of shares; the four people who purchased the most shares were from the Baxter family.<sup>105</sup>

Crucially, these and other projects were under the jurisdiction of the council, which was largely comprised of middle class rate payers, shopkeepers and tradesmen. Dundee's municipal leaders were more of an eclectic mix than those in the larger cities<sup>106</sup> and were often elected through their trade association. Council positions helped traders build strong familial links with industrialists and key business men in the community, so connections were exploited to gain civic positions and nepotism was rife. As a consequence, Dundee's city leaders were consistently accused of being more interested in furthering their private businesses than delivering a public service.<sup>107</sup> This indictment was particularly important, for the council's powers ran deep and wide. In 1851 they had assumed control of the Police Commission and, by 1869, the council were responsible for managing local infrastructure, sanitation, housing, health, education, leisure facilities and all major town improvements. They were also the largest employer of male labour in the city and encouraged skilled working class traders to become involved in council

---

<sup>104</sup> Carmichael, "Reminiscences; Life and Letters." MS102/1/1. 245; MS102/1/3. 36.

<sup>105</sup> A. H. Millar, *Jubilee of the Albert Institute and Free Public Library: A Record of the Work of Fifty Years* (Dundee, UK: John Durham and Son, 1917). 6.

<sup>106</sup> Glasgow's major manufacturers controlled city governance and Edinburgh was dominated by lawyers and professional men.

<sup>107</sup> Miskell, "Civic Leadership," in Miskell, et al., eds., *Victorian Dundee*. 62-66. Letters to the paper illustrate a public knowledge of such nepotistic behaviour. See: 'One of Many', "The Mill Owners and the Valuation," *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 29th January 1866.

projects.<sup>108</sup> This created a patriarchal rule supported by a working male camaraderie, which was all focused on taking pride in city affairs. This was a phenomenon witnessed in tangible form when the labourer, mill owner and councillor came together to complete large municipal projects like the Royal Infirmary (1855), Baxter Park (1863) and the Albert Institute (1864). These sorts of town improvements were signifiers that the social body of Dundee was functioning effectively, but they were also signs of the beneficence of the city's leaders, who were seen as 'volunteering' for their larger community.

In 1871 Dundee officials passed the City Improvement Act. It stated that their prime objective was to create a civic space where all classes could mingle. The committee's initial goals were to widen streets, make space for new municipal buildings and gentrify the central trading centre of Dundee. In one of the first reports given to the council, the improvement works committee laid out their plans for efficient drainage works, securing Magdalene Park as a public space, improving the public markets, and finally demolishing old, ill conceived properties to widen streets in the most crowded locales. A year later the committee announced its progress, specifically that the pestilent 'crime-ridden' areas behind the Nethergate had been demolished in favour of "spacious thoroughfares."<sup>109</sup> These were the neighbourhoods that lay directly between the High Street and the newly built central railway station. Their immediate demolition suggests that, like Edinburgh's improvements, the primary objective in Dundee was to improve the sight line for visitors and dignitaries disembarking from the train, or for those trading in the city. The wynds and closes behind the Nethergate graphically illustrated the cramped and unsanitary conditions of the working class, a negative by-product of industrial progress that was a source of great anxiety for the middle classes. Re-locating

---

<sup>108</sup> Miskell, et al., eds., *Victorian Dundee*. 11 and 67.

<sup>109</sup> Police Commissioners, "Improvement Committee, Minute Book 1," in *Archive of City Police Board and Commissioners* (Dundee, UK: Dundee City Archive, 1873-1876). October 1873. 55.

the working population to tenements closer to the factories helped isolate the dangers of disease and deprivation, making it easier to suggest the town was being built on middle class entrepreneurial skill.

The page layout in the album *Dundee Old and New* visually reinforced an ideal that social transformation had occurred in Dundee as a direct result of street improvement. The first photograph in the publication set the tone. It was a panoramic scene from Dundee Law (figure 10) that placed the viewer in a dominant viewing position. The subsequent photographs were then artfully arranged to illustrate how the removal of a building widened and ordered Dundee's streets. This meant an image like *Water Wynd and Meadow Place from Meadowside*, 1873 (figure 35) could be viewed in direct contrast to *Extended Meadowside (old Water Wynd)*, 1877 (figure 36). The two dark alleyways in the former image have been eradicated after the removal of a tenement. This introduction of light was a symbolic reminder that the city was being cleansed for the benefit of 'good' Christian residents. The lengthy exposure of this latter image has also conveniently eradicated any evidence of impish children standing in the street. In one swift movement, these contrasting photographs cleverly embraced and contradicted popular writings on urban reform by influential figures like John Ruskin and Thomas Carlyle. Both Ruskin and Carlyle were advocates for looking to the past as a way of solving the social ills of the present. As Christine Boyer has revealed, Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) and Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1843) were books that suggested the transformation of urban space profoundly affected moral and social reform. Both writers "turned back nostalgically to the simpler ways and purer times of the medieval past, hoping they would transform contemporary minds and social

arrangements.”<sup>110</sup> Critics of city improvements, like Henderson in Edinburgh, had followed Ruskin’s particular concerns that the demolition of old landmarks by the “fathers of progress” would eradicate all monuments to the past, so that even the “shadow” of a ruin would not spoil their life-less pristine landscape.<sup>111</sup> However, while city leaders wished to be seen preserving heritage, their desire was also to promulgate a vision that urban Scotland was seated at the heart of the British Empire, which meant eradicating any signs of ‘village’ life. Valentine’s photographs were assembled in *Dundee Old and New* precisely for this reason; they preserved the ‘shadows’ of ruins so they might be studied at a later date, but simultaneously brought together an image of a modern city, suggesting this was the only real way to solve social problems. The album was designed by Dundee’s “fathers of progress” in such a way that it defied viewers to contradict the advantages of a cleansed landscape. The visual transition from an image like *Narrow of the Murraygate looking into the High Street, 1876* (figure 37) to *The Improved Murraygate looking towards the High Street, 1880* (figure 38), emphasised instant, positive, change: dark to light; asymmetry to balance and proportion; bad to good. The new classically-styled buildings in the latter image pulled Dundee into a codified British Imperial sphere, which effectively rendered the local scene with a national standard and provided evidence of Dundee’s rightful place within the union.

Similar dramatic alterations were highlighted in the photographs of the widened High Street (figures 39 and 40), and those that documented the creation of Victoria Road. There were fifty photographs in the album, seven of which were of this latter thoroughfare that ran the entire length of the town from east to west, cutting through many of the old wynds to improve conditions for increasing residential and business

---

<sup>110</sup> Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*. 225.

<sup>111</sup> Ruskin’s words, quoted by Boyer in, *Ibid.* 226-227.

traffic. *Bucklemaker Wynd from Hilltown*, 1874 (figure 17) and *Victoria Road - Old Bucklemaker Wynd*, 1878 (figure 41), visualise a smooth transition from old to new. What was a compact network of buildings and pathways has been effortlessly transformed by these images into a vast regimented space, which literally and metaphorically presented endless opportunity. The sheer size of this new road compared with the condensed space of the wynd emphasized its civic nature, and suggested it was a productive space for all Dundonians, not just a select few. The album and the photograph provided a well-edited story with a glossy finish and, in doing so, safely omitted all the controversy that Victoria Road's construction had actually elicited. For example, while hundreds of properties were demolished to convert the Bucklemaker Wynd into a wider more practical thoroughfare, critics like the bookseller and Councillor William Blair had publicly demanded to know why every property owner along the whole route of the improvements had been forced to sell or redevelop their lands, except Frank Henderson, whose Ladybank Leather works significantly benefited from the changes. In a letter to the local newspaper, Blair went on to suggest that the decision to add in elements like Victoria Bridge, which cost nearly a fifth of the whole project, was evidence that improvements were in "un-business" hands for they only improved routes to the docks for the large factories not for the average citizen.<sup>112</sup>

Blair was known for his crusading,<sup>113</sup> but his acrimonious attitude may have been driven by political aspirations, for he was a conservative and was positioning himself against Frank Henderson and the liberals who were leading the town council.<sup>114</sup> He was

---

<sup>112</sup> William Blair, "Our Improvement Accounts," *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 12th May 1876.

<sup>113</sup> "Obituary, Councillor William Blair," *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 30th April 1895. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Blair was up against Henderson in the general election of 1880. While Henderson was one of two Members of Parliament for Dundee voted in to office in April, Blair was disqualified from the race by appearing too late on nomination day. See "Death of Mr. Frank Henderson, Ex-M.P.," *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 22nd July 1889.

also a landlord with extensive property holdings in town, which were inevitably being poorly assessed at a time of economic recession. But Blair's resentment was not isolated. He was one of many voicing their concerns about council corruption, the waste of public funds and the nepotistic circle of Dundee's elites. There is no reason, one article announced in 1878, that the Improvement Committee "should have absolute power to sell property by private bargain" so influential families like the Baxters could purchase more land well below market value.<sup>115</sup> Others called the work of the Improvement Committee "reckless" and suggested their £295,000 debt was "illegal."<sup>116</sup> By 1878, debts had risen and revenues fallen to such an extent that the Improvement Committee was forced to shelve plans for a new public market and leave lands in Murraygate, Seagate and Commercial Streets undeveloped. While the town "groans" under the weight of heavy taxation, one article suggested, "silly sophistry and barefaced arithmetic" are being used to defend the committee's "municipal purity."<sup>117</sup> Critics pointed directly to Frank Henderson, and reminded the public that he had declared in 1876 that, if the public would give him the power, he would give them his pledge that within a week he would pay off all the debt, make good their streets and relieve them of further financial responsibility. Yet, nothing of this sort had been achieved and, eighteen months on, the newspaper reminded its readers that they should not place any more faith "in any scheme" Henderson proposed for he had been "instrumental" in bringing about "the evils" that now pervaded the town's street reform.<sup>118</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> Editor, "Improvement Property Sales," *The Dundee Courier and Argus and Northern Warder*, February 12th 1878.

<sup>116</sup> Dundee's 1871 Improvement Act had stated the committee could borrow up to £150,000, a figure that was soon extended by £50,000. It had rapidly escalated because the committee was borrowing more to service the interest payments. No revenue was being used to reduce debt and the improvement process was stalling. Editor, "The Improvement Muddle," *The Dundee Courier and Argus and Northern Warder*, 2<sup>nd</sup> November 1877. And, Editor, "The Improvement Debt," *The Dundee Courier and Argus and Northern Warder*, 14<sup>th</sup> May, 1878.

<sup>117</sup> Editor, "The Improvement Muddle."

<sup>118</sup> Henderson's words are quoted in this 1878 article, see: Editor, "The Improvement Debt."

Of course, none of this anguish is evident in the album, for it was designed to be a positive narrative on change and illustrate progression. It was specifically designed to celebrate the work of Mr. Henderson. However, such affairs that muddied the streets of reform are lying dormant in the photographs depicting roads being paved, bricks in piles scattered along pavements, tram lines being laid and houses being demolished. They indicate the presence of labour and a capitalist process. They literally provide evidence of rupture on Dundee's streets and reveal the extent to which the improvements were shaped by particular men with specific ideological intentions.

In looking at how photographs were used by civic leaders in charge of improvements during the mid-nineteenth century in Scotland, it is clear they helped fetishise spaces under particular controversy. Photography helped transform demolished sections of town into documents of picturesque ruin. With a technological authority, the camera could isolate buildings and streets, disconnecting them from their context and turning them into un-tethered symbols for concepts like 'old', 'new' or 'picturesque'. It is also evident that the album played a significant role in building the right sort of seamless linear narrative that civic leaders wished to convey to the public. With this in mind, we turn to the next case study that looks at an album of prints by a photographer in Lanarkshire, who used the picturesque landscape aesthetic to strengthen the cultural position of successful industrialists attempting to establish themselves in British society.

## Chapter Four Lanarkshire's Principal Places: Landscape Photography and Social Status

---

This case study focuses on an album by a young photographer to illustrate how commercial studios catered to the aspirations of Scotland's wealthier middle classes. The album was produced by John McGhie (born c.1833)<sup>1</sup> of Hamilton in Lanarkshire. It is titled *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery: Large Views of Principal Places* and was sold to landowners across the county. The album catalogued the property assets of the Lanarkshire elite, establishing a visual inventory that affirmed the significance of land for determining success and power. Within the three copies discovered for this study most of the images are the same and were taken around 1867.<sup>2</sup> The edition owned by Dolphinton House, for example, contains twenty-eight images, sixteen of which were private estates. As well as an image of Dolphinton itself (figure 1), this volume includes inherited properties like Garvald (figure 2), held by the Woddrops who were well known as "one of the oldest landowners round Glasgow."<sup>3</sup> As well as a range of houses owned by the nouveau riche, such as Kerse (figure 3), purchased in the 1840s by John Greenshields who had made his fortune in Canada.<sup>4</sup> The album's remaining images are of Lanarkshire's historically poignant and culturally-weighted sites. They include the waterfalls along the Clyde (figure 4), an old Roman bridge (figure 5), and the castles of Bothwell (figure 6), Douglas (figure 7) and Craignethan (figure 8). These are periodically

---

<sup>1</sup> McGhie died before 1911, the year his wife passed away. See, Editor, "Death of Mrs. John McGhie (Jean Warneuke)," *The British Journal of Photography* 58, no. 2686 (1911). 824.

<sup>2</sup> There are three known albums. They differ in the number of images used and the order in which they have been placed in the album. I use all three and note the differing editions accordingly. One is at the National Library of Scotland and two are located in the Biggar Museum. One of the latter albums was donated to the Museum trust by the Mackenzie family of Dolphinton House; the other was donated by Brian Lambie. All the images used in this thesis are courtesy of Brian Lambie.

<sup>3</sup> "Dalmarnock House," in John Guthrie Smith and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry. With Photographs by Thomas Annan*, Second ed. (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1878). Part One. Section 34.

<sup>4</sup> The old mansion of Kerse was demolished by Greenshields in 1857 and he employed the Glaswegian architect William Spence to create a modern Elizabethan style mansion.

inserted between the private homes, infusing the album with aspects of national pride and picturesque value.

In effect, McGhie had constructed an aide mémoire that helped landowners visualise how their country seat located them at the heart of Scottish history and the culture of aristocracy. The photographer's choice to focus on the picturesque convention of the quiet, ordered estate grounds, meant the album emphasised what Simon Ryan has called "the non-instrumental landscape garden", which "signified the luxury of being able to possess unproductive land."<sup>5</sup> The case of Dalzell House in Motherwell is a good example. In McGhie's photograph the grand building is the backdrop for a bucolic scene that depicts a labouring woman raking the grass under a leafless tree (figure 9). The setting accentuates the great divide between the social classes, her human frame both domesticated and dominated by the landowner's home in the background. She poses rather than works, which indicates that her presence is more of a gesture to mark the scene with a suitably pastoral theme. The viewer is not challenged to consider the plight of the working class but instead is encouraged to see the figure of labour as an index for a 'natural' way of life.<sup>6</sup> The woman's position as a worker is therefore normalised by a picturesque style that eliminates the drudgery upon which estates operated. McGhie specifically emphasised this by linking the photograph with a text from William Cobbett, whose popular *Tours in Scotland* (1832) had declared Dalzell the quintessential gentlemanly retreat. The album contains a quote from Cobbett that told readers Dalzell

---

<sup>5</sup> Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia* (Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge, 1996). 73.

<sup>6</sup> Morrison, in his discussion on the tradition of the picturesque in painting, suggests that painters specifically used people to "enhance the picturesque experience of the educated traveller." Morrison, *Painting the Nation*. 101. There were nineteenth-century Scottish painters who promulgated this pastoral mode, such as Noel Paton and James Cassie. For more on this see William Hardie, *Scottish Painting: 1837-1939* (London, UK: Studio Vista, 1976). 22. However, there were also Scottish painters who portrayed country communities in more realistic terms. David Wilkie's *Pitlessie Fair* (1804) and Alexander Carse's *The Penny Wedding* (1819) are just two examples of paintings that depict the variety, vitality and humour of village life in Scotland.

had an abundance of ancient history and nature, with its landscape of deep glens, tumbling waters and rocky streams.<sup>7</sup>

Dalzell House was the home of Captain John Hamilton, Liberal Member of Parliament and Major of the Queen's Lanarkshire Yeomanry Cavalry. He had the house remodelled in the Baronial style in 1857, aligning it with such fashionable locations as Walter Scott's Abbotsford and Victoria and Albert's Balmoral. Hamilton was allying his family estate with modern Scottish society; a society that recognised the importance of British-ness. Importantly, his family had established their reputation as Royalists who supported the union and the crown, but also had taken care to be concerned with the common man. In the 1820s the estate had become locally known as 'Babylon', after the family had attempted to build a communal settlement in association with Robert Owen of New Lanark.<sup>8</sup> This peaceful peasant in McGhie's photograph is therefore a specific reference to Dalzell as a democratic community. Her presence is a sign that the estate was functioning under 'gentlemanly' guidance. It was the album itself that heightened this relationship, because in isolation this photograph was simply an interesting portrait of a house in the Scottish lowlands. By being incorporated beneath the album's subtitle "principal places", Dalzell's prominence in the region and its ties with Scottish history and British culture were legitimated. *Lanarkshire Scenery* contained the appropriate landscape of an Imperial centre. The photographs delineated ordered and picturesque scenery, which was shown to be 'naturally' laden with cultural, literary and historical

---

<sup>7</sup> "Dalzell House," in John McGhie, *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*, Brian Lambie ed. (Edinburgh: William Ritchie, c.1863-1867). np.

<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Ferguson and Jessie Pettigrew, "Castles of Scotland Preservation Trust: Dalzell House, Motherwell," Castles of Scotland Preservation Trust, <http://www.cospt.org.uk/profile/profindex.html>. Accessed, February 2010.

traces.<sup>9</sup> The images explicitly demonstrated how impeccably the English estate fit into a Scottish landscape.

As Patrizia Di Bello suggests, albums are like multi-dimensional texts, poised between practices of reading and writing. “They offer evidence of photographs having been looked at in a particular context...with their specific sequence and captions; but also of the domestic rituals in which albums were used.”<sup>10</sup> The goal of this case study is to illustrate how *Lanarkshire Scenery* was both produced and used; and how the photographer designed the album to bolster his own artistic respectability while catering to the aspirations of landowners. I do not suggest that all industrial capitalists aspired to aristocratic status, but rather that many understood that beyond acquiring money their social success relied on demonstrating familial ties to heritage. Accordingly, the chapter illustrates how photographs could have been used by families who were sensitive to their position as the ‘nouveau riches.’ This discussion begins with an examination of John McGhie himself. His work is contextualised within the photographic production of landscapes in Scotland, around 1867, when he was developing the album. Then we study *Lanarkshire Scenery* itself, to discover the scope of the images and their symbolic narrative. The photographs within the album are not singularly striking. Yet this is why it is an ideal focal point for illustrating how landscape photographs were frequently used by the Scottish middle classes during this period. In Martha Langford’s terms, this album should be viewed as an “act of communication”, for it is a “suspended conversation”,

---

<sup>9</sup> As mentioned in previous chapters, W. J. T. Mitchell has suggested that during the time of Empire building, the landscape of the homeland was defined and naturalised. See, Mitchell, “Imperial Landscape,” in Mitchell, ed. *Landscape and Power*. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007). 146.

which can be activated by “reawakening the actors” who handled it.<sup>11</sup> In reactivating the dormant discourses in *Lanarkshire Scenery* it will become evident how such albums turned commonplace photographs into conversations on landownership, national identity and structures of power.

### **John McGhie of Hamilton**

Little is known of this commercial photographer who first registered his Hamilton studio in the 1867 post office directory.<sup>12</sup> What is clear is that he had been operating long before this. On the night of the 1861 census, McGhie had stated he was a twenty-eight year old photographer, living with his wife who registered as a photographic assistant.<sup>13</sup> In an obituary for Mrs John McGhie (Jean Warneuke – figure 10), it was noted that she was a fine photographer who had worked with her husband until retiring from the business in 1872. The husband and wife had started photographic work in Hamilton during the early 1850s and moved briefly to Edinburgh in 1854, where they opened a studio on Lothian Road.<sup>14</sup> They must have moved back to Hamilton by 1859, for their youngest son was born there. In the 1861 census he is registered as being two years old, while their eldest son is four and his birth place is listed as Edinburgh.

Their return to Hamilton was most likely due to growing competition. The number of studios in the capital had nearly doubled between 1854 and 1860, and

---

<sup>11</sup> Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal and Kingston, CA: McGill and Queen's University Press, 2001). 19.

<sup>12</sup> “Photographers in Lanarkshire,” in Richard Torrance, *Photographers in Scotland to 1914* (Edinburgh, UK: Scottish Genealogy Society, 2001). 45.

<sup>13</sup> The record notes that ‘John McGhie’ was a ‘photographer’, the ‘head’ of the family and lived with a wife (incorrectly named Jane Warnock) and two children at 14 Campbell Street, Hamilton. From the 1861 census, National Archives of Scotland and Scotland's General Register House, “Scotland's People,” brightsolid, <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>. Accessed February 2010.

<sup>14</sup> “Death of Mrs. John McGhie.” 824.

businesses were starting to go bankrupt.<sup>15</sup> In one instance the portrait painter Kenneth Macleay, who had made an annual profit of £500 in the 1840s, was forced to take on photography during the 1850s because his income fell to £230 per annum. By 1859 he declared bankruptcy, not earning enough to cover his expenses let alone pay his debts.<sup>16</sup> By returning to their native town to become the sole permanent traders, therefore, the McGhies maximized the chances of business success. John then joined the Masons and became the Grand Master of the local Hamilton Masonic Lodge from 1867-70, when it was actively rejuvenating. In a meeting in 1866, for example, over 600 members from eleven of the twelve lodges in the province met in Hamilton, and agreed it was time to end what had been a lengthy period of “dormancy.”<sup>17</sup> This suggests McGhie was entertaining all ranks of society at his portrait studio and was on sociable terms with members of parliament, leaders of industry and gentlemen of distinguished birth in and around Lanarkshire. This certainly explains how he gained access to the privileged world of the country estates.

The Lanarkshire album is visual proof of the accelerated pace to which the “grandees from industry, mining and shipping established themselves in rural splendour”

---

<sup>15</sup> Not every studio was registered in the post office directories (the McGhies' Edinburgh premises are not). Therefore, it is hard to say exactly how many were in operation in 1860. However, of those recorded in Edinburgh, there were eleven when the McGhies arrived in 1854. This had risen to twenty one by 1860, the year the family must have returned to Hamilton. See “Photographers in Edinburgh and the Lothians,” in Torrance, *Photographers in Scotland to 1914*, 4-61.

<sup>16</sup> In 1858 Macleay only brought in £113. Court of Session, “Sequestration Papers for Kenneth Macleay, Portrait Painter and Photographer,” in *Concluded Sequestration Processes under 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act* (Edinburgh: National Archives of Scotland). Macleay's estates were sequestered on 30 August 1859 and his case was concluded October, 1862. His case is one of many filed at the National Archives of Scotland, all of which can be found under the CS318 manuscript number. See also, Julie Lawson, “Bankruptcy through the Lens: the Case of Kenneth MacLeay,” *Scottish Photography Bulletin* (Spring, 1986), 24-27. Thanks to Alison Morrison-Low for this reference.

<sup>17</sup> McGhie was also Grand Master from 1877-79 and in 1880. Information from, Grand Lodge of Scotland, “History,” Freemasons' Hall, <http://www.grandlodgescotland.com>. Accessed February, 2010.

in Scotland.<sup>18</sup> The country estate was an index for the greatest economic success and brought a family's associations closer to the world of aristocracy. One benefit of acquiring a rural property was the presumption that one became a Laird, an important ideological title that linked "the small landowner with the mighty lord" and distinguished them as "the keepers of Scotland's heritage."<sup>19</sup> The men who acquired these large rural properties were largely the industrialists who had reaped the economic benefits of unionism by obtaining vast profits from increased global trade, and it was an insular and exclusive group. In 1878, ninety-five percent of Scotland was owned by just 1,758 people. Just sixty-eight of these individuals owned the big estates that covered at least fifty percent of Scotland's landscape.<sup>20</sup> McGhie was particularly interested in catering to this small enclave, for he did not just focus on the estates of Lanarkshire. During the 1870s McGhie embarked on another album, entitled: *Photographs of Tweeddale Scenery: Interesting Places on the Tweed Between Rachlan House and Kelso* (c.1877-1881).<sup>21</sup>

This Tweeddale album replicates the formula of *Lanarkshire Scenery* and is introduced as a picturesque view of the "Arcadia of Scotland."<sup>22</sup> It contained photographs of large estate houses, intermingled with images that evoked the pedigree of Walter Scott and the annals of Scottish history, such as Abbotsford House, St. Ronan's

---

<sup>18</sup> Gavin Sprott, "Lowland Agriculture and Society," in Anthony Cooke, Ian Donnachie, Ann MacSween and Christopher A. Whatley, eds., *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present* 5 vols., vol. 2 (East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1998). 192.

<sup>19</sup> David McCrone and Angela Morris, "Lords and Heritages: The Transformation of the Great Lairds of Scotland," in Devine, ed. *Scottish Elites*. 171.

<sup>20</sup> Sprott, "Lowland Agriculture and Society," in Cooke, et al., eds., *Modern Scottish History, 1707 to the Present*. 189.

<sup>21</sup> John McGhie, *Photographs of Tweeddale Scenery: With Interesting Letterpress Descriptions: A Series of Large Photographs of the Most Interesting Places on the Tweed between Rachan House and Kelso.*, Glasgow University Special Collection, Dougan Add. 72 ed. (Edinburgh, UK: William Ritchie, c. 1877-1881). There is also a copy in the National Library of Scotland, under the shelf mark: Photo. med. 120.

<sup>22</sup> The introduction reads: "In introducing these Views of Tweeddale Scenery, little need be said to recommend them to the lovers of the Picturesque, embracing as they do the choicest landscapes in what has been appropriately styled the "Arcadia of Scotland."

Well in Innerleithen, Melrose Abbey and Neidpath Castle (figure 11).<sup>23</sup> The private residences sharing in this narrative on modern and ancient Scotland included Rachlan House, the “summer retreat” of James Tweedie who owned over 11,000 acres along the Tweed as a result of his father’s Indigo trade in Bengal, and Stobo Castle, the home of Sir Graham Montgomery, who was an M.P. for Peeblesshire and junior Lord of the Treasury, described in aristocratic circles as “the image of a gentleman.”<sup>24</sup>

As well as becoming the trusted photographer of the gentry, McGhie was building a name for himself in the thriving and cohesive photographic community of Glasgow. He became a member of the Glasgow Photographic Association (GPA) and in 1879 nominated nine people for membership. He proposed photographic operators, assistants and merchants working in and around Glasgow, but also his son William McGhie, a ‘photographic assistant’ in Hamilton.<sup>25</sup> When he files the motion to nominate William he does so using the address of his namesake James McGhie (relationship unknown), who was a photographic chemist with a business in new premises at 186 Sauchiehall Street.<sup>26</sup> James had just moved from 39 Union Street, the building that housed George Mason and Co. Two years earlier, in 1877, John McGhie had written several memos to the GPA on Mason’s business paper.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> McGhie titles this castle ‘Nidpath’, and in the album recounts its famous reputation as the southern Scottish stronghold that held out the longest against the Oliver Cromwell’s forces. It is also the scene of Walter Scott’s poem *The Nidpath Maid*, two stanzas of which McGhie quotes for the reader.

<sup>24</sup> The words of Lord Napier and Ettrick quoted by J. W. Buchan and Rev. H. Paton, *A History of Peebleshire*, vol. 3 (Glasgow, UK: Jackson, Wylie and Co., 1925-1927). 498-502.

<sup>25</sup> “Proposal for membership forms,” *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. Box 2, Folder 3. Thomas Annan’s name is also on a leaflet announcing a meeting for 1<sup>st</sup> March 1876 to vote in new council members. See: “Correspondence 1869-1876.” Box 2, Folder 8.

<sup>26</sup> “Proposal for membership forms,” *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. Box 2, Folder 3. James McGhie is proposed for membership in 1876 by Archibald Robertson (who proposes Thomas Annan in the same month). James’s address is listed as 39 Union Street; he is then recorded as proposing others for GPA membership and by 1879 his address has changed to 186 Sauchiehall Street. “Proposal for membership forms,” *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. Box 2, Folder 3.

<sup>27</sup> “Correspondence, 1877,” *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. Box 3, Folder 1.

Mason's were manufacturers of optical, mathematical, chemical and photographic instruments, with a well-stocked warehouse that provided customers with the latest materials and equipment, as well as a dark room for developing plates.<sup>28</sup> John McGhie was either employed by Mason's or he was using the company's developing and printing facilities, and when James moved to Sauchiehall Street John may have followed. They never became official partners but may have supported each others businesses. John's 1877 memos were to the GPA secretary Archibald Robertson. One said he was "sending something for a meeting", while the other, dated 26<sup>th</sup> March, asked for details on the woodburytype printing process. This was the period when the photographic community was striving for a superior method to permanently fix prints and Robertson had just secured specimens for the GPA of the newest process invented by Mr. Woodbury.<sup>29</sup> All this connected activity suggests McGhie was conscious of contemporary developments and safely ensconced in the upper echelons of Glasgow's photographic community. It also implies that he would have been in professional contact with Thomas Annan, who was on the GPA council in March 1876 (along with George Mason, the merchant from 39 Union Street), and was one of the vice presidents the following year.<sup>30</sup> Annan's business was also very near James McGhie's on Sauchiehall Street.<sup>31</sup> It is likely, however, that McGhie was knowledgeable about Annan much earlier than this, and that the older photographer inspired McGhie's work.

---

<sup>28</sup> Stratten and Stratten, *Glasgow and Its Environs: A Literary, Commercial, and Social Review Past and Present* (London, UK: Stratten and Stratten, 1891). 94.

<sup>29</sup> Letter to Woodbury Printing Co., from Archibald Robertson, dated 28<sup>th</sup> March 1876. *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. Box 2, Folder 8.

<sup>30</sup> Call for a meeting and election of members' council, 8th September, 1877. *Glasgow Photographic Association Papers*. Box 3, Folder 1.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas moved to 153 Sauchiehall Street in 1873 from his previous Glasgow premises at 202 Hope Street. Mason's also moved to 180-186 Sauchiehall Street in the early 1880s.

## The Influence of Annan

Thomas Annan had commenced his career in Glasgow as a calotypist, and was based in Woodlands Road from 1855. He swiftly gained a reputation for his accurate and sound abilities with photography and by 1866 he had purchased Scottish rights to Joseph Swan's new process of carbon printing.<sup>32</sup> Annan had moved his family and printing establishment to Hamilton in 1864, and named their cottage after Talbot. Being a relatively small town in Lanarkshire's middle ward, Hamilton had a recorded population of a little over 10,000 in 1861, growing only by 800 in the following decade. It was not known for manufacturing, but was rather a quiet local trading village with a railway station that boasted good connections to Glasgow.<sup>33</sup> In 1867 there were five booksellers/stationers, six chemists/druggists, one carver/gilder business and only two registered photographers: Annan and McGhie.<sup>34</sup>

There is no doubt they were aware of each other's presence and McGhie's design for the *Lanarkshire Scenery* album was most likely instigated by his familiarity with Annan's work. By the late 1860s Annan had developed a healthy photographic trade, being employed by local government and private individuals to create albums commemorating grand architectural projects. He also reproduced art works and contributed images to publications that celebrated local landscape.<sup>35</sup> These were

---

<sup>32</sup> For more information on Annan see William Buchanan, ed. *J. Craig Annan: Selected Texts and Bibliography*. (New York, NY: G. K. Hall, 1994). And, Sara Stevenson, *Thomas Annan: 1829-1887, Scottish Masters* (Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990).

<sup>33</sup> The census figures for Hamilton are 10,688 (1861), 11,498 (1871). Information from Francis H. Groome, ed. *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, UK: Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1885). 242-44.

<sup>34</sup> Issace Slater, *Slater's Directory of Scotland* (Manchester, UK: Issac Slater, 1867). 1219.

<sup>35</sup> For example, in 1862 Annan was asked to provide photographs for the subscribers of Glasgow's Art Union, who were typically used to receiving an engraver's print for their membership. His images were so popular he was given the appointment the following year and unabashedly hailed in the press as "the most competent photographer in the city." See: "Art Union of Glasgow," *North British Daily Mail*, 10th November 1862. And: "Art Union of Glasgow," *Morning Journal*, 16th March 1863. This can be found in "Notes and Jottings by Thomas Annan, 1862," *Thomas Annan Collection of Papers* (Glasgow, UK: Mitchell Library, 1861-1863). MS. 13/1. In 1867, Annan also published an album containing forty-three

innovative ventures that must have inspired entrepreneurial photographers across Scotland to explore new ways of extending their commercial production. Annan's documentation of the Loch Katrine waterworks is a good example, for it was publicly available in bound albums from 1862. The press had eulogised over the photographs, calling them fine picturesque views and "beautifully rendered...charming snatches of nature" with a "wonderfully effective" "play of light and shade."<sup>36</sup> However, as Ray McKenzie has suggested, the images of pipes running through the landscape reversed the traditional role of the country as a site of equipoise for city folk.<sup>37</sup> Annan's images illustrated how the picturesque landscape could be put to work in the city; this was especially important during a time of local and nationally driven attempts to "reorganise public services according to the principles of utilitarianism."<sup>38</sup> Each photograph in Annan's waterworks album was a crafted picturesque vista that turned the march of progress into a comforting and natural scene. Brought together in one book, the images built a solid narrative that celebrated modern ingenuity and legitimised contemporary politics. For business men like McGhie, the album must have demonstrated the value and potential of landscape photography beyond its role as a tourist's souvenir.

Annan's projects also displayed how photographs and text could work together successfully. In the mid 1860s his images were included in a new edition of *Days at the Coast*, a popular selection of writings from the 1850s by columnist and poet Hugh

---

photographs of Glasgow Cathedral's newly installed stained glass windows. Each print captured the glass images in isolation without their window sills or lintels. As a result, they are shapes, floating like lanterns in a dark sky, the patterns within them glowing with an inner light. See, "Glasgow Cathedral Windows," *Glasgow Herald*, 19th October 1864. A copy of the album itself is held by the National Library of Scotland: Thomas Annan, *The Painted Windows of Glasgow Cathedral* (Glasgow, UK: Thomas Annan, 1867). NLS. R. 274.b.

<sup>36</sup>From an article saved by Annan, entitled: "Images by T. Annan, Hope Street, of Loch Katrine Waterworks," *Glasgow Citizen*, 1862. Found in "Notes and Jottings by Thomas Annan, 1862," *Thomas Annan Collection of Papers*. MS.13/1

<sup>37</sup> Ray McKenzie, "Problems of Representation in Early Scottish Landscape Photography," in Hallett, ed. *Rewriting Photographic History*. 46-49.

<sup>38</sup> Ian Levitt, "The State," in Cooke, et al., eds., *Modern Scottish History, 1707 to the Present*. 2.

MacDonald (1817-1860).<sup>39</sup> The book followed steamer routes from Glasgow and the photographs were chosen to illustrate tour highlights, including Dumbarton Castle on the north shore, Gourock and Dunoon that face each other across the strait and Brodick Bay on Arran. Annan's photographs were flawlessly interwoven into a text written almost two decades before. One of his images overlooked the Kyles of Bute, and pictures two men in the foreground gazing at the view. One sits on a rock and the other lies on the grass propping his head up with one arm. As though written in tandem, MacDonald's comment reads: "It is the very place, indeed, where poet or painter might well love to rest."<sup>40</sup> The successful collaboration of photography and print encouraged Annan to participate in many large format albums. *Days at the Coast* was followed swiftly by *Photographs of Glasgow with Descriptive Letterpress* (1868) and *Memorials of the Old College of Glasgow* (1871), both of which were designed for audiences wishing to study the history and contemporary splendour of their city.<sup>41</sup>

### **Understanding the Landscape Album**

Annan's work was teaching photographers like McGhie how to avoid the pitfalls of photographic publishing by thoroughly understanding one's target market. Many album projects had failed because they were too ambitious or required an unrealistic number of wealthy subscribers to turn a profit. Talbot's *Sun Pictures in Scotland* (1845) had been the first photographic album to focus on Scottish scenery. It was designed to be

---

<sup>39</sup> Macdonald had been a block-printer and in 1849 became the sub-editor of *The Citizen*. He began his series of *Rambles Round Glasgow* under the pseudonym "Caleb". The articles *Days at the Coast* were penned while he worked with *The Citizen*, and concluded in the columns of the *Glasgow Times*. Both volumes were well reviewed for their descriptive text and poetry and were republished numerous times throughout the 1860s.

<sup>40</sup> Hugh Macdonald, *Days at the Coast: The Firth of Clyde – Illustrated by Twelve Photographs by Thomas Annan* (Glasgow, UK: Andrew Duthie, c.1865). 66. Copy from the National Library of Scotland. Phot. med. 38.

<sup>41</sup> Rev. A. G. Forbes and Thomas Annan, *Photographs of Glasgow with Descriptive Letterpress* (Glasgow, UK: Andrew Duthie, 1868). Copy from University of Glasgow Special Collection, Dougan 31. The narrative surveys the city, from its Gaelic origins to its place as the industrial engine of the Empire. Thomas Annan, *Memorials of the Old College of Glasgow* (Glasgow, UK: Thomas Annan and J. Maclehorse, 1871). Copy from National Library of Scotland, phot. med. 10. This album was designed specifically to be a memorial of the old college before its renovations.

sold by subscription for the hefty sum of a guinea and was unsuccessful.<sup>42</sup> Over a decade later in 1857, the St Andrews photographer Thomas Rodger had the same experience. Until that year he had the only permanent studio in the town. It was when Archibald Downie started trading in photographic portraits that Rodger decided to expand his business. He collaborated with a publisher to create twenty albums with a total of sixty views, and marketed the project as a picture of Fife “mapped out and picturesquely considered.”<sup>43</sup> He wanted to demonstrate his innovative printing process, designed to prevent the old calotype from fading while retaining its artistic quality.<sup>44</sup> The 600 subscribers Rodger had hoped for never materialised, and out of the twenty albums proposed only two were produced, both of which contained lithographic prints rather than original calotypes.<sup>45</sup>

Rodger’s project failed because it was over ambitious and badly managed, while he had little reputation as a landscape photographer and his intended audience was undefined. Other commercial photographers who ventured into albums more successfully did so at a much more conservative pace. George Washington Wilson started selling individual prints when he ventured into the landscape around Aberdeen in 1854. Then he

---

<sup>42</sup> As mentioned in the introduction, this is a story best told by Graham Smith, in: Smith. “William Henry Fox Talbot’s Views of Loch Katrine,” *Bulletin*. 49-77.

<sup>43</sup> Thanks to Norman Reid, Director of Special Collections, University of St Andrews Library, for this reference from: *Fife Herald*, 28 July, 1859. The University also holds the albums produced by Rodger and they are: Thomas Rodger, *The Kingdom of Fife Calotyped* (Cupar, UK: John Cunningham Orr, c. 1859). Reference: Album 49. And, Thomas Rodger, *The City of Saint Rule Calotyped* (Cupar, UK: John Cunningham Orr, c. 1859). Reference: Album 67.

<sup>44</sup> In June 1854 Rodger had given a paper at the Royal Scottish Society of Arts entitled: “On Collodion Calotype”. In 1857 he sent a paper explaining his process to the editors of the *British Journal of Photography*. See: Thomas Rodger, “The Collodion Process,” *British Journal of Photography* 3 (1857). 256-257. For more information on Rodger see, Johnston, *Thomas Rodger 1832-1883*, as quoted here in chapter one. Also see: Alison Morrison-Low, “Dr. John Adamson and Thomas Rodger,” in Julie Lawson, Ray McKenize and Alison Morrison-Low, eds. *Photography 1900*, Proceedings of the Conference of the European Society for the History of Photography in association with the Scottish Society for the History of Photography, Edinburgh, 24<sup>th</sup> - 26<sup>th</sup> September 1992 (Edinburgh, UK: National Museums of Scotland, 1994). 19-38.

<sup>45</sup> Rodger’s lithographs are mentioned in: Editor, “Fine Art Gossip,” *The Athenaeum* 16, no. 1655 (1859). 88-89.

entered the stereogram market, illustrating spots in the Trossachs, Braemar, Aberfeldy and on the Island of Staffa, to develop a series of stereo cards that provided picturesque ‘armchair’ tours of Scotland. These stereo views were enthusiastically reviewed in 1860, earning him a reputation as “Scottish Gems.”<sup>46</sup> Having established a steady trade, Wilson then used the same images in 1862 to produce larger cabinet prints. These were the first photographs designed to be bound in albums, and they initiated a new fashion for collecting landscapes. As one reviewer put it:

It is quite certain that one barrier to the extensive circulation of photographs, as works of art, has arisen from a certain difficulty as to the proper mode of keeping them; they are scarcely well suited for framing at any rate they have not a certainly recognised position in interior decoration; and an extensive collection, especially if the pictures be large, demands serious portfolio accommodation. Photographs of a size, then, capable of preservation in albums, especially if suitable albums be manufactured, are likely to become favourites with the public, and hence we conceive that Mr. Wilson in issuing this series will originate a style.<sup>47</sup>

These albums became successful because they did not rely on a subscriber market, but instead encouraged a flexible method of collecting that gave the customer control over how the album took shape. This meant a farming family in the hills of northern Scotland were able to buy what they wanted when they wanted, and could collect and display photographs as much as a clerk in Edinburgh or a business owner in Dundee.<sup>48</sup> As the landscape photography business grew, so too did the importance of circulating images, and commercial photographers increasingly relied on a network of booksellers and stationers to sell their work. By 1865 Thomas Annan had appointed Mr. J. Davis Miller, Stationer on Argyle Street in Glasgow, to be the “sole wholesale agent for his

---

<sup>46</sup> "Mr Wilson's Scottish Gems," *The British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 110 (1860). 23.

<sup>47</sup> *The Photographic News* 8 (August, 1862). 375. Quoted in Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-1893*. 85-86.

<sup>48</sup> During a trip from Dundonald to Ullapool in November 1862, Wilson and Walker stopped at a sheep farmer's croft in the middle of the hills. The farmer owned 30 miles of land, and managed 20 shepherds and 7,000 sheep. The travelers were welcomed and fed and then shown all the family's albums in which there were a number of Wilson's views. Walker, *Private Journals*, vol. 3. 310.

photographic views.”<sup>49</sup> Similarly, while Wilson’s work had been on display at Brown’s bookstall in Aberdeen from the very beginning of his photographic career, by 1872 he was employing thirty assistants who printed, toned, mounted and filled orders for individuals and wholesalers with retail outlets throughout Britain and abroad.<sup>50</sup>

The relationship between retailer and photographer proved successful because it was a symbiotic one. The photographer solved the problem of speculative sales because retailers purchased dozens of prints, while the booksellers turned decent profits on their wholesale costs. The accounts of a photographer in Roslin, south of Edinburgh, clearly illustrate the benefits of this partnership. John Thomson was the factor to the Earl of Roslin and produced a guidebook in the early 1860s: *The Visitors Handbook to Rosslyn and Hawthornden*, which had twelve tipped-in photographs. He was also contracted by Wilson to take landscapes of the chapel and the glen.<sup>51</sup> Thomson’s ledger shows that he was producing a wide variety of images, and sold dozens of individual prints to a range of printers, booksellers and stationers, including the Edinburgh businesses of R. Grant and Sons, Andrew Elliot and William Ritchie. Starting in September 1864, Thomson made a series of entries in his ledger for items sold and purchased from Ritchie.<sup>52</sup> Thomson generated more money in five months than he had expended on materials in eight months.<sup>53</sup> He was mostly selling Ritchie slides, cartes de visite, stereo views and

---

<sup>49</sup> Thanks to William Buchanan for supplying me with an 1865 pamphlet listing Annan’s prices and products. "Thomas Annan, Portrait and Landscape Photographer: Photographs Published by Thomas Annan," (Glasgow: Thomas Annan, 202 Hope Street, 1865).

<sup>50</sup> Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-93*. 131-132.

<sup>51</sup> Sara Stevenson and Julie Lawson, "First Thirty Years of Scottish Photography, 1839-1870," (Edinburgh: Scottish National Photographic Collection, National Galleries of Scotland, unpublished).

<sup>52</sup> John Thomson, "Ledger Book," in *Scottish National Photography Collection* (Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1864-1874). Box 4. 66.

<sup>53</sup> In one sample, from January to August of 1865, the photographer spent £13, 10 shillings 4 pence on mounts and other goods. However during a shorter period, April to August of the same year, he was given £27, 8 shillings and 11 pence by Ritchie for a collection of photographs. Ritchie was also the printer who published McGhie’s *Lanarkshire* album.

portfolio prints.<sup>54</sup> The bookseller made a tidy profit. He sold each carte, for instance, for over nine pence more than he had purchased it. In just one transaction recorded during 1865, Thomson sold 444 cartes to Ritchie. This would have generated the bookseller a profit of over £16.<sup>55</sup>

While profitable for the producer and vendor, the album was also the ideal product for the middle class consumer. It was flexible, but it also had aristocratic leanings, for it descended from the ‘genteel’ practices of autographing, collage and watercolour painting made fashionable by elite women from the late eighteenth century.<sup>56</sup> As Elizabeth Siegel describes it, album-making was a distinctive aristocratic tradition that “was but one aspect of the complicated, socially demanding roles of upper class Victorian women.” It was a site “where a woman staged her family’s position, marked her gentility and taste, and displayed her connections.”<sup>57</sup> While Siegel refers directly to portraits, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, her reference to the album’s association with an elite feminine practice of collecting and brandishing connections is of relevance here. It suggests that matriarchs were responsible for choosing the images to fill an album like McGhie’s and that their choices were aimed at placing their domestic sphere at the center of a narrative on heritage and landownership. This sense of possession provides particular resonance for albums like McGhie’s *Lanarkshire Scenery*, which were vessels for displaying powerful connections and proving, through the indexical nature of photography, that an estate house signified an elevated social status. Part of the lure of

---

<sup>54</sup> One entry on the 7th of April reads: 51 doz. Slides @ 5 ¾ pence each = £14, 13 shillings 3 pence  
4 ½ doz. Portfolio @ 6 pence each = £1, 7 shillings

37 doz. Carte de visites @ 2 ¾ pence each = £5, 1 shilling 9 pence

<sup>55</sup> 444 cartes x 9 pence profit = 3996 pence; 3996 pence ÷ 12 (the amount of pennies in a shilling) = 333.  
333 shillings ÷ 20 (the amount of shillings in a pound) = £16, 13 shillings.

<sup>56</sup> This is well understood by scholars, and mentioned most recently in: Langford, *Suspended Conversations*. 24.

<sup>57</sup> Elizabeth Siegel, “Society Cutups,” in Elizabeth Siegel, *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage* (Chicago, IL, New Haven, CT and London, UK: The Art Institute of Chicago in association with Yale University Press, 2009). 15.

the album was its value as an exclusive product, designed for the family and by the family. However, while McGhie's album had the air of being an exclusive product that was restricted to subscribers, it was not. It was an empty publication, each edition displaying the same frontispiece and morocco-binding, designed to be filled from McGhie's stock of images by each customer. All the albums found for this study are different. For example, an image of Stonebyres House owned by Sir Thomas Mountneath Douglas was only in one.<sup>58</sup> While the album owned by Dolphinton House, started with Bothwell Bridge and the Castle but contained no images of Hamilton Palace and the County buildings, all of which were evident in the other copies.<sup>59</sup> Despite these variations, each album had a balanced selection of cabinet and album-sized photographs of estate houses and tourist spots in Lanarkshire. McGhie had, therefore, created a novel product that converted a set of very ordinary photographs into a tasteful display, suitable for domestic collectors. While anyone could purchase the album and fill it with photographs, it particularly catered to the aspirations of new estate owners, who could see their property operating within a recognisable pleasure tour of a picturesque landscape.

### **Picturesque and the Nouveau Riche**

As mentioned in the first section, the picturesque mode was a quintessentially English tradition that placed a value system on landscape and promoted the importance of interpreting a scene with an educated eye. The quest for the picturesque appealed to commercial photographers because it ensured their products were imbued with the

---

<sup>58</sup> This is Brian Lambie's edition of McGhie, *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*.

<sup>59</sup> The edition owned by Dolphinton House starts with photographs of Bothwell. The image of Dolphinton is placed near the back amongst a large compilation of other private houses. Brian Lambie's edition starts with two antiquated buildings, the ruin of Straven castle and the Church of St Bride, and ends with five images of Hamilton and Bothwell.

artistic symbols and signs that cultured audiences could easily decipher.<sup>60</sup> John Morrison has shown how early nineteenth-century Scottish landscape painters used the picturesque view to construct landscapes that yielded to elite British tastes and attracted English patronage. Alexander Nasmyth painted sites in central Scotland from Perthshire to Loch Lomond, and popularised the picturesque vision of Scotland as a land that was orderly, harmonious and controlled, like the domesticated landscapes of England's private estates. By the 1830s, painters like John Knox went further along the main tourist routes, down the Clyde and into the Perthshire Hills, but also up to the great glens. Knox's paintings highlighted the spectacular waterfalls and distant peaks. His paintings invested the quiet picturesque with increasing drama to comply with the popular belief that the best art required the greatest imagination (both in its creation and interpretation). Then by the 1850s, when commercial photographers were venturing into the country to gather images, fashionable painters like Horatio McCulloch were basing their renditions of the land on the fictional writings of Scott, Burns and MacPherson, in order to build ideal picturesque landscapes that drew from Scottish themes. It was this style of painting Morrison calls 'Highlandism'; a visual expression of unionist-nationalism that celebrated Scottish difference with England but affirmed Scotland's unique place in Great Britain.<sup>61</sup> The photograph's ability to establish a picturesque empiricism authenticated the beauty and intellectual content of Scotland's landscape, thereby proving the country had a rightful place at the heart of the British 'homeland.'

Photographs were understood as evidence of the real but they were also known to be artful constructions. McGhie's album demonstrates how the picturesque mode provided a dialectical narrative that oscillated between the facts of a contemporary scene

---

<sup>60</sup> Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 241-246.

<sup>61</sup> Morrison, *Painting the Nation*. 78-110.

and the fiction of an idealised landscape. The photograph of Dalzell, for instance, provided evidentiary proof of gentlemanly living by picturing the peaceful peasant and the house's recent renovations. These were tangible contemporary objects which validated the accompanying text, which asserted Dalzell's estate was "one of the most picturesque in Scotland." In other cases, estate owners were pictured standing resolutely in their doorways. In the image of Biggar Park (figure 12) the matriarch is pictured with hat in hand standing at the entrance to the house. Her voluminous crinoline-supported dress and the waiting carriage suggest she is going out visiting; an indexical reference not only to the family's financial prowess, but also to their social success. In a similar photograph, a woman poses with her son outside her residence of Milton Lockhart (figure 13), her white summer dress glowing in the daylight. The design of this scene, coupled with photographic documentation, proved the house and its inhabitants fit squarely and comfortably in a picturesque frame. As W. H. Davis pointed out to photographers in Edinburgh during a lecture on the principles of composition, the picturesque depended on the arrangement of objects in the frame. The most prominent part of the picture should be placed in the brightest light and framed by the darker tones around it.<sup>62</sup> McGhie's image of Milton Lockhart did this. The family, represented equally by the matriarch, the heir and the house, were in the centre of the composition, their presence highlighted and framed by the dark lawn in the foreground and the trees arching into the frame from either side. As a suitably picturesque photograph, this image provided Milton Lockhart's owners with, in Davis's terms, "the charm of a poem or romance, without losing the truth."<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> W. D. Davis, "Hints on the Nature of Pictorial Beauty and the Principles of Composition: A Lecture for the Edinburgh Photographic Society, March 5th, 1862. Part 2 of 3," *British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 164 (1862). 148.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

McGhie's album also evoked a picturesque landscape by providing links to heritage. It equalised the estates of Dalzell, Biggar Park and Milton Lockhart with historic sites like Hamilton Palace and Bothwell Bridge, by presenting them in the same size, format and shape throughout. This democratisation of imagery encouraged a network of associations between the private and public, the contemporary and historic, as well as the commercial and literary. It linked the estate to the heritage of the landscape and helped gentrify the owner's lives. Dalzell house was owned by the Hamilton family, whose profits came from a contemporary coal and steel business. Any association with such 'dirty' trades was assuaged by a picturesque photograph of the estate placed alongside other 'principal places' in the region. It linked Dalzell with Royal lineages and Scottish heroism.<sup>64</sup> Such implications were vital in the Victorian's "culture of altruism", a phenomenon Stefan Collini describes as being dominated by professional men criticising the brash lifestyles of a rapidly expanding haute bourgeoisie.<sup>65</sup> As Colin Campbell's study on modern consumer behaviour also suggests, by the mid-nineteenth century these *nouveau riche* had replaced the aristocracy as the common enemy of the people, because their uncouth accumulation of wealth seemed to disregard the principles of gentlemanly capitalism, and was therefore amoral. This shift fuelled a public sentimentalism for the past. As Campbell notes:

The waning of the old aristocracy, and the rise to prominence of the trading and business classes, meant that the Sentimentalist critique of the nobility – indicted for their emotional stoicism, frivolous extravagance, and an arrogance that had a lack of spiritual depth – was increasingly irrelevant, and it came to be recognised that the real enemy of sensibility lay in the cold-hearted utilitarian philistinism of the nouveaux riches. Thus, as the sense of cultural crisis deepened, the focus of attack was shifted to deal with the greater threat, whilst a tendency to be nostalgic about

---

<sup>64</sup> Bothwell Bridge was the site where hundreds of Covenanters died in 1679, defending the Scottish Church against Royalist intervention. Walter Scott had immortalised the events in *Old Mortality* (1816) and was responsible for popularising the idea that Scottish heroism was literally embedded in such landscapes.

<sup>65</sup> Collini defines the public moralist in the following terms: "well-connected, conventionally educated, comfortably situated, professional successful, intellectually inclined men." See: Collini, *Public Moralists*. Footnote quote, 3. Text quote, 89.

the foe of yesteryear also developed. Consequently the Sentimentalists seized the opportunity to claim the mantle of moral, intellectual and spiritual leadership for themselves, and adopting along with it the previous elite's disdain for the vulgar and the useful, asserted their right to legislate for society as a whole.<sup>66</sup>

At the same time McGhie was taking images for *Lanarkshire Scenery*, Annan was also working with writers John Guthrie Smith and John Oswald Mitchell to produce an album that would “preserve every architectural and historical detail” of heritage buildings in the environs of Glasgow.<sup>67</sup> *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry* was a book that aimed to use pen and photograph to record a dying way of life. The text mourned the loss of an aristocracy who had revered cultural sites and historic houses and bemoaned the modernisation of old buildings. Specific accusations were made towards the “leading merchants” who it was felt no longer contributed to society, but were instead migrating to the country and indulging in vulgar displays of wealth.<sup>68</sup> *Old Country Houses* was an extremely popular publication. The first edition sold fast and a second edition of 200 copies was made in 1878, of which over eighty percent were purchased in advance under subscription.<sup>69</sup> It was successful because it exploited the contemporary debate on altruism by providing a battery of data that could stimulate sentimental nostalgia. The houses of the old gentry stood proud, stalwartly resisting the onslaught of vulgarity, as such, they animated the subjective morality of the writers. It was perfectly pitched for a modern consumer culture that was based, in Campbell's terms, on a “self-illusory hedonism”; a “longing to experience in reality those pleasures created and enjoyed in the imagination, a longing which results in the ceaseless consumption of

---

<sup>66</sup> Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. 178.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Annan, John Guthrie Smith, and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry: One Hundred Photographs by Annan of Well Known Places in the Neighbourhood of Glasgow, with Descriptive Notices of the Houses and the Families* (Glasgow, UK: James Maclehose, 1870).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 2-7.

<sup>69</sup> 112 copies were printed for sale, and Annan managed to obtain 106 subscriptions, including the University and the Chamberlain's Office in Glasgow. The subscriber list can be found in the digitised version of this book on the University of Strathclyde Website: Thomas Annan, "The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry - Ebook," ed Glasgow Digital Library. (Glasgow, UK: University of Strathclyde, 1870). <http://gdlr.cdli.strath.ac.uk>. Accessed, February 2010.

novelty.”<sup>70</sup> Annan’s photographs were not imaginative sketches, they were real moments, and the album combined them to create a novel product that allowed individuals to experience and study the pleasures of aristocratic life. McGhie’s album was also a novelty, but in direct contrast to *Old Houses* it catered to the *nouveau riche*, and must have proved irresistible to those landowners who harboured a hedonistic desire to visualise themselves as Lairds, passing through class lines and entering the world of aristocratic privilege. McGhie provided landowners with a dialectical narrative, using empirical data and a picturesque imaginary to help them prove that their position in British society was based on their respect for Scottish heritage. He then ensured his album could be consumed in this manner by using the popular trope of poetry and presenting it like a travel guide.

### **A Poetic Local Guide**

The opening page of *Lanarkshire Scenery* (figure 14) has a small photograph of the ruin of Lamington Tower and leads with two stanzas from Hugh Macdonald’s poem *To the Clyde*, which reads in part:

*Let others love the tangled Forth,  
Or mountain-shadowed Spey,  
The Don, the Dee, wake other’s glee,  
Fair tweed or queenly Tay.  
From all their charms of wood or wild,  
I ever turn with pride  
To where the golden apple gleams,  
On thy green banks, sweet Clyde.*

McGhie must have chosen this text for a number of reasons. First, it associated his landscape images with Annan, for twelve of Annan’s photographs had just been published in a new edition of Macdonald’s *Days at the Coast*. It is likely that McGhie read the press reviews while collating his own album. They eulogized over Macdonald’s

---

<sup>70</sup> Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. 205.

popular text for tourists “bent on ‘doing’ the Clyde”, rating Annan’s views as superb examples “of the very best of our photographers.”<sup>71</sup> The second probable reason McGhie chose poetry to headline his album, was because it elevated the artistic properties of his photographs. At the time, poets were considered conduits between reality and the divine; their words were believed to provide deep insight into natural phenomena.<sup>72</sup> Simultaneously, photography was being denigrated for being a mechanical art that lacked creativity; so poetry could fill scenes with meaning and mystery. By unifying the album under a banner of poetry, McGhie was asking readers to intuit a relationship between the divinations of the poet and the photographs, thus demanding the use of imagination to decode the scenery as one might with a painting. It was Ruskin who had emphasized that painters and poets were the noble mediums for accessing divine meaning. This was not because they artfully communicated a subjective vision. On the contrary, it was because they effectively translated objective truths to elicit feeling.<sup>73</sup> Ruskin claimed the greatest modern painters and poets were those that remained faithful to the mimetic structure of objects in nature.<sup>74</sup> In saying this he inadvertently (for Ruskin was photography’s greatest critic) proved photographs, with their ability for mimesis, were natural partners for poems and paintings in the quest to fuel imaginations.

---

<sup>71</sup> This comes from an article written in *The Morning Journal*, which was quoted by the printer Andrew Duthie to advertise Annan’s publication. See: Andrew Duthie, *Books Illustrated by Photographs of Scottish and Irish Scenery* (Glasgow, UK: Andrew Duthie, 1867). 996. “Google Books.” Accessed, February 2010.

<sup>72</sup> Maureen Moran discusses the varied types of poetry, including the lyric, dramatic verse and long narrative and suggests that Victorians believed poets were like priests, religious mediators who possessed divine inspiration. See, Maureen Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London, UK and New York, NY: Continuum, 2006). 65-78.

<sup>73</sup> Ruskin uses the example of a budding flower. An insufficient artist or poet would simply record or describe it, but a great artist or poet would show how this natural process was “a manifestation of spiritual power and vital beauty” and elicit feelings of admiration and wonder for the object. John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 3, part 4 (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1856). 11. A few years earlier he had noted that “the imagination is never governed; it is always the ruling and divine power” that works through man. In: John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice: The Fall*, vol. 3 (London, UK: Smith, Elder and Co., 1853). 152.

<sup>74</sup> Wendell Stacy Johnson, “Memory, Landscape, Love: John Ruskin’s Poetry and Poetic Criticism,” *Victorian Poetry* 19, no. 1 (1981). 30-31.

In addition to this, poetry also gave McGhie's album a contemporary edge. The "privileged access" poets had to unconscious desires and truths meant their words could be used to critique contemporary society and discuss taboo subjects in abstract terms.<sup>75</sup> As a poet, Macdonald was well known as "emphatically a man of the people...a true poet, to the manner born. Sprung from the industrial classes, he was proud of his origins and always ready to uphold the dignity of labour and defend the rights of the working man."<sup>76</sup> His book *Days at the Coast* was designed to encourage readers to appreciate their local landscape, rather than accept the premise that a Grand Tour on the Continent was the ultimate marker of cultural achievement.<sup>77</sup> In a similar vein, Macdonald's earlier articles *Rambles around Glasgow*, which also ran into several editions, had encouraged readers not to travel to exotic climes but to value the great beauty around their own fair city. In the preface he wrote:

There is a story told of a gentleman who, having boasted that he had travelled far to see a celebrated landscape on the Continent, was put to the blush by being compelled to own that he had never visited a scene of superior loveliness which was situated upon his own estate, and near which he had spent the greater portion of his life. The error of this individual, however, is one of which too many are guilty. We have thousands amongst ourselves who can boast of their familiarity with the wonders of other lands, yet who have never traced the windings of the Clyde, the Cart, or the Kelvin, and who have never dreamed of visiting the stately ruins of Bothwell, or of penetrating that sanctum of Gothic magnificence, the crypt of our own venerable Cathedral! To such parties we would say, that admiration, like charity, should begin at home; and that there are many things of beauty and of interest to be met with in the course of a brief ramble among the environs of our own city.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture*. 66.

<sup>76</sup> *Poems and Songs by Hugh Macdonald with a Memoir of the Author* (Glasgow, UK: William Love, 1863). Quoted here from James Grant Wilson, *The Poets and Poetry of Scotland from the Earliest to the Present Time, Comprising Characteristic Selections from the Works of the More Noteworthy Scottish Poets, with Biographical and Critical Notes*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, Glasgow and London, UK: Blackie and Son, 1877). 399.

<sup>77</sup> Hugh Macdonald, *Days at the Coast*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow, UK: John Cameron, 1860).

<sup>78</sup> Hugh Macdonald, *Rambles around Glasgow: Descriptive, Historical, and Traditional*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow, UK: John Cameron, 1860). Preface.

By referencing Macdonald, McGhie implied his photographs celebrated local landscape during a time of Imperial expansion. As geographer David Kaplan has shown, one of the effects of Empire was the way individuals located their identity. Instead of only defining themselves locally, people had the opportunity to look outwards, and a “bi-directional shift” occurred that allowed the supra-national territories to be as important as the sub-national ones.<sup>79</sup> What Macdonald touches on with his critique of middle class travellers is the contemporary fear that Scottish culture is in danger of being overshadowed by the benefits of a global Empire. The landscape is a metaphor for this, and a balance must be struck between roaming the local land and the world beyond. By quoting Macdonald’s idolization of the Clyde, McGhie aligned the photographic album with this concept. *Scenes of Lanarkshire* directly celebrated a local Scottish landscape, which was important considering the album was designed for estate owners who were the direct beneficiaries of Imperial expansion and who were being vilified for their vulgar displays of success. McGhie provided these landowners with a product that proved their place in British and Scottish society. The album presented photographic evidence of a landscape domesticated by the English picturesque mode and converted into a gentleman’s country paradise, with its wide open spaces, leisurely views and vast rambling estates. In doing so it provided visual data of a British homeland. The description and placement of Cormiston Towers (figure 15) evidences this. The house was described as containing “pleasure grounds” that “slope towards the River Clyde, which bounds the park on the south, at a distance of half a mile”. The accompanying photograph illustrated the building’s new Tudor style, which McGhie pointed out was designed for the proprietor in 1859.<sup>80</sup> This modern image was then carefully balanced

---

<sup>79</sup> David Kaplan, “Territorial Identities and Geographic Scale,” in Guntram Herb and David Kaplan, eds., *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale* (Lanham, MA: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999). 31-37+42.

<sup>80</sup>“Cormiston Towers,” in McGhie, *Photographs of Lanarkshire Scenery*. Brian Lambie ed. np.

among references to the heritage and territory of Lanarkshire, being placed in the album amongst photographs of the old Roman Bridge and waterfalls along Macdonald's "sweet Clyde." This evoked a narrative that suggested the proprietors of Cormiston were embedded in their local landscape.

Just like Macdonald's *Days at the Coast* or *Rambles*, McGhie's *Lanarkshire Scenery* was a tour guide. If the poetry helped estate owners imagine their houses had a natural place in the Scottish landscape, then the album's topographical language left no doubt in their minds. As discussed in chapter two, it was well accepted by the late 1860s that photographs enhanced objective knowledge about a place. As Peter Osbourne has suggested, the photograph was "a mobile visual system whose realism met the demand for what was considered to be scientific objectivity" rather than the distortions of a subjective view.<sup>81</sup> This is why travel books like *Days at the Coast* were being re-published with photographic illustrations.

Instead of placing his images in a travel book, McGhie superimposed the mode of travel writing onto his album. For instance, at times the album's images and language replicated those found in guide books and topographical surveys. McGhie's photograph of Coulter Maynes (figure 17) directly resembles a print of the same estate, published by George Vere Irving in *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire Described and Delineated* in 1864 (figure 16).<sup>82</sup> Coulter Maynes' owner, Adam Sim, had paid for the set of lithographs in Irving's book. This suggests Sim would have had a semblance of control over how the engravings were composed. He had spent many years and a considerable

---

<sup>81</sup> Peter D. Osbourne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000). 9.

<sup>82</sup> George Vere Irving, *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire Described and Delineated*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Glasgow; Edinburgh; London, UK: Thomas Murray and Son; Edmonston and Douglas; J. Russell Smith, 1864). 281.

fortune removing the old house and re-building a modern home. Accordingly, he would have wanted his estate portrayed in the most contemporary terms for a new topographical survey. Yet the lithographic print in Irving's book did not include the contemporary balustrade wall shown in McGhie's photograph. It pictured the house surrounded by sheep grazing in open fields. This suggests the wall was built after 1864, when *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire* was published. It also implies McGhie and Sim used the topographical print as their reference point. Indeed, McGhie's photograph was taken from the same angle as the preceding lithograph, and includes Sim perched on the new wall that lined his driveway up to the house.<sup>83</sup>

The influence of the travel guide on McGhie's album can also be seen in the written sections, some of which bear an uncanny resemblance to *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*. The 1861 edition of *Black's* contained a detailed section on Glasgow's environs, including a step-by-step journey through Hamilton, Lanark, and the banks of the Clyde.<sup>84</sup> *Black's* description of the Duke of Hamilton's Mausoleum was almost an exact replica of that found in McGhie's album. *Black's* text read:

The Mausoleum, a structure of the most superb description, resembles in general design the Mausoleum of the Emperor Hadrian at Rome (now the Castello di St. Angelo). It consists of a circular mass of building, springing from a square basement, and enclosing a richly decorated octagonal chapel, under the floor of which are the vaults, arranged according to the fashion of a catacomb. Terraced stairs lead on either hand from the low ground, on the river front, to an external platform, on which the colossal Lions, by A. H. Ritchie, have been placed. Below, on the rustic basement, above the portals to the vaults, are effigies of Life, Death, and Eternity, each personified by a human visage.<sup>85</sup>

In McGhie's album, the text read:

---

<sup>83</sup> Adam Sim died in 1868. McGhie's album was most likely published in 1867. Therefore, the photograph of Coulter Maynes was probably taken between 1864 and 1867.

<sup>84</sup> Adam and Charles Black, *Black's Picturesque Tourist of Scotland*, 15th ed. (Edinburgh, UK: Adam and Charles Black, 1861). 377-391. A map of the area precedes the descriptive tour. 376.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* 381.

This superb structure resembles, in general design, the mausoleum of the Emperor Hadrian, at Rome (now the Castello di St Angelo). It consists of a circular mass of buildings springing from a square basement and enclosing a richly decorated chapel, under the floor of which are the vaults, arranged catacomb fashion. From the low ground on the river front, terraced stairs, on the right and left, lead to a platform on which, above the portals of the vaults, are two colossal lions, each sculptured from a single block of stone by Handyside Ritchie of Edinburgh. Below, on the rustic basement, and immediately above the three entrances to the vaults, are beautifully sculptured heads, emblematic of Time, Death, and Eternity.<sup>86</sup>

McGhie did not note where this paragraph was from, leaving it instead to act as an authoritative and factual statement that emulated the tone of an instructive guide book. The photographs contributed to this by replicating images that seasoned tourists were used to seeing in popular publications like *Black's*. McGhie's photograph of the falls at Stonebyres on the Clyde (figure 18) is a case in point. It was taken from the same vantage point as the engraving in *Black's* (figure 19); both look up at the water cascading down the river. Despite this, McGhie's image, like his text, was not a direct duplication. Instead, McGhie's photograph illustrated the extent to which *Black's* engraving overdramatised Stonebyres to render it picturesque. By highlighting the 'dishonesty' of the engraving, the photograph filled a niche in the market for picturesque images that remained faithful to nature. This ability to create a picturesque empiricism allowed photographers to call themselves artists.

### **'Honest' Photography**

For over a decade professional photographic journals had been debating the 'honesty' of landscapes. Prints were being coloured and combined and, more seriously, stereo views were being constructed from two images taken from a wider distance than correct perspective allowed. Critics viewed these practices as unprofessional. A "true artist", it

---

<sup>86</sup> The same text accompanying the photograph of the Hamilton Mausoleum is in all three albums.

was said, would never intentionally commit such an “untruth.”<sup>87</sup> This goes back to Ruskin’s mantra that the greatest artists always remained faithful to the mimetic structure of real objects. Photographers seeking to develop a professional code of practice for the discipline stressed the importance of creating artful picturesque views that remained true to life. Alfred H. Wall, for example, used the *British Journal of Photography* to teach photographers how to craft their images so they might be classified in terms of fine art.<sup>88</sup> Seek out the effects of light, season and weather on landscapes, Wall advised, and “find beauty without foregoing the truth...and then our art shall rise speedily into the highest rank, and be readily welcomed as the worthy equal of the loftiest.”<sup>89</sup>

These principles became the central tenet for separating “good” landscapes from the abundance of “cheap and nasty” views being generated by “too many hands.”<sup>90</sup> Therefore, if commercial photographers desired critical acclaim and longevity they had to adopt this directive to produce “truthful” picturesque landscapes. McGhie did this by demonstrating that his photographs were more honest renditions than the flat and fanciful prints found in popular guide books. His *Lanarkshire Scenery* was a novel product that demanded landscape photographs be taken seriously, as both artistic and honest pictures of reality. The image of Bothwell Castle, included in *Black’s* 1861 publication (figure

---

<sup>87</sup> Editor, "The Stereoscopic Angle," *The Photographic News* 1, no. 2 (1858). 15. This article calls for each stereoscopic slide to be marked not only with time and date of exposure, but also with the distances of the lenses that took both photographs

<sup>88</sup> Steve Edwards has discussed a plethora of articles found in the journals from the mid-1850s into the 1860s. He examines the writings of key luminaries who wished to distinguish their practice from industry and work. He mentions the writing rose to a fever pitch immediately after the 1861 International Exhibition, because photography was designated to industrial categories instead of being recognised as an art form. Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 125-171.

<sup>89</sup> A. H. Wall, "An Artist's Letters to a Young Photographer: On Landscape," *The British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 161 (1862). 69.

<sup>90</sup> Aliquis, "The Want of Photography in the Future," *The British Journal of Photography* 14, no. 386 (1867). 460. Interestingly, Aliquis was the pseudonym for George Washington Wilson’s son Alex, who had worked in his father’s business, running a bookshop and photographic studio in Leamington. He wrote many editorials from 1866-1873, until he left photography and took a junior appointment for the *Economist*. He went on to become a financial editor for the *Times*. This is detailed by Walker. *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 378.

20), depicts several walkers dwarfed by the great castellated architecture that dominates the banks of the Clyde. The soft edge of the sketch fades into an oval frame. At very best the viewer looking at this print might have imagined they were peering at the view through a telescope. In contrast, McGhie provided his audience with a selection of views for Bothwell Castle (figure 21). On one page of the album, three images of Bothwell operate like a moving picture. A larger cabinet photograph captures a tall tree trunk in the foreground perched on the very edge of the river's right bank. It directly resembles the tree in the foreground of *Black's* woodcut. However, this is where the similarity ends. Instead of looking up at the castle from the point chosen by the artist, McGhie has heightened the viewer's position, providing an elevated and panoramic vision of the Clyde's sweeping flanks. The castle itself is barely visible, its tower just peering out from the canopy of trees; it is how one might actually see Bothwell from the river. As well as this, McGhie added two smaller album photographs to this page, providing a more intimate view from within the castle's quadrangle where visitors often relaxed in the grounds. By combining these photographs McGhie suspended time, suggesting that while people roamed the banks of the Clyde and gazed at the castle walls, others were exploring its interior spaces. The boundaries of the single picture frame are abandoned on this page, the images becoming fluid, to create a more animated narrative. Where the engraving was abstracted from the real world, this series of photographs engaged with it, and must have felt like a superior reflection of reality.

This sense of the real moment presented itself throughout the album, most especially in the photographs that included human figures. As well as the tourists at Bothwell Castle, McGhie's photograph of Bothwell Bridge (figure 22) also captured two gentlemen enjoying the river. The scene is one of tranquillity and relaxation; the figure in

the foreground in repose under a tree simply observes the view. This was a similar setting to be found in Covington Tower (figure 23), which portrayed ladies resting under a tree. Both images signified unhurried leisure time, a dispensation that distinguished the lower middle class tourist from the wealthier ranks of society. By the early nineteenth century, rational leisure was considered an important process for improving one's body and mind, therefore businesses often organised educational and vigorous day excursions for their workers, as "a form of paternalism to foster staff loyalty and revive lagging spirits."<sup>91</sup> A travel industry for the middle classes was efficiently built by firms like Thomas Cook, who was bringing over 50,000 tourists to Scotland by 1860 on trips that were carefully crafted to "admire landscape views, visit sites with literary association, frequent health spas and seaside resorts and follow in Queen Victoria's footsteps."<sup>92</sup> In an ironic twist, as the countryside opened up it also became increasingly privatised. Estates like those in *Lanarkshire Scenery* were subsuming areas that had previously been occupied by tenanted farmers and rural communities. The prescriptive tourist routes advertised by companies like Cook's, and publications like *Black's*, gave the impression the countryside was freely available, but actually highlighted how restricted access to the land really was. This inevitably meant that where you went, how you travelled and where you stayed was based on, and thus reflected, your economic standing. McGhie's album catered to the elite landowner because it was a visual narrative about open landscapes and exclusive views. It provided a more involved and intimate tour of Lanarkshire than the tour guides could ever give. It captured figures relaxing in tourist spots like the castle at Bothwell or beside Stonebyres falls, but also on private estates like Dalzell, Coulter Maynes and Milton Lockhart. As a unique form of documentary evidence, the album

---

<sup>91</sup> Robert A. Lambert. "Leisure and Recreation," in Mitchell, ed. *Landscape and Power*. 258.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* 259.

artfully proved the upper middle class estate owner was not vulgar by illustrating his established connections to local, regional and national landscapes.

### **A Private Space for a Public Face**

The landscape album is more than a tourist's guide or a simple repository for excursion photographs, and photography does much more than record; it captures and holds meaning in latent form. In Barthes' terms, "the photograph possesses an evidentiary force". Its power lies not in what it represents but in ratifying and authenticating the referent.<sup>93</sup> This is true for McGhie's images, which at first glance are simple renditions of country estates and Lanarkshire scenery, but when understood in the context of the album have a narrative that authenticates the existence and significance of landownership in mid-nineteenth-century Scotland. McGhie's album reveals how photographers packaged sites in the same way as tours packaged travel, neutralising and naturalising landscape with references to literature and the picturesque mode. Photography blended the familiar with a new virtual experience, aiding and abetting a perception that a 'civilised' landscape, replete with its grand houses and estate boundaries, was a 'natural' landscape. In McGhie's image of Adam Sim, as noted previously, the landowner was sitting on the wall surrounding his home of Coulter Maynes. He was specifically posed as a gentleman with a top hat, a suit, and a labourer resting beside him. This was a photograph that aimed to illustrate a sedate and fair-minded gentleman, pictured in harmony with his estate and its workers. Sim was known to have been a congenial employer. In Irving's delineations of Lanarkshire, it was suggested that he was a man deeply interested in the working affairs of his estate, an antiquarian and a collector who always encouraged tenants to bring him any archaeological items they might find in the fields. Sim had a reputation for being

---

<sup>93</sup> Barthes, *Camera Lucida*. 84-85.

generous to those who struggled to pay their rents and was defined as a Laird that “loves to foster native talent.”<sup>94</sup> McGhie’s photograph was illustrative proof that Sim was indeed a benign gentleman, for he shares the frame with an estate worker and looks relaxed in a country setting. This is not a vulgar expression of wealth, but rather a visual expression of harmonious balance. The illustration reaffirmed that the estate was “a private space with a public face”,<sup>95</sup> in a world where class lines were being blurred, yet the old signifiers of success still remained. Coulter Maynes, like all those estates pictured in McGhie’s album, provided its owner with firm links to heritage, something that had been the traditional reserve of aristocratic families. This album catered to those new elite who desired a social status to match their financial success, and sought recognition as Lairds to help distance their lives from the industrial trade upon which their wealth was founded.

This chapter suggests that the photograph album was a storytelling device, which converted single images into seamless narratives. As Crary has noted, both money and photography were economies, both establishing “a new set of abstract relations between individuals and things” and then imposing those relations as real.<sup>96</sup> This dialectic between the real and imagined is kept under control within the pages of an album, for the photographs were treated as proof of real sites of history, legend and lived experience. McGhie’s album specifically created a comforting, tidy and reassuring narrative that was based on a set of abstract relationships between money, real estate, empire, civilised culture and Scott’s “land of the mountain and the flood.” Crucially, the album also helped the photographer improve his status. It gave the large format landscape

---

<sup>94</sup> Irving, *The Upper Ward of Lanarkshire Described and Delineated*. 281-282.

<sup>95</sup> Gavin Sprott discusses the estate as a social organisation that traditionally “was a private property with a public face”, in: Sprott “Lowland Agriculture and Society,” in Crooke, et al., eds., *Modern Scottish History, 1707 to the Present*. 192.

<sup>96</sup> Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*. 13.

photograph an exclusive site to become art, to be appreciated by those who knew what 'truth-loving' art was. A leather-bound portfolio of prints sold only to the wealthiest clientele and ensured the photographer's work went into a social circle far above the proletariat; a proletariat who, by the 1870s, were striding the high streets in pursuit of their own material goods.

## Chapter Five     Aberdeen Citizens: A Portrait of Middle Class Consumption

---

This chapter concerns the portrait studio and how photography was used by the middle classes to project a public image during a time of rapid mobility and change. The photographic likeness provided a means for individuals to study a complex network of identities for the first time. More specifically, the visual image circulated a new fictional reality that encouraged individuals to model themselves off celebrated figures and ideals. While historians have approached this subject, none have looked at Scotland's commercial images. In a survey of Victorian photographic portraits Asa Briggs only briefly references Scotland (and Wales) while discussing how photographs were used to garner local pride during a time of "cultural reawakening" in the late nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Batchen's most recent work in this area does not look at specific studios, but rather provides insight into how *carte de visite* photographs catered to people "still learning to look like themselves."<sup>2</sup> In addition, those writers who have assessed Scottish studios have focused on the important task of building a social history for the discipline and mapping the life and times of forgotten photographers.<sup>3</sup>

The portraits produced on Scotland's high streets were ideological constructs that catered to the "bourgeois imaginations" of their sitters. The recent theorisation from writers like Batchen and Briggs suggests that a study of the repetitive nature of poses, backdrops, props and print styles will illustrate the uniformity of portraits in this period and demonstrate how photography functioned as a commodity that was celebrated for the

---

<sup>1</sup> Asa Briggs and Archie Miles, *A Victorian Portrait: Victorian Life and Values as Seen through the Work of Studio Photographs*, 1st U.S. ed. (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Batchen, "Dreams of Ordinary Life," in Long, et al., eds., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*. 80-97. Quote, 88.

<sup>3</sup> See introduction for references to recent examples of publications that look at Scottish studio photographers.

precise standardisation it provided, not for its individuality.<sup>4</sup> However, this leaves little room for examining difference and exploring how photographers and their clients might have distinguished themselves by playing within the perimeters of their imagined community. Steve Edwards has given the area more exhaustive study. In his analysis of English studios he proved that increased attention should be paid to the “awkward abutments” and “grotesque dislocations” evident in commercial portraits, for they provide evidence of “a dialectic of desire and recognition.” Edwards argues that those who took up photography in the late 1850s and 1860s were mostly from the petit bourgeoisie, a class of people who owned some capital but were still actively labouring in business. Subsequently, their relative position in the middle class was tenuous. Added to this, their core trade was providing penny portraits to other lower middle class clients, and these images “reflected their own discomforts and sense of unease” at being so close to the “abyss of labour”. Portraits attempted to fabricate an image of middle class propriety but were often held together by worn and badly organised studio props. The ruptures within this virtual fabric, such as the edge of a backdrop entering the frame or the combination of incongruous props, illustrated the fragility of class status; it broke the illusion of a middle class setting and provided instead photographic evidence of a working studio and of labour.<sup>5</sup>

Edwards’ focus on studio production is insightful for its close examination of the commercial portrait as an indexical statement of class. Similarly, Elizabeth Seigel’s *Playing with Pictures* advocates for a more detailed look at how the consumption of photographic portraits can reveal a sitter’s class consciousness. Seigel’s study investigated how women actively engaged with photographs, cutting and pasting

---

<sup>4</sup> Asa Briggs describes photographs as products of a factory age, available in standardised batches and ranges. See: Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (London, UK: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1988). 23.

<sup>5</sup> Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 81-101 and 260-289.

portraits into albums in order to substantiate and display their societal and familial networks.<sup>6</sup> This chapter aligns itself with these studies, to prove that portraits were manipulated by both photographer and client and to suggest that the commercial studio played a key role in activating middle class involvement in the public sphere. The Scottish studio was no different from its English, American or Continental rivals in this regard. What was unique, however, was the extent to which Scotland's middle classes wished to craft themselves as modern citizens of a British Union. Therefore, when customers requested their portrait in Highland dress, or studio photographers provided opportunities to dress up as fisherwomen, the photographic exchange took on a specific cultural resonance. This is a discussion about how photographs were used to establish the look of the modern Scot, and thus takes a specific interest in how particular portraits seem designed to be direct inversions of the stereotypical image of the 'colonial' northerner.<sup>7</sup>

The starting point for illustrating how Scotland's middle classes used photography to align themselves with modern society is a montage by George Washington Wilson. Produced in 1857, this photograph contained 101 different faces and was titled *Aberdeen Citizens* (figure 1). It was built from a set of obsolete negatives languishing in Wilson's stock room, and was the inspiration of Wilson's colleague George Walker, who had suggested the photographer use old portraits of notable

---

<sup>6</sup> Seigel, *Playing the Pictures*.

<sup>7</sup> This use of photography to establish difference has mostly been used to describe how the image of criminality and fame was established in the nineteenth century. In his seminal article, "The Body and the Archive", Sekula has shown how photography created a standard universal language that helped Victorians pursue phrenology and the classification of types. More recently, Peter Hamilton has discussed how celebrity images were crafted in opposition to deviants in: Peter Hamilton and Roger Hargreaves, *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography* (Hampshire and London, UK: Lund Humphries in Association with The National Portrait Gallery, 2001). 10-15. Additionally, there is a discussion on the use of photography by phrenologists in Scotland in: Duncan Forbes and Roberta McGrath, "The Somnambulists: Photographic Portraits from before Photography. Photographs by Joanna Kane," ed. National Galleries of Scotland (Stockport: Dewi Lewis in association with the National Galleries of Scotland, 2008).

Aberdonian figures to create a novel print that would sell to the general public. Individually these portraits were of little use to anyone but family, friends or colleagues, but together they were transformed into an index for the profound respectability of Aberdonian society. As a product, the montage catered to the hedonistic desire of the middle class citizen, who wished to be seen belonging to and participating in the public sphere. The print confirmed the presence of a network of connections and transformed individuals into members of a productive community.

After discussing what this montage signified, when it was produced and how it reflects its time, the chapter will move on to the portrait work of other Scottish photographers. Wilson's montage subsequently becomes an indexical reference from which to assess middle class portrait photography in mid-nineteenth-century Scotland. It is clear that the montage's focus on the male collective, its subtle blend of celebrity, morality and social participation, as well as the notable absence of women, represents specific trends in studio portraiture in this period. It also provides evidence that the photographic studio was, in Foucault's terms, a heterotopic space; absolutely different from the real site it aimed to reflect and speak about.<sup>8</sup> It was an actual place for taking pictures and in that sense entirely real: a sitter could feel connected with the space around him/her. Yet it was also an unreal space, because props and backgrounds created counter sites that were inversions of reality. As well as this, proof of having been in the studio space was evidenced with a photographic portrait, which itself was an illusion crafted by photographer and sitter. In this sense the photographic studio and the photograph could both be heterotopias because they were similarly "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible."<sup>9</sup> When Wilson's

---

<sup>8</sup> Foucault, "Des Espace Autres."

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

montage was first seen, for example, people were confounded by its spatial composition. It was put on display in Brown's Bookstall in Aberdeen and many enquired "when and where all these people had been collected and photographed", especially since some of the individuals were already dead!<sup>10</sup> By understanding that the studio and the resulting photograph provided multivariate spaces that both reflected and inverted reality, one acknowledges the agency of the photographer and sitter in the manufacturing of an identity that plays with the real. Most importantly, it highlights the importance of uncovering the ideological constructs that informed this play.

### **Aberdeen Citizens**

Wilson's 1857 photomontage was marketed for six shillings and proved an unprecedented success.<sup>11</sup> It was a print described in retrospect as being "far better than a walk in the churchyard, more expressive than a funeral sermon", for it visually memorialised those believed to have notably contributed to Aberdonian society.<sup>12</sup> The montage was modern, new, required intelligent scrutiny, and caused a ripple of excitement in local circles. The men chosen for the print were a mixture of professionals, business traders, clergy and landed gentry. They ranged from the Sheriff and the Provost to doctors, advocates, insurance agents, university professors and two Royal Academy artists (John Phillip and William Dyce).<sup>13</sup> Their portraits were artfully arranged, each sized and placed in a particular way. As Roger Taylor has suggested, it was almost as though Wilson and Walker were taking the opportunity to "grade and position society",<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Walker, *Private Journals*. Vol. 3. 255-56.

<sup>11</sup> Walker mentions that Wilson could not print the image fast enough to keep up with the immediate demand. *Ibid.* 254.

<sup>12</sup> Walker, "In Memoriam: George Washington Wilson (1823-1893)." 53.

<sup>13</sup> Roger Taylor lists all the figures included in *Aberdeen Citizens*, in: Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-1893*. 28.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

and indeed the montage does illustrate the very real rise of the trade and professional classes in Aberdeen during these years.

With its remote location, Aberdeen was known to be “highly regional”, recruiting most of its workers from north east Scotland, as opposed to the multi-cultural cities of Edinburgh, Dundee and Glasgow.<sup>15</sup> It is a good example of a Scottish town that was thriving on Westminster’s laissez faire politics and championing “the virtues of local self-government”, all of which had “become part of the orthodox liberal creed” during these years in Scotland.<sup>16</sup> Before 1832 Aberdeen had been primarily a fishing port, but a new process for polishing granite, the launch of shipbuilding companies and the industrialisation of textile production had provided the city with new avenues for prosperity.<sup>17</sup> With the introduction of the railways in 1850 came a flurry of entrepreneurs and tradesmen eager to provide secondary services to a burgeoning workforce. This influx came in the wake of an economic slump, which had seen heavy losses for the wealthiest aristocrats and gentry, whose speculations in areas of manufacturing, North American land deals and railway companies had gone sour.<sup>18</sup> This in turn created a new wave of opportunities for professional men, merchants and traders who stepped into the breach to command Aberdeen’s affairs. Wilson’s montage venerates these liberal professionals, who were specifically striving “to improve their social image and attain greater respectability” in their town.<sup>19</sup> The most prominent figure in the centre of the composition for instance, is the Provost, Sir Thomas Blaikie. Blaikie was the son of a

---

<sup>15</sup> Checkland, *Industry and Ethos*. 43.

<sup>16</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 37-39.

<sup>17</sup> Checkland, *Industry and Ethos*. 44.

<sup>18</sup> A. Allan MacLaren, “The Liberal Professions within the Scottish Class Structure 1760-1860: A Comparative Study of Aberdeen Clergymen, Doctors and Lawyers,” in Devine, ed. *Scottish Elites*. 79.

<sup>19</sup> MacLaren has noted that a range of liberal professions sought to improve their social standing in Aberdeen during these years. Ministers, for example, aspired to maintain their positions as “the moral vanguards of society”; doctors developed specific criteria for training and academics in specialised areas; and lawyers desired to become members of the respected Society of Advocates. MacLaren, “The Liberal Professions,” in *Ibid.* 90-93.

plumber whose iron-work engineering company had become one of the largest in the region. The painter John Phillip was given a similar central prominence. Phillip was a shoemaker's son who had become a well respected member of the Royal Academy of Arts. The montage illustrated how diverse the middle class had become by the mid-century, with the principally placed faces ranging from retailers, professionals and traders, to some of the wealthiest industrialists, like the owners of Duthie's shipyard (John Duthie and his son John). As such, the print suggested that engineers, shipping agents, merchants of wine, meats and general produce, as well as druggists and ironmongers were all playing a significant role in Aberdeen society. In one section of the montage, for example, there are two prominent portraits of a wine merchant (William Allardyce) and a county officer (William Chisholm). As a trader and a clerk, their societal positions were traditionally inconsequential, yet Wilson placed them alongside a writing master, a senior advocate, a major with the East India Company and a publisher, creating an unorthodox network of associations. Added to this, all these men dwarf the faces of James and William Fordyce who were the established lairds of Brucklay Castle, a 20,000 acre estate north of Aberdeen. That the Fordyces pale in comparison to their middle class neighbours suggests their influence in contemporary urban affairs was comparatively marginal.

This was a composition that could effectively speak to current politics, because, as a photo montage, it was the quintessential modern image. In Baudelaire's terms, the goal for a Modern artist was to "distil the eternal from the transitory"; to discover what elements of the contemporary moment would become "poetry within history".<sup>20</sup> The

---

<sup>20</sup> Baudelaire. "Modernity," *The Painter of Modern Life* originally published in *Le Figaro*, Paris, 26<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> November and 3<sup>rd</sup> December, 1863. Quoted here from: Harrison et al., eds., *Art in Theory, 1815-1900*. 497. David Harvey mentions this in a discussion on the shift from modernity to post-modernity, in: David

photographic portrait could preserve a likeness, freeze time and memorialise individuals, but in the form of a montage this modernising effect was redoubled. By gleaning contemporary life for Aberdeen's most significant people, Wilson solidified the ephemeral, the montage preserving each individual's contribution to society for posterity. As David Harvey has suggested, the montage/collage technique would go on to become a favoured modern language through which artists learnt to translate the fleeting and chaotic world into images that held eternal resonance.<sup>21</sup> Thomas Rodger of St Andrews understood this when he assembled a photo montage twenty years later (figure 2). Inspired by Prince Leopold's visit to the town in 1876, Rodger combined landscapes of the area with portraits of local ministers, philosophers, sportsmen, academics and politicians, to produce a modern social body presided over by the Prince himself. This linked the town's antique architecture and peaceful coastline with a modernity that could refute the popular stereotype that St Andrews was the "Scottish Pompeii", or, "a city of refuge for those who could not live in the country but wished for as little town as possible."<sup>22</sup> Rodger's use of historical and geographical references also coated a fleeting moment with the resonance of eternity because it linked St Andrews's modern leaders with royalty and tradition.

Wilson's earlier montage is teeming with middle class individuals seeking to memorialise their place in the collective imagination as contributors. This included himself and his friends, Walker the bookseller, and John Hay the carver/gilder. Wilson's

---

Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1990). 20-21.

<sup>21</sup> Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*. 21-22.

<sup>22</sup> Graham Smith has discussed nineteenth-century attitudes towards St Andrews. He has shown how Lord Cockburn's travel writings informed the general perception that the town was only worthy for its ruins and rugged coastline. Cockburn visited St Andrews in 1844 and wrote about it in *Circuit Journeys* (1888). For more information, see: Graham Smith. "Imagination and Genius of Antiquity at St Andrews," in Davison Art Center, ed. *Northern Light: Photographs by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson from the University of St Andrews* (Middletown, CT: Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, 2003). 29-45.

desire to be seen as a prominent figure amongst Aberdeen citizens is no surprise, but it also suggests that the montage had another purpose. Depicting what looks like an exclusive club, this was an ideal image of Wilson's respectable clientele. As such, the montage was the perfect form of advertising for the studio; it would lure in aspiring customers, eager to join such an illustrious group.<sup>23</sup> It was a modern marketing technique that proved successful, for the following year Wilson produced a second montage, composed of twenty-one merchants and retailers, ten ministers, civic officers and doctors, six artists and two members of the landed gentry.<sup>24</sup> It was a more standardised edition, each head being roughly the same size and, therefore, each personality being visually marked on equal ground. Yet, the immediacy of its production suggests this second print was feeding off the unparalleled success of its predecessor, and further embellishing Wilson's studio with a reputation for entertaining the cream of Aberdeen society. And such a reputation was vital because competition for portraits was steadily increasing.

### **Aberdeen Studios**

In the early 1850s John Lamb was Wilson's only significant rival. Lamb's images had been widely circulated throughout the city well before Wilson's.<sup>25</sup> He advertised in the *Aberdeen Journal* as early as 1853, conveying that his photographs were available from three local retailers: John Duncan, a jeweller; Kerr and Bowman, carvers, gilders

---

<sup>23</sup> Roger Taylor has pointed out that the montage "impelled" locals to "pay a visit to Wilson's studio in the hope that at some future date they too might be included in such a prestigious group." See: Taylor, *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-93*. 27.

<sup>24</sup> This second montage was completed in 1858 by Wilson himself. There were seven more editions. The third was almost certainly not assembled by Wilson. Instead of an artful arrangement, the portraits are lined in orderly rows, and it was compiled after 1869 because it included the Lord Provost William Leslie who served from 1869-1874. Wilson handed over his portrait business to managers in 1858 so he could focus on landscape work. The Wilson Company would go on to produce a total of nine montages, the last being printed in 1902. A catalogue of names for all nine editions was then published in 1907. Aberdeen Museums and Galleries also hold copies of all the editions.

<sup>25</sup> Wilson first appeared in "Trade Listings and Advertisements," in Aberdeen's Post Office Directory in 1858-1859 and Lamb in 1854-1855.

and print-sellers; and Keith and Gibb, lithographers.<sup>26</sup> Lamb had practiced photography in Aberdeen from 1851, and set up his first large studio in 1853 on George Street, near the old university district. His first *Aberdeen Journal* advertisement declared:

John Lamb...has erected Large and Commodious Premises at 233 George Street where he intends to practise the Art of Photography...from his long experience and practical scientific knowledge of the Art, he flatters himself to be able to produce Portraits at a single visit, with ease to the sitter, and in a style which, for artistic arrangement, correct likeness and beauty of finish, will be found inferior to none. Parties who may find it inconvenient to call, may have the Portraits taken at their own residences, at very little additional cost.

Lamb's publicity was framed to convince a respectable public that his studio was superlative, his experience copious and his terms highly flexible. He also claimed the artistic and scientific knowledge to teach, and stocked photographic equipment for his clients to purchase. In a final attempt to gain the public's trust, Lamb promised:

Parties buying a Camera and Lense [sic] will have an opportunity of seeing it tried, and be presented with a Collodion (or Glass) Portrait of themselves as a guarantee of quality.

Lamb's text was analogous to the language used by all studio photographers in the 1850s. Those attempting to establish themselves were highlighting their reliability and range of services, specifically in contrast to the itinerant salesmen and women who had dominated the market in many small towns. Alongside the individuals who came from large cities and launched temporary studios in lodging houses or retail units, there was a healthy population of itinerant sales people who took advantage of large crowded events and operated a photographic service from stalls or horse and buggy. These travellers sold photography as an entertainment for the masses and particularly attended local fairs and popular touring spots. Photographic journals told readers of the fortunes being made

---

<sup>26</sup> This, and the following two excerpts, are from: Advertisement, "Photographic Portraits, on Glass and Paper," *The Aberdeen Journal*, 5th October 1853. By 1861 Lamb is also mentioning that his photographs are available at Hay and Lyall's, the carving and gilding business Wilson was connected with through his ex-partner John Hay

under such conditions suggesting that “saloon perambulators”, although an expensive investment (£75-£200), could be made to generate significant profits in only two years.<sup>27</sup> Historian Audrey Linkman has shown how these roving traders gradually filled a niche by offering a quick cheap service to a wide audience, and in doing so they began to challenge the ambitions of the studio photographer.<sup>28</sup> This threat created the impetus to professionalize the practice in the 1860s, and witnessed an expansive shift in the variety of photographic products on offer in established businesses.

What the itinerant could not provide was a safe space, closed off from the general public with its own “system of opening and closing”, which was governed by certain permissions and gestures.<sup>29</sup> The body was a source of extreme anxiety in Victorian culture, and the roving traveller elicited the greatest fear because they were disconnected from domesticity. They were considered unclean and potential harbingers of disease, at a time when epidemics of cholera and typhoid were rampant in the poorest neighbourhoods of the country. As Catherine Gallagher has suggested, the body “came to occupy the centre of a social discourse obsessed with sanitation, with minimizing bodily contact and preventing the now alarmingly traversable boundaries of individual bodies from being penetrated by a host of foreign elements, above all the products of other bodies.”<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the permanent studio was a haven from the dangers of the street. However, rather than being a utopia, totally abstracted from the real world, the studio was an empty site waiting to be filled with a series of incongruous objects that could mirror, invert and

---

<sup>27</sup> American Correspondent, "American Photography," *Liverpool Photographic Journal* 3, no. 25 (1856). 1-2. Although this article discusses the itinerant photographer in America the writer is explicitly interpreting the financial gains for a British readership.

<sup>28</sup> Audrey Linkman, "The Itinerant Photographer in Britain, 1850-1880," *History of Photography* 14, no. 1 (1990). 49-68.

<sup>29</sup> This is Foucault's fifth principle that defines a space as heterotopic. Foucault, "Des Espace Autres."

<sup>30</sup> Catherine Gallagher, "The Body Versus the Social Body in Mathus and Mayhew." In Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, eds., *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA and London, UK: University of California, 1987). 90.

play with reality. As Foucault suggests, “utopias are sites with no real space” and “present society itself in a perfected form, or else society turned upside down.” The studio did not do either of these things. What it did instead was to transport audiences to a series of places that were in reality foreign to one another.<sup>31</sup> Like the theatre, the nineteenth-century photographic studio was a heterotopic space, where fears and desires were acted out, but unlike the theatre that was a public event, the studio experience was immensely private. Subsequently, if respectable middle class individuals were to enter this nebulous space they had to be sure it was a site publicly coded with signs that would not impinge on their reputation; and Wilson’s montage was such a sign.

It was undoubtedly Wilson’s commission to photograph Balmoral in 1854 that helped to boost his photographic trade, as it had done for Valentine five years previously. Wilson certainly understood the marketing value of a royal patent, for he immediately promoted himself as “photographer to the Queen” in 1861 after it was granted.<sup>32</sup> Yet, this was not the only key to his success. The location of his studio and his *Aberdeen Citizen* project specifically provided middle class consumers with material proof that Wilson was a respectable trader. His studio was on Crown Street, at the west end of the main thoroughfare of Union Street, which had been built in the 1820s to modernise the old city.<sup>33</sup> Union Street linked the west side, with its new town of wide, grid-patterned

---

<sup>31</sup> Foucault specifically described the theatre this way, defining it as a typical heterotopic space.

<sup>32</sup> Wilson’s association with Royalty was a profitable one. After Albert’s death, for example, Wilson was invited to Balmoral and granted commercial rights to reproduce the photographs he obtained. This included pictures of the new castle, the Queen with her family and the hugely popular image of Victoria sitting side saddle on her horse, held stationary by her ghillie John Brown. This latter image sold nearly 13,000 copies when it was published in 1864 as a carte-de-visite. It had been cropped from the original print Victoria had commissioned the previous year. See: Taylor, *George Washington Wilson: Artist and Photographer 1823-1893*. 42. In total during 1864, Wilson’s portrait department printed 12,700 photographs and took over £4,625 in sales; the set of royal pictures alone made £509. These figures are from Charles A. Wilson’s letters to Roger Taylor titled “Residues: Facts and Figures.” This is found in “Business Information,” in *Roger Taylor Collection of Papers on George Washington Wilson*. University of Aberdeen.

<sup>33</sup> For more on this see, Frank Arnel Walker’s chapter “Urban Form 1750-1850,” in Deborah Mays, ed. *The Architecture of Scottish Cities* (East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 1997). 63-64.

streets stretching into fresh air and open land, to the east side, with its medieval tenements, dockyards and industry. In contrast to Wilson, Lamb's studio was in the east, located on George Street, which was well known for its lack of paving and drainage.<sup>34</sup> Lamb's business was also in close proximity to the Gallowgate, an area of Aberdeen still being described in the 1880s as housing the lowest "grades of civilization" in the "dingiest" and "most unwholesome" conditions "to be found anywhere in a British town."<sup>35</sup> Similarly, Wilson's only other competitor during the early 1850s, James Bisset, also had a studio in this insalubrious part of town. Bisset had talent that could challenge Wilson's, for he had also won a medal in the town's first photographic exhibition in 1853, but his studio was on Exchange Street near the harbour, not an area considered appropriate for a respectable middle class citizen.<sup>36</sup>

As collodion techniques improved and photographic materials were being mass produced and becoming less expensive, the number of entrepreneurs entering the field of studio photography increased. By 1858, Wilson's official competitors had increased from two to nine. They included: Andrew Adams, who had been a cabinet maker and wright before advertising his services as a photographer in 1857; Gifford and Son, the carvers, gilders and print-sellers who became agents for the London Stereoscopic Company in 1857 and had opened their own portrait studio; and Gottfried Frederick, a German artist

---

<sup>34</sup>This was an area specifically targeted by police commissioners in Aberdeen's 1848 Improvement Act for its lack of paving and drainage. See Rosemary Tyzack, "No Mean City: The Growth of Civic Consciousness in Aberdeen with Particular Reference to the Work of the Police Commissioners," in Terry Brotherstone and Donald J. Withrington, *The City and Its Worlds: Aspects of Aberdeen's History since 1794* (Glasgow, UK: Cruithne Press, 1996). 159.

<sup>35</sup> Francis H. Groome, ed. *A Survey of Scottish Topography: Statistical, Biographical, and Historical*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, UK: Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1885). Quoted by Brotherstone and Withrington, *The City and Its Worlds*. 6.

<sup>36</sup> James Bisset first advertised his business in the 1863-64 Aberdeen Post Office Directory. He was recorded as being 51 in the 1881 census, which makes him only 23 when he won the exhibition medal in 1853. He may have taken over the premises of John Center, a portrait photographer who had a business in Exchange Street from 1859 and moved to Edinburgh in 1865. Information for this is also found in Torrance, "North East Scotland," *Photographers in Scotland to 1914*. 3-4.

who claimed fifteen years of experience with photography by 1858, and also offered the services of an “Ornamental Hair Department” managed by his wife. All these men enticed the public by offering a range of services from calotype portraits to stereoscopic groups, views of estates and copies of paintings or sculptures. Photographs could be enlarged and coloured and were always provided in “a first rate style” at “moderate prices.”<sup>37</sup> By 1867, competition had increased further, with nineteen registered studios in Aberdeen, all of whom were vying for carte de visite business and providing an array of images, from the miniature that could be placed in lockets, brooches and rings, to the oversized photograph that could be painted in oils and framed.<sup>38</sup> Despite this, Wilson’s studio thrived and expanded faster and more prodigiously than any other. I believe it was his 1857 photomontage that assured this success, for it was a modern product that both indexed his superior client list and illustrated his artistic and scientific skill. Wilson’s montage marketed his photographs as compositions, not mere mechanical reproductions. It suggested he was a distinguished professional, and called to mind his experience as a trained portrait painter. This in turn sent a public message to an aspiring middle class that Wilson’s studio provided unique and artistic portraits that would set them apart from the crowd.

Despite its value as a democratic medium, photography was also an innovative form of mass communication and was developing a new language replete with codes to

---

<sup>37</sup> “Trade Listings and Advertisements,” *Aberdeen Post Office Directory* (1858-1859). 356-357. On the same page, are postings for: Herr Frederick, Andrew Adams, Henry Gordon and Nesbitt’s Gallery.

<sup>38</sup> In just one example, Wood’s Photographic Rooms, 25 Market Street in Aberdeen offered all sizes. See: “Trade Listings and Advertisements,” *Aberdeen Post Office Directory* (1863-1864). 371. Two years later, advertisements illustrate how studios are competing for business by reducing their carte de visite prices. Amongst the seven adverts on one page was D. Scott of Union Street, who advertised his cartes for eight shillings per dozen and William Garey of Windmillbrae who announced he had reduced his cartes to a similar figure, and was offering extra sets for just five shillings. The least expensive cartes could be obtained from the Scottish Photographic Studio on Marischal Street, who advertised a dozen for six shillings six pence. “Trade Listings and Advertisements,” *Aberdeen Post Office Directory* (1865-1866). 375.

help legitimate social difference. In his study on taste, the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has suggested that art and cultural consumption are predisposed to fulfil the social function of legitimising difference. This is because art objects are aesthetic and their appreciation requires an education that indicates a social position. As well as this, an art object is reified for its form alone, while an ordinary object is appreciated for its function. The difference between luxury and necessity creates a classification system which reinforces a hierarchy of cultural practices.<sup>39</sup> Wilson's photo montage was a luxury. It converted the functional studio portrait into a new aesthetic form. However, this photo montage was also an object designed to appeal to the populace. Its function as a display of local power was significant. In this sense, it can be seen as an object that operated between Bourdieu's luxury and necessity, connecting both high art and popular taste in a new space that was tailor made for the more discerning middle classes who aspired for elite status. This shows photography developing a new language in its role as a commodity; a language fostered by middle class Victorian discourses on celebrity, morality and social participation.

### **Celebrity, Morality and Social Participation**

In 1855, Wilson had contributed several landscapes and portraits to the photographic exhibition organised in Glasgow for the BAAS meeting of that year. Also on display were a series of portraits by the commercial partners Maull and Polybank, whose successful London studio had given them access to the wealthiest and most celebrated figures of high society. The exhibition boasted over a hundred portraits from Maull and Polybank's *Literary and Scientific Portrait Club*. Such was their popularity that a *Glasgow Herald* review of this BAAS exhibition failed to mention Wilson's images and instead praised the London partners for producing portrait work of

---

<sup>39</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: The Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, 6 ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996; reprint, 1984). 6-7.

“undivided excellence.”<sup>40</sup> Capitalising on this success, Maull and Polybank embarked on an ambitious forty part serial the following year. They sold subscribers one photograph of a celebrity per month, accompanied by brief biographical notes.<sup>41</sup> The meteoric triumph of the London partners’ portrait series in 1855-1856 must have influenced Walker and Wilson’s decision to create a montage of Aberdonian celebrities. It was a product that could not fail to appeal to middle class consumers who aspired to improve themselves by associating with a pantheon of better known figures. Wilson’s *Aberdeen Citizens* followed a fashion for celebrity portraits. Helen Groth has shown how this came from a “nexus of national mythmaking and hero worship”, which was prevalent in Victorian culture during these years.<sup>42</sup> Such discourses were promulgated by contemporary writers like Thomas Carlyle, who particularly popularised the notion of heroism in a series of essays and lectures. Carlyle suggested people needed to see images of heroes, especially during unsettled times of war, revolution and depression, because history was built on the shoulders of such champions and their deeds created a faith system that kept humanity striving forward.<sup>43</sup> Photographs widened the dissemination of public heroes. More specifically, the photographic image brought greatness into the domestic sphere and created a rhetoric of equivalence. In a review of celebrity portraits by London photographer Herbert Watkins in 1858, for example, the *Times* eulogised about the particular advantages of seeing “the lineaments” of individuals only publicly known through writings. The advantage in using the camera, the article stated, was its ability to allow the public to appreciate the extent to which celebrities were the “centre

---

<sup>40</sup> "Photographic Exhibition," *The Glasgow Herald*, 17th September 1855.

<sup>41</sup> Maull and Polybank’s series, *Photographic Portraits of Living Celebrities* was eventually published in one volume when it completed its series run in 1859. For more information on this, and the work of Maull and Polybank, see: Christine Wollett, "The Maull Photographic Portrait Collection Held at the Royal Society," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 61 (2007). 69-74.

<sup>42</sup> Helen Groth, *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003). 35-36.

<sup>43</sup> Groth discusses Carlyle Ibid. Quote here from the first lecture in Carlyle’s 1840 publication: “On Heroes, Hero Worship and Heroes in History,” published in *Thomas Carlyle’s Collected Works*, Library ed., 30 vols. vol. 12 (London, UK: Chapman and Hall, 1869). 17.

around which many admirers revolve, be that circle political, literary, artistic, dramatic, or scientific.”<sup>44</sup> This fashion for admiring figures from all walks of life was also promoted through a new approach to history and contemporary affairs that linked key events with ‘common people’.<sup>45</sup> Thus, Victorians were becoming increasingly familiar with the ideal that ‘great men’ referred to individuals throughout the class spectrum, from the more traditional lords, monarchs and military men to the unconventional modern inventors and engineers.<sup>46</sup> Samuel Smiles’ *Self Help*, which had sold over 20,000 copies in its first year, specifically drew on a range of such men, to illustrate how one might achieve superlative conduct. Yet, under this egalitarian rhetoric, there was an underlying tone in such publications that suggested the idea of heroes promoted, rather than questioned, the value of Britain’s class system. This was especially important after the European revolutions of the late 1840s, which had demonstrated the damaging effects of working class alienation. Smiles’s *Self Help* is a good example, for it stressed that the most successful men adopted the manners and cultured learning of English gentlemen purely so they might improve their conduct and character, not because they wished to progress up the social ranks. The labourer in the “meanest hut” will be content, Smiles wrote, if he simply accepts his place in society with the nobility of spirit seen in the best of Englishmen, and focuses on elevating his spirit not his status.<sup>47</sup> Smiles’ self-help manual insisted that individuals should balance their desires with social responsibility, by using force of will, determination and good time-keeping. Sloth, ignorance, indolence

---

<sup>44</sup> Editor, "Critical Notices: The Photographic Exhibition at the Crystal Palace," *The Photographic News* 1, no. 3 (1858). 29.

<sup>45</sup> Asa Briggs mentions that Victorian historians initiated this desire for social history. J. R. Green used this methodology in his *Short History of the English People* (1874), in which he constantly linked “great events” with “common people.” See the chapter, “Images of Fame” in Briggs, *Victorian Things*. Quote here from p. 143.

<sup>46</sup> Christine MacLeod, *Heroes of Invention: Technology, Liberalism and British Identity, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007). 280-81.

<sup>47</sup> Despite being a Scot himself, Smiles refers throughout the book to the Englishman’s superlative conduct and England’s noble spirit. Smiles, *Self Help*. See especially Chapter 10, *Knowledge as a Means of Rising in Life*. Quote here from 261-262.

and reliance on charity were frowned upon, as was the unadulterated pursuit of money and self indulgence.<sup>48</sup> Commercial photographers in Scotland capitalised on this popular ideal of self-help, providing visual aids for customers who wished to collect a gallery of images and design their own hierarchy of faces. Studios provided photographs of real characters that audiences could champion, such as the medal winner, printed by the Aberdonian photographer Alexander Dinnie (figure 3)<sup>49</sup> or the portrait of Mr J. P. Dixon, by James Milne of Arbroath (figure 4), a man who had “overcome the defects of nature” and learnt to write without the use of hands. These were photographs designed to elicit empathy and induce enterprise. The latter carte of Dixon was specifically accompanied by a testimonial, signed by the man himself, reminding viewers how “the human spirit can rise superior to the greatest physical difficulties.”<sup>50</sup>

In addition to imaging heroes to emulate, studios also spent time promoting stereotypes that reinforced the importance of the class system. A carte from the Edinburgh studio of Lennie, for example, established the correct code for achieving equilibrium in mid-Victorian life (figure 5). The photograph depicts a young middle class woman holding a plate with a fish that she has presumably purchased from the older fishwife who sits beside her. They are posed in a studio with a plain background. The middle class figure holds her hand up in protest, or to indicate that something requires attention, while the fisherwoman waits abjectly. The suggestion is that the product requires scrutiny before a price is negotiated. Above and beyond the literal translation is a metaphorical narrative that speaks of trading, the role of the domestic lady and the

---

<sup>48</sup> Smiles, *Self Help*. 277.

<sup>49</sup> This is Donald Dinnie (1837-1916), who had been a stonemason until he became a professional athlete. His strength in all areas of the Highland Games was renowned throughout the region. For more on his fame see: Colin Farquharson, "Dinnie - the Greatest," *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 30th December 1988. 16.

<sup>50</sup> These words are on the testimonial, signed by Dixon that accompanied this carte de visite. The carte is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery Photography Collection. Uncatalogued.

working woman, of class boundaries and of proper manners in the public sphere. The middle class woman dominates the composition. Her hand is held aloft in a proselytising gesture. Her crisp neat dress, with its fashionable wide skirt, exudes a firm strength compared to the rumpled and weary seated figure of the working woman. It is not a dissimilar relationship to that of teacher and child or preacher and convert. Charity and temperance were due virtues for the respectable middle class individual, as was a responsibility to ‘help’ the lower portions of society whose lifestyles were deemed unhealthy and socially irresponsible. This carte catered to a large and vocal population of bourgeois Presbyterians, who Callum Brown has suggested were “obsessed with the “unchurched,” the “lapsed masses,” and the “sunken portion” of society during the nineteenth century.<sup>51</sup> The image of the fisherwoman will be discussed in more detail below; however, this photograph is pertinent here because it demonstrates how photographic reality authenticated ideological discourses being promulgated in popular writings like *Self Help*, and through widely-circulated stories by fashionable writers like Charles Dickens. Dickens often employed the literary structure of Bildungsroman, a German tradition stemming from the eighteenth century that explored how maturity was cultivated through an individual’s relationship to universal humanity. As Maureen Moran has shown, Dickens’s novels *David Copperfield* (1849-1850) and *Great Expectations* (1860-1861) were just two of the many narratives which contained underlying morals that revealed the difference “between childish misapprehension and a sound moral insight”, something that coincided with “middle class ideals about individual success and social duty.”<sup>52</sup> Cartes like those produced by Milne and Lennie visualised this ideology and provided the middle classes with images that condensed what they wished to

---

<sup>51</sup> Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1997). 120.

<sup>52</sup> Maureen Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture* (London, UK and New York, NY: Continuum, 2006). 82.

publicly convey; that religion and morality, not greed or fear, lay at the heart of their class consciousness.

Portrait photography was developing a visual system that reinforced the belief that individuals should excel where they found themselves. This explains why it was a form of representation and display that exclusively benefited the middle classes during this period. The mid-section of society was a group in a constant state of flux. As increasing professionals and skilled labourers added new tiers to the system, so new opportunities arose for advancing one's status. Yet, it was crucial to be seen balancing individual desire with social responsibility and not flouting the rules of civil society. Therefore, attempting to cross class lines into the aristocratic world was improper, but moving anywhere within the parameters of the middle class was entirely appropriate. This dynamic nexus of class and status is visualised in Wilson's montage, for it is an image that does not attempt to elevate the working labourer, but instead maps the space within which the middle class might roam. The petit bourgeois trader was placed next to the elite professional, the haute bourgeois industrialist beside members of the clergy or decorated service men and minor members of the landed gentry. They were all depicted in their city suits as British gentleman of the Empire, to suggest their positions were acquired through proper social participation in the modern world. The montage documented, validated, elevated and equalised each individual. Most critically, it demonstrated how photographic studios could turn local Scots into men of modern Britain. The second half of this chapter focuses on this idea, and highlights how the photograph and the portrait studio functioned differently for the middle class male and female.

## The Male Collective

Thomas Rodger of St Andrews had been experimenting with the technical and aesthetic advantages of amalgamating individual portraits into a single print at the same time as Wilson. In 1856-1857 he had made a private portrait, *Four Generations* (figure 6), that combined a self portrait, with an image of his son, his father and grandfather; a composition reminiscent of Renaissance paintings depicting the allegory of life.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps seeing the commercial value of the technique, Rodger went on to develop a series of montages and collages of university students and staff. In some of these prints he roughly cut out portraits and arranged them in a grid pattern on a flat surface, then re-photographed them as a group (figure 7). In others, he designed seamless artistic compositions that could more effectively distinguish the professors from their pupils (figure 8). There is no evidence to suggest that these photographs were commissioned by the University of St Andrews.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, it seems more likely that they were a product of a business initiative by Rodger, who understood how photographs could capitalise on a young man's desire to be part of a social collective. As such, he did not just focus on the university, but also took photographs for members of all the social groups and associations in St Andrews.

As explored in chapter one, cultural and philanthropic associations were vital in this period of laissez faire politics in Britain. They were the niches that existed between the private sphere of the family and the extensive British state. In Morton's terms, it was through "associational activity in their public life" that middle class Scottish individuals gained experience of social power and a chance to enter the realms of local governance.

---

<sup>53</sup> For example, Giorgione's *Three Ages of Man*. c.1510. Oil on canvas. Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, Florence, Italy. Or, Titian's *An Allegory of Prudence*, c. 1565-70. Oil on canvas. National Gallery, London.

<sup>54</sup> There is no record in the 1860s financial papers of the University of St Andrews that a commission was granted to Rodger for photographic services.

Accordingly, each town had a range of clubs and societies and they operated as channels for exercising cultural superiority.<sup>55</sup> In St Andrews, golf was swiftly becoming a popular game for the middle classes and requisite organisations were formed to create useful allegiances. The Mechanics Golf Club catered to the lower middle class tradesmen. The Rose Club was created by young skilled workers aspiring for increased wealth and status, like writers, shopkeepers and clerks. While the more socially superior Thistle Golf Club was a fellowship made up of wealthier merchants and professional men. Rodger completed a montage for the petite bourgeois Rose Club members in 1870 (figure 9). This was when the organisation was at its height, conducting nationally-publicised golf matches in the summer evenings that would give both the game itself and the destination of St Andrews an increasingly popular appeal.<sup>56</sup> On a practical level, the montage was more cost effective than an album, furnishing clubs with the means to replicate and disseminate their image. It was also a modern language, used during a time when photography was fighting for its own place as a professional discipline in the finer arts. What the montage did best for its subjects, however, was to symbolise the directive of these local organisations, which was to advance and publicise an individual's participation in a socially viable middle class body. Each montage allowed a person to become a local celebrity; literally the centre upon which the crowd pivoted.

Rodger's images illustrated how the town's growing body of professional men were bound together by their education, class or social standing and how photography was swiftly becoming the most useful tool for marking public participation. As class-based associations with membership by invitation only, both the St Andrews Literary and Philosophical Society and The Royal and Ancient Golf Club chose to memorialise

---

<sup>55</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 193.

<sup>56</sup> This information is from the University of St Andrews Library Special Collections, "Photographic Collections" website. Accessed, April, 2010.

themselves by ordering a group photograph (figures 10 and 11). As Morton writes in his analysis of Edinburgh's network of societies, these were the men who made up a new class of social elites in Scotland and took charge of civil society. They were the subscriber class, made up largely of lawyers, doctors and business men who battled for hegemonic control of their town.<sup>57</sup> Rodger's photography legitimised their importance, memorialised their contribution to society and normalised their standing as local elites. In many images it is the solidity of the group dynamic that reinforced this. In Rodger's image of a group of university students, for example, (figure 12), each one has a distinctive posture, from the languid to the spirited, the amused to the staid, but despite this variation their bodies all connect; elbows touch knees, hands rest on shoulders, and backs rest against their neighbours, to form an enclave that is tight and complete. The language is clear; one obtains strength in numbers and power by association. These images also reaffirmed that these were British gentlemen, for they exhibited the qualities of the self-cultivated Englishman, not being marked as Scottish, except by association with their respected university. Again, because no record exists to suggest that the University commissioned these group portraits, it can be inferred that demand for such images was fuelled more by the individual's desire to be linked to an institution than the institution's need to record individuals.

Individual studio portraits consistently attempted to depict the middle class male dressed for city success, as a contributor to modern society, a successful patriarch or a relaxed gentleman (figures 13 to 16). Many of the men look decidedly uncomfortable in their pose, but they were participating in the commodification of fantasy and must have understood on some level that the use of studio props and backgrounds linked their

---

<sup>57</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 194.

photograph with a community of similar portraits. James Ross's studio in Edinburgh provided customers with a gate and a backdrop depicting an open landscape. Men and their families posed against this, for it inferred unfettered access to leisure and the country, a true sign of a patriarch's economic prowess and success (figures 17 and 18). The Highlander Thomas Goldie Scot (figure 19) visited Ross's studio in 1867 and posed beside a gate, like a wealthy British gentleman using the landscape for pleasure and pursuit. It is the same pose chosen several years later by the Marquis of Lorne (figure 20), who was the archetypal Briton; husband of Queen Victoria's fourth daughter Louise and well known explorer of Northern and Central America.<sup>58</sup> In an age of consensus, when the middle class British public was increasingly measuring happiness with the pursuit of commodities,<sup>59</sup> such portraits were ideal products. They projected an image for Highlanders that matched a Marquis' economic prosperity and heroism, even if it was simply a mirage. As one contemporary observer commented, "being poor is a mere trifle, it is being known to be poor that is the sting."<sup>60</sup> However, what Scottish studios also provided for Victorian men was a unique opportunity to highlight their masculinity.

Scotland's national identity was infused with a romantic vision of an antique land. After the fashion for Highland dress was invigorated by George IV's appearance in Edinburgh in 1822 and Victoria and Albert's gentrified Highland life, the image of a chief or clansman became particularly resonant for the British male. As Morrison has

---

<sup>58</sup> The Marquis became the Governor General of Canada in 1878. He acquired the title Duke of Argyll after the death of his father in 1900. See, R. W. Sandwell, "Dreaming of the Princess: Love, Subversion and the Rituals of Empire in British Columbia 1882," in Colin M. Coates, ed. *Majesty in Canada: Essays on the Role of Royalty*. (Toronto, ON: Dundurn Press, 2006). 47. Thomas Goldie Scot served in the 79<sup>th</sup> Highlanders, a regiment that had been active in the Crimea and during India's first war of independence. They became the Queen's own Cameron Highlanders in 1873.

<sup>59</sup> Historian Boyd Hilton has shown that the British economy boomed in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was an era of domestic peace when people's success was measured by their acquisition of commodities. See: Boyd Hilton, "The Politics of Anatomy and an Anatomy of Politics, c. 1825-1850," in Collini, et al., eds., *History, Religion and Culture: British Intellectual History, 1750-1950*. 179-197.

<sup>60</sup> Jerome K. Jerome, *The Idle Thoughts of an Idle Fellow*. (1886). 5. Quoted in: Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1901*. 65.

suggested, the nineteenth century focus on Highlandism in landscape imagery was not about establishing difference, but more about illustrating how English sensibilities were in union with Scotland's natural landscape.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, in portraiture, the Highlander is an assertion that English gentlemen were allied with Scotland's cultural heritage. This is because, as Morton has explained, the tartan, clans, myths and markers that were generated by the writings of Scott, MacPherson and Burns became "the icons of Scotland's ethnics" and were specifically used to "celebrate both Union with England and Scotland's independent nationhood."<sup>62</sup> The symbols unique to Scotland did not challenge contemporary politics, for they were safely embedded in the past. Despite this, they did highlight the important role the country played in modern British culture. Visual symbols like the wild and rugged hills and magnificent stag were used during the Victorian era to suggest Scotland was a particularly masculine space. The Scottish Highlands and the clan system was both feared and admired for being beyond the pale of England's domestic rural idyll, which itself was marked by Victoria's female rule. As Maureen Martin has suggested, the "stalwart, tartan-clad warriors" in this period demonstrated "Scots were now wielding their masculine might in defense [sic] of Great Britain and its interests and cast Scotland in the role of manly protector to feminine Britannia."<sup>63</sup> Martin specifically linked the rise in popularity for deer stalking in the Highlands with a growing desire to re-claim an "ailing English masculinity", engendered by the safety of England's green and pleasant lands. As such, the Highlands were defined as "part yet not part of civilised England" and "recognized as an invaluable national resource, an infinite mother lode – or

---

<sup>61</sup> Morrison, *Painting the Nation*. 84.

<sup>62</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 190. For more on the how icons like the kilt and the Highlander developed see, Hugh Trevor-Roper, "The Invention of Tradition: the Highland Tradition of Scotland," in Eric Hobsbawm and Trevor Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 15-42.

<sup>63</sup> Martin, *The Mighty Scot*. 41.

father lode – of primal masculinity.”<sup>64</sup> Martin analyses the language in nineteenth-century deer stalking manuals to show how these books reinforced the premise that Englishmen were supposed to “achieve masculinity through learning to stalk deer”, whereas the Scots were considered “already manly, always already stalkers.”<sup>65</sup> It is important to point out that this archetypal image of the stalker was modelled off the aristocratic game of hunting, which took place within the confines of a great estate and was a form of entertainment. It was not styled off the life of rural Highlanders who were often too poor to even feed their families meat.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, a Scottish male had two choices. He could pose as a modern English gentleman of the city, or as a modern British Highlander. Thus men could model themselves off figures like the Marquis of Lorne (figure 20); the iconic English gentleman comfortable wearing a city suit in the Highland hills. Or, conversely, model themselves off heroic British soldiers. A portrait of Captain Adam Ferguson of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Royal Highlanders (figure 21) is an example of this. The photograph captured a serviceman dressed in full Black Watch uniform, allying him with a regiment that had battled at Waterloo, the Crimea and in India’s first war of Independence. This highlights Ferguson’s role as a Scot in the British Army, fighting for Empire and the Queen, which was a perfect emblem for unionist-nationalism and British masculinity. Additionally, the studio has provided a backdrop with a suitable Highland scene, replete with stags and rugged mountain peaks, which ably reinforced these symbolic associations.

While it is clear the studio offered these men a chance to memorialise their service to Queen and country, it also catered to the urban consumer’s desire to project himself as

---

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 52.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> For further information on the realities of Highland living during these years see: T.M. Devine. *Clearance and Improvement: Land, Power and People in Scotland 1700-1900* (Edinburgh, UK: John Donald, 2006).

a stalwart and respectable leader. Edinburgh-based photographers Murray and Campbell, Hugh Ritchie, and the partners Ross and Pringle, were just some of many studios that provided Highland costumes for customers who wished to imagine themselves as noble British warriors (figures 22 to 24). There was also ample opportunity to pose as an ideal country gentleman, armed with a gun and 'hunting' dog (figures 25 and 26). These props provided a symbolic link to the ideal of a British hunter, as well as a set of unique and respected masculine values, which included "energy, determination, austerity, endurance" and "chivalric" aristocracy.<sup>67</sup> As such, these sorts of photographs allied the average urban middle class Scot with a symbolism that elicited authority and garnered respect in modern Britain.

### **Acting Out**

Studio photographers endowed the middle class with opportunities to play with their public identity by offering tableaux, costumes and props to enhance their portrait. Emily Bryan has noted that the game charades was introduced into society in the 1830s and became very popular with upper middle and aristocratic families in the following decades. This imaginary play was then taken on by those "upwardly mobile middle classes desiring to model their behaviour" on their social superiors.<sup>68</sup> Studio photography effectively commercialised charades, providing a site where it was socially acceptable for middle class individuals to act out their fears and desires. The technology allowed people to dress up, pose and take on new personas, and the photograph documented the result, cementing this new reality. As well as the Highland gentleman, Scottish studios specifically developed the trend for mimicking fishwives and gypsies, the outsiders that were the object of extreme curiosity and derision. In one such image from Thomas

---

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. 48-49.

<sup>68</sup> Emily Bryan, "Nineteenth-Century Charade Dramas: Syllables of Gentility and Sociability," *Nineteenth Century Theatre and Film* 29, no. 1 (2002). 35.

Rodger's studio in St Andrews, a girl poses in front of a back-drop of the sea, her foot perched on rocks scattered on the studio floor (figure 27). Her costume is composed of a mixture of cloths and material to suggest an 'exotic' traveller from beyond the modern cityscape. In another photograph, most likely a private image, Rodger's father is dressed as a fishwife with striped skirt hitched up to reveal his knees and woollen socks (figure 28).

The fisher folk of St Andrews were consistently vilified for a way of life that was deemed insalubrious and slovenly by middle class moralists. John Adamson's 1841 report on the sanitary conditions in St Andrews had called the habits of the fishermen "highly offensive" and peculiar, for the women propped their skirts up over their knees and the men lounged on street corners all day.<sup>69</sup> That the men fished at night and the women raised their skirts to clean lines in the sea was conveniently dismissed. The intent instead was to provide evidence that this close-knit community needed moral guidance. In reality, the middle class fascination with their 'otherness' was fuelled by a deep-seated fear of the solidarity found in working class communities who lived outside the control of the ruling class. During the nineteenth century, the fishing communities across Scotland were fiercely independent and economically productive.<sup>70</sup> The fishermen and shore workers, who gutted, packed and sold the fish all lived in small coastal villages and

---

<sup>69</sup> Smith, "John Adamson, Sanitary Reform and the Fishing Community."

<sup>70</sup> In Newhaven, for example, the fishing community claimed rights over the oyster beds in the Forth estuary under a charter from James VI and Charles I. In 1834 they secured permission to export the oysters to London by steamer and made a profit of nearly £5,000. Five years later Edinburgh council refused to renew their lease, giving it instead to George Clark, an Englishman with dredging boats. The Newhaven fisherman refused to pay their rent and continued to fish, selling illegally to Clark's competitors. The situation became so untenable that Clark left and the Newhaven fishermen regained their legal right to trade. Although the beds were over fished by the 1880s, during the early 1870s over 10,000 oysters were farmed per day from the Forth. James R. Coull, *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography* (Edinburgh, UK: John Donald Ltd., 1996). 225-227. As mentioned in the introduction, the Newhaven fishing community and early photography is discussed at length by Stevenson, *The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth* (1991).

built strong bonds because of the adversity of their work.<sup>71</sup> This cohesion was an anathema to the urban elite who sought to control all local affairs. Rodger's father was a house painter, but the young Thomas had risen into St Andrews' elite ranks because of his brilliant chemistry skills. He had been John Adamson's prodigy during the 1840s while a student at Madras College and had received support from Lord Kinnaird, David Brewster and Hugh Lyon Playfair (Provost of St Andrews from 1842-1861) to start his studio in 1849.<sup>72</sup> Rodger had therefore achieved a degree of certainty that he would remain safely ensconced in middle class life. His open mimicry of the fishwife demonstrates a superior sense that this working community was, quite literally, "a race apart."<sup>73</sup> This was not an unusual image. There are many examples of Scottish studios offering customers an opportunity to dress up and imagine themselves as 'others' (figures 29 and 30). Studios, like James Ross's in Edinburgh, specifically capitalised on the vogue for gazing at the fishing community by producing ready-made tableaux. Similar to the image by Lennie discussed above, Ross's photographs *Anither Bawbee* [Another Penny] (figure 31) and *Caller Haddies* [Freshly Caught Haddocks] (figure 32), emerged from the contemporary middle class narrative on the lives of Newhaven fisherwomen, who sold their wares from baskets on the streets of Edinburgh. As photographs, these images legitimated the act of the unrelenting gaze. They converted the woman into an object of fascination for the urban middle class, whose knowledge of the fisherwoman was informed by a literary tradition, as well as an infamous remark made by George IV who had declared them some of "the handsomest women he had ever seen."<sup>74</sup> The royal gaze induced a fashion for viewing the fisherwomen as an object of diverting interest for

---

<sup>71</sup> Linda McGowan, *Fife's Fishing Community* (Gloucestershire, UK: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2003). 20.

<sup>72</sup> Quote from Robert Adamson's *Report on the Sanitary Condition and General Economy of the Labouring Classes in the City of St Andrews* (1841), is found in Smith, "John Adamson, Sanitary Reform and the Fishing Community." 181-182.

<sup>73</sup> This is how most fishing communities were defined during the nineteenth century. McGowan, *Fife's Fishing Community*. 20.

<sup>74</sup> Peter F. Anson, *Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland* (Toronto and London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1930). 76.

the urban elite. In 1828 a young actress Fanny Kemble would liken her first encounter with a Newhaven ‘beauty’ to meeting “Venus Anadyomene”, the sea goddess herself.<sup>75</sup> Sometime later, Lady Eastlake had ventured down to Newhaven “to look at Jinny Wilson” and described her as “a lovely looking creature, with a complexion of that transparent kind of which our aristocracy are most proud; her eye laughing, her hair without any figure of speech, golden – such a colour as indoor life never permits.”<sup>76</sup>

Eastlake had modelled for Hill and Adamson during the mid 1840s, when the Edinburgh partners were undertaking their calotype series in Newhaven.<sup>77</sup> On display by 1845, the Newhaven series were some of the first photographic images on exhibit in Scotland, and they were understood as truthful pictures drawn by nature. However, the calotype’s paper negative created a hazy impression of a scene rather than a precise outline. These photographs, therefore, evoked a more painterly and romantic vision of Newhaven and reinforced stereotypes about the fisher people. In T. C. Smout’s terms, there was an “imaginary paragon against which real Scots of the lower classes were so often measured and found wanting”,<sup>78</sup> and popular stories, such as Charles Reade’s *Christie Johnstone* (1853) and Walter Scott’s *Antiquary* (1816) had made Victorians believe that such an ideal Scottish peasant was to be found in the fishing villages. Ross’s cartes of *Anither Bawbee* and *Caller Haddies*, were direct references to these narratives, and particularly recalled the popular fiddle tune *Caller Herrin*.<sup>79</sup> Written by Lady

---

<sup>75</sup> From the memoirs of a young actress, Fanny Kemble, who first visited Newhaven in 1828-29 and met Mrs Sandy Flockhart, whom she subsequently befriended. Frances Ann Kemble. *Record of a Girlhood*. London, Vol. 1, 1878. 242-245. Quoted in Stevenson, *The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*. 17.

<sup>76</sup> Charles Eastlake Smith, ed. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake* (1895). 92. Quoted in Stevenson, *Ibid.* 19.

<sup>77</sup> For more on the Hill and Adamson’s calotypes see, Sara Stevenson, *Facing the Light: The Photographs of Hill and Adamson* (Edinburgh, UK: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 2002).

<sup>78</sup> T. C. Smout, *A Century of Scottish People 1830-1950* (London, UK: Collins, 1986). 10.

<sup>79</sup> *Caller Herrin*’ was a poem written by Lady Nairne (Carolina Oliphant, 1766-1845), at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is believed she wrote it explicitly for the fiddler Neil Gow. Either Neil or his son Nathaniel are said to have set the poem to music, inspired by hearing the bells of St Andrews’ Church in

Nairne for the fiddler Neil Gow, *Caller Herrin'* reminded listeners that fish signified a life of extreme danger and hardship, for they had been "haul'd through wind and rain" with "brave darin'." As the third verse says:

Wha'll buy my caller herrin'?  
Oh, ye may ca' them vulgar fairn'  
Wives and mothers, maist despairin',  
Ca' them lives o' men

As reviewed in chapter two, Victorian explorers and travellers often appropriated parochial dialects in their writing to give the impression their examination was closer to the truth. It legitimised the exercise of voyeurism, turning the gaze into an ethnographic study. While the 'vulgarity' of the native tongue neatly objectified the subject, giving the observer a separate position of authority, it was also the photograph itself that enhanced this separation. As an anthropological tool, photography mapped the bodies of different types of people across the Empire in a seemingly objective manner. It supported the Victorian fascination for measuring, cataloguing and categorising nature and the wider world. Photographs assisted those interested in the emerging scientific disciplines of physiology and optics, but also helped create a visual archive for comparing and contrasting human types, at a time when Darwin's innovative theories on the origin of species and natural selection were beginning to circulate.<sup>80</sup> In her review of photography in 1857 Lady Eastlake had commented that portraits could provide "facts as well as lessons of the deepest physiological interest."<sup>81</sup> Commercial images, like those of the

---

Edinburgh intermingled with the cries of the fisherwomen who sold their wares on the streets. The poem and Walter Scott's *The Antiquary* have striking similarities. Scott's story recounts the tale of a young idle man who ventures into a seaside town and befriends a wise old sage. In chapter eleven, the coastal 'Antiquary' is shocked when a fisherwoman quotes the price for local fish, to which she remarks: "It's no fish ye're buying – it's men's lives!" Walter Scott. *The Antiquary*, 3 vols. vol. 1 (Edinburgh, UK: Archibald Constable and Co., 1816). 104. Charles Reade wrote *Christie Johnstone* after visiting Newhaven in 1848.

<sup>80</sup> Alan Sekula's essay "The Body and the Archive" is still the most informative work in this area.

<sup>81</sup> Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, "Photography," originally printed in *Quarterly Review*. 101. (April, 1857): 442-468. Here quoted from Beaumont Newhall, ed. *Photography: Essays and Images, Illustrated Readings in the History of Photography* (London, UK: Secker and Warburg, 1981). 94.

fisher women by Ross, were providing the general public with visual aids with which study the differences between a ‘civilised’ and ‘simple’ individual.

Yet the commercial cartes actually conveyed very little about the realities of fishing life. They were instead bland depictions from a studio, catering only to an ideal that avoided the smells and sounds of reality. As Bourdieu has suggested, photography was a modern, bourgeois, urban activity and therefore forced the labourer and rural peasant into “explicit self-definition”, illustrating the powerful divide amongst all social classes.<sup>82</sup> Images like Ross’s *Anither Bawbee* catered to those middle class urbanites that were following strict social codes for vision and viewing. In the image, a fisherwoman is shown asking for another penny while the housewife looks on with suspicion or surprise. It was a photograph designed to work in tandem with *Caller Haddie* and remind viewers of Neil Gow’s popular tune, which suggested fish were an index for daring deeds. *Anither Bawbee* preached that those “ladies clad in silks and laces”,<sup>83</sup> who might be prone to turning their noses in disgust as a fish hawker passed their door, must remain bastions of middle class respectability. They should give charitably to the poor and they must never resort to lower class behaviour and cheat a fellow human being. Ross’s placement of the two women, separated by the basket and the doorframe, makes the class lines perfectly clear. The domestic woman with economic resources is pictured in the threshold of her home and defined in direct opposition to the working woman who is outside on the street. This fishwife has become the wanderer or street nomad, her unfixed life and absent domesticity being an indication that she potentially unclean and unsafe.

---

<sup>82</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside, 1990 ed. (Cambridge and Oxford, UK: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Books, 1965). 9.

<sup>83</sup> The fifth verse of *Caller Herrin*’ reads: “When the Creel o’ herrin passes, /Ladies-clad in silks and laces, /gather in the brow pelisses, /cast their heads and screw their faces.”

## A Woman's World

Photographic portraits of middle class women during this period illustrate an obsession for fixing their bodies to discernible sites, like a garden, a doorway or a living room. This located the female within an acceptably domesticated sphere, which was inversely related to the space of the street. In images from Ross's studio, the same window prop seen in *Anither Bawbee* is frequently used to root the female to the safety of the home. Women and girls are pictured inside the house, using the window sill to lean gently into the outside world. In some images a woman rests at the window with a scrap book or a photograph album, all poetic signifiers for the safe portals through which respectable women might access a wider world (figures 33 and 34). As Seigel and Weiss have opined, the convention of assembling an album was a woman's method of establishing and exhibiting her knowledge of the public sphere and the breadth of her societal connections.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, the album tied the female figure safely to her drawing room. Clothing was another important signifier for the domestic sphere. In contrast to the men, like Dr. James Simpson (1811-1870) (figure 35) who is pictured relaxing on Ross's window sill with his hat and books, a woman would invariably be posed in her indoor attire. This made it clear that her movements were comparably restricted (figure 36). However, within these respectable boundaries there was considerable space for women to play with the idea of being an active, modern and independent figure in the public sphere. Looking closer at this latter image, it is clear that the woman leaning on the window sill is smiling ambiguously while holding a jaunty pose. In addition to this, she holds no book or album to keep her occupied. While she is still within the boundaries of the domestic sphere, this lady's focus lies beyond the window.

---

<sup>84</sup>Elizabeth Seigel, "Society Cut-ups," and Marta Weiss, "The Page as Stage," in Seigel, *Playing with Pictures*. 13-16 and 49-50.

While the portrait studio provided men with a chance to be seen as individuals contributing to a public collective, it conversely gave women a rare chance to be seen as an individual in public. Studio portraits of women reveal loving wives and devoted mothers, they are seen tending flowers or reading in the sitting room. Yet on closer examination these images often suggest an emerging self-assurance (figures 37 and 38). While middle class women were not allowed onto the high street unaccompanied, and would never have entered the portrait studio alone, these images do depict single women staring with unfazed confidence at the camera, which was almost invariably operated by a male photographer (figure 39). Women are shown dressed for the high street, highlighting their new role in the public sphere as a consumer not a worker (figure 40). Conventional codes of behaviour were abrogated within the confines of the photographic studio; a male photographer was allowed to stare uncompromisingly at his sitter, for he was studying an object and creating a composition. A portrait studio therefore had its own social codes that protected both participants.<sup>85</sup> It was neutral ground within the larger sphere of the newly developed commercial high street, which itself had become an acceptably chaste public space for the respectable female shopper. This meant that the young Alex Nicol, a studio photographer in his mid-twenties, could take an alluring image of a youthful woman, coyly gazing at the camera (figure 41).<sup>86</sup> No social rules were demolished here. Even the flirtation itself was an acceptable form of communication between the sexes, and would have been clearly understood as “a public performance of courtship, in which no real affections were engaged.”<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> Rudolph Arnheim, "On the Nature of Photography," *Critical Inquiry* 1, no. 1 (1974).149-161.

<sup>86</sup> This is a portrait of a young woman by Alexander Nicol, taken while he was at 3 Teviot Row, Edinburgh, between the years of 1865-1869. In the 1881 census Nicol is recorded as being aged 38, therefore, he would have been roughly 22 to 26 years old when he took this photograph. Information on Nicol's studios and census entry is from: Torrance, "Edinburgh and Mid-Lothians," *Photographers in Scotland to 1914*. 40.

<sup>87</sup> Patrizia Di Bello, "Photocollage, Fun and Flirtations," in Seigel, *Playing with Pictures*. 56.

Whether resting on a chair back and gazing out at the viewer, or standing with an inclined head and enigmatic smile, women have beguiling and confident poses that project a sense of independence, even though a chaperone was undoubtedly waiting in the wings. The Edinburgh photographer James Jameson, for example, posed women as flower arrangers, suggesting deftness at an appropriate domestic skill (figure 42). Nevertheless, the women's faces register amusement at the masquerade and display a distinct lack of interest in the foliage they are supposed to be managing. Other women chose to abandon the domestic sphere entirely and used the studio as an opportunity to play out their greatest fantasies, whether it be dressing up as a fisherwoman or playing at being Marie Antoinette (figure 43). Additionally, when women were presented without props or a background, in a vacuous space devoid of any references to either domestic or public affairs, their bodies became fully independent and self-referential (figure 44); some echoing the floating portraits often reserved for the collective male-centred montage (figure 45). These are all images of the ideal bourgeois lady, for they depict independent virtuous figures, whose presence on the high street was validated by their role as efficient household managers, responsible for acquiring the latest household commodities.<sup>88</sup> Traditionally, only working women were seen on the high street, but these photographs suggest the middle class female could justify her presence in the public sphere. This did not mean she was allowed to roam un-chaperoned, but, rather, that her domestic responsibilities allowed her to extend her world, in a proper and respectable manner, beyond the confines of the home. In one portrait a woman is shown outside the home looking in through the sitting room window with business-like interest, a contrary image from those seen resting their hands passively on the sills looking out (figure 46). In another, a woman is pictured standing by a gate with an open landscape

---

<sup>88</sup> Erika Rappaport. *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). Quoted in Kelly Boyd and Rohan McWilliam, eds., *The Victorian Studies Reader* (London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2007). 99-107.

behind her. This aligns her with the masculine explorer, but her lack of outdoor clothing and genteel manner ensure she is still suitably tied to the indoors (figure 47).

The studio was a safe space for women to experiment with their confident gazes or coquettish styles, perhaps playing with the fantasy of operating on equal terms with men in the public sphere. Women were pictured with a variety of outdoor props, such as boats, gates and sheep, and they leant on Grecian urns, pedestals and tables just like their male counterparts (figure 48 to 51). In one image by Ross and Thomson, a man and woman are shown playing croquet, a pastime with particularly English, aristocratic leanings (figure 52). At first glance it seems the man is the teacher, guiding the ignorant female through the rules of the game. Yet, on closer examination it is apparent the woman has the upper hand, for the man is looking at her with reproach because she is about to hit his ball out of the line of play. It is a photograph that refutes the notion that the female was a “shadowy” dependent presence in a male-dominated society.<sup>89</sup> Ironically, however, when one looks closer at the role women played in photographic studios across Scotland, it is clear these images of independent women reflect an inverse picture of the real world.

In reality, those women who were actively working in the public sphere were of a lower class, and their contribution was worth quantifiably less than a man’s. Historian William Knox has calculated that the disparity between wages was so extreme in Scotland that women earned on average only 42% of an equivalent male wage.<sup>90</sup> This

---

<sup>89</sup> Maureen Moran’s work on literature in Victorian Britain shows that women were depicted as the “shadowy, depended presences in a society organized to sustain masculine power”. They were portrayed in writings as innocents, judged by the purity of their reputations and their ability to realise their place in society. See: Moran, *Victorian Literature and Culture*. 37.

<sup>90</sup> The highest paid skilled women in the Edinburgh printing trades earned 20 shillings a week, whereas the lowest paid unskilled men and warehouse hands earned between 15 shillings and 21 shillings. William

inequality was no different in the photographic field. William Barry, a photographer operating in Leith, had a liability of £200 per annum for wages. The majority of this was assigned to two men who ran the studio and were paid between thirty shillings and £1 a week. This is compared to the group of girls and young boys who took care of the detailed work of cutting, colouring and mounting work and were only paid between three to eight shillings per week.<sup>91</sup>

The discrepancy in wages meant women provided businesses with cheap labour. George Washington Wilson's factory in Aberdeen was managed by men and dominated by female workers. In 1881, one man oversaw the twenty-one females and fifteen men who ran the manufacturing process. This included all the tasks deemed appropriate for small hands and a 'delicate touch', like washing and spotting the negatives, or preparing and mounting the prints. This was 'women's work' and was often considered inferior to men's. Contemporary commentators did mention women if they excelled in the field, but often in a manner that denigrated their skill by assuming it to be an aberration. In 1856, for example, Thomas Sutton hailed the work of Madame Vaudé-Green who had produced photographic copies of works of art "with singular neatness and care". He concluded the article by hoping "more fair fingers" would become engaged in commercial photography, but made it clear that it was a field suitable only for women of a certain class; specifically, the "poor girl whose alternative would have been an overworked governess or a needle-woman."<sup>92</sup>

---

Knox, *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800 - Present* (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1999). 91.

<sup>91</sup> Sequestration papers for William Barry, photographer and artist, 8 Bernard St. Leith. *National Archives of Scotland*. CS318/17/32.

<sup>92</sup> Thomas Sutton, "Editorial," *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 11 (1856). 168.

The role of the female worker was that of a shadow, but that did not mean they were any less adept than their male counterparts. In urban areas, women were employed in a wide range of skilled tasks for a variety of large studios. As the largest city in northern Scotland, Aberdeen had more women working in photography studios than all the surrounding counties combined. At the end of the mid-Victorian period, when commercial studios were abundant across Scotland, the 1881 census recorded roughly seventy men in the city of Aberdeen as master photographers, operators, assistants or apprentices, and thirty four women. Five females were listed as photographers, twenty as assistants, there were two book-keepers, a cutter, a cashier and a clerk, as well as two photographic modellers, a finisher, re-toucher, spotter and three printers.<sup>93</sup> In contrast to the city, rural areas supported smaller studios run almost entirely by men. In southern Scotland there were approximately sixty-seven studios in operation at the beginning of the 1880s, but just three photographers, six photographic assistants and a photographic printer were female. While, in northern Scotland, with over 100 studios operating by this time, only eight women were listed as working in the photographic field: two photographic artists, one apprentice, two printers and three assistants.<sup>94</sup>

As Steve Edwards has pointed out, most women started in the commercial portrait trade by following “the patterns of petit-bourgeois life and trade,” which allowed a wife to take over the business of a deceased husband or for a female to operate within

---

<sup>93</sup> Torrance, “North Eastern Scotland,” *Photographers in Scotland to 1914*. 1-26. Further study is required in this area. A survey of the 1851, 1861 and 1871 censuses would provide a more detailed pattern of how many women worked in the industry and what percentage operated studios.

<sup>94</sup> This is a rough guide since photographers may not have advertised or listed their studios, especially if they were working in smaller towns. These statistics are found in Torrance, “Southern Scotland,” and “Northern Scotland,” *Ibid.* *Southern Scotland* includes: Berwickshire, Dumfries-shire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Peeble-shire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire and Wigtownshire. *Northern Scotland* includes: Argyllshire, Banffshire, Bute, Caithness, Elgin shire, Inverness-shire, Morayshire, Orkney, Ross and Cromarty, Shetland and Sutherland.

the premises of a male relative.<sup>95</sup> John McGhie's wife, Jean, had started a business in Hamilton with her husband, before they moved to Edinburgh in 1854. As discussed in chapter four, their limited success in the nation's capital induced their return to their native town. It was then Jean who ran the portrait studio while her husband pursued landscapes.<sup>96</sup> She retired in 1872, yet her name was never evident on their marketing literature. It seems many women who worked as studio photographers did so without registering their names in any directory or on advertising. This makes it especially hard to assess how many wives and daughters provided studios with that 'feminine touch', but also to prove how their presence in the studio influenced the way middle class women dressed and posed for the camera.

Mary Borthwick did register her studio in Glasgow's post office directory. She was the daughter of the portrait painter John Borthwick, and became the first Glaswegian to advertise a daguerreotype studio. With an eye to expanding the family business the Borthwicks advertised their respective trades in 1846, operating from Holmhead Street. Possibly after the death or retirement of her father two years later, Mary advertised independently and moved to the foot of Bath Street on the popular retail thoroughfare of Buchanan Street.<sup>97</sup> Other records of women operating businesses in the 1850s and 1860s are hard to find, despite evidence that they existed. In one instance, an Irish immigrant Mary Day opened a studio in 1861 on Dundee's Reform Street. A photograph shows her standing, hands on hips, outside a makeshift structure built from wooden slats.<sup>98</sup> She has

---

<sup>95</sup> Steve Edwards briefly describes the various jobs women were given during this period. This includes the "maid-of-all-work" who performed the dirty work behind the scenes preparing the paper; the "shop woman class" made up of women who pasted the cartes, spotted mistakes and looked after customers; and the few, more refined, ladies in the "governess class" who had the taste and skill to touch up or colour the prints. Edwards, *The Making of English Photography*. 226-227.

<sup>96</sup> "Death of Mrs. John McGhie (Jean Warneuke)."

<sup>97</sup> "Trade Listings and Advertisements," in *Glasgow Post Office Directory* (1846 and 1848).

<sup>98</sup> A copy of this photograph is held by the Dundee Central Library, Local History Department. Reference number, B19. 189.

placed a small case of photographs on display at the doorway and the façade has been elaborately painted with columns and a coat of arms to exude an air of respectability. It is most likely Day was travelling with her husband who was looking for work. As an Irish Catholic with a nomadic life, she would have catered to the lowest end of the market. Accordingly, when the family moved on, Day's studio was dismantled. Two years later, a new temperance hotel was built on the site. There is no record in the official directory of her studio ever existing in the first place.

### **Concluding Montage**

The commercial portrait catered to women in a very definitive manner. It did not tie their independence or femininity to any ethnic Scottish icons, but rather promoted their middle class modernity in opposition to the rural or nomadic Scot. By contrast, it was men who were more likely to highlight their masculinity with Highland symbols and were also more likely to be pictured as a collective. Wilson's *Aberdeen Citizens* montage established a clear visual system for promoting one's public position. It can be compared with a commercial montage of women produced in Scotland during these years (figure 53). This was a print that contained no trace of any middle class figures, but was instead a collection of celebrities and faces from history. Designed by Thomas Rodger, the montage included portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, the young Queen Victoria and Florence Nightingale.

Both Wilson and Rodger's images catered to middle class values, for they suggested that 'respectable' females should be absent from the contemporary collective of work. As Wilson's print particularly illustrates, the inference was that this absence was a direct consequence of the modern male's economic prowess. At this early stage, therefore, the semantics of a montage modernised the image of the middle class male

while, conversely, historicising or distancing the respectable female from modern life. And, it was the individual portrait print that allowed middle class women to safely extend their role into the public sphere.

The montage has been a good basis for illustrating how, for the first time, the middle class had a space where they could act out their fantasies and fashion a public image. The studio's heterotopic character meant it was considered a real space, where the individual had actually been; the photograph being proof of this presence. Yet as the montage suggests, this is a reality that can be adapted at any time. The photograph could be used to elevate the status of an individual where no real status existed. It could reinforce class distinctions at a time when fear of "others" was establishing visual stereotypes. And, the montage memorialised fleeting moments that otherwise contained no poetic or historic significance. These portraits have illustrated how photography's ability to solidify presence was commodified by Scottish studios, to help a middle class consumer fashion their public image as a socially-conscious, morally-sound, and active participant of modern Britain.

## Conclusion

---

Photographs are elusive; their content and history being informed by the discourses of fine art and science, and their impact being highly contingent on context. Any efforts to develop a theoretical framework for photography have tended to recognise that the nascency of the discipline has been advantageous, for it has left a field unbound by institutional rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> Victor Burgin's *Thinking Photography* has been described as laying out a set of "foundational gestures" that could form a methodological paradigm for studying photography. This 1982 publication theorised that photographs were a cultural phenomenon that required a range of disciplines, including semiotics, linguistics, psychoanalysis and discourse analysis, to be best understood.<sup>2</sup> This directly countered a formalist approach, with its reliance on visual content alone to interpret images, and shifted instead to a post-modern critique that analysed photographs as formulations of a discursive system. Tagg has shown how the photographic product stems from a range of practices, which themselves emerge out of a broad collection of institutional spaces.<sup>3</sup> The photograph is a material object, therefore, whose meaning is contingent on a series of events. It cannot be treated as having coherent status, for its content shifts depending on the condition in which it was produced and consumed.

Geoffrey Batchen has gone further into the discursive formation of photography, analysing the writings and experiments that pre-date Daguerre and Talbot's inventions announced in 1839, to suggest that they are statements of a deeply embedded cultural

---

<sup>1</sup> Tagg, *Grounds of Dispute*. 76. Also quoted in Edward Welch and J. J. Long's introduction to Long, et al., eds., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Burgin, ed. *Thinking Photography*. Also, Welch and Long, "Introduction," *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Tagg, *Grounds of Dispute*. And, *Burden of Representation*.

“burning desire” to obtain a photographic image.<sup>4</sup> Batchen thus deconstructs the post-modern approach, to suggest that a more potent way of thinking about photographs is to treat them less as objects of power and more as a “play of representations”, which are not necessarily part of any external relations but more a result of cultural imagination.<sup>5</sup> This is essentially a study on the semiotics of the photograph. But the confinement of representation to the field of the sign fails to measure the role of commercial photography, because it refuses to acknowledge that the photograph was a material object informed by a multitude of practices. In Scotland, the photographic product catered to a middle class citizen eager to be seen on a British stage, during a time when national identity was based on a duality, or even a multiplicity of relationships. Morton has made this point most ardently. He suggests that any interpretation of Scotland’s history during the mid-nineteenth century requires a sociological approach, for it was a period of intense participation in local government, and a time when local elites were actively using “icons of Scotland’s *ethnie*,” to “celebrate both Union with England and Scotland’s independent nationhood.”<sup>6</sup> A more productive approach to commercial photography in this era is to analyse the specific “political economy”<sup>7</sup> within which photographs operated, so socio-cultural operations of power and dominance are seen evident,<sup>8</sup> but to also acknowledge that the photograph’s meaning is contingent on the agency and imagination of both the producer and consumer. In this regard, it acknowledges the importance of a phenomenological approach to the image, one that Elizabeth Edwards has most recently advocated, for its ability to go beyond semiotics.

---

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, MA MIT Press, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 177-198.

<sup>6</sup> Morton, *Unionist-Nationalism*. 189-190.

<sup>7</sup> Tagg, *Burden of Representation*.173-174.

<sup>8</sup> Sekula defined photographs in these terms in “The Body and the Archive.” In a footnote, on page nine, Sekula comments on an article by John Tagg, which was written as a basis for his 1988 publication *Burden of Representation*: John Tagg, "Power and Photography: Part 1, a Means of Surveillance: The Photograph as Evidence for Law," *Screen Education* 36 (1980). 17-55.

Edwards acknowledges the importance of both the materiality and the sensory experience of photography. She suggests it takes us away from only focusing on how photographs are “actually made to have meaning” towards a wider approach, which understands the image as an object whose meaning is negotiated by and through social processes and experiences.<sup>9</sup> This thesis has proved that photography was a material object that functioned as social currency at a time when the middle classes were aspiring for public recognition as British citizens. Having done so, it has focused on the commercial function of the photograph, the social meaning of the image and the new experience Victorians had interacting with an extraordinary visual phenomenon.

This story of commercial studios in Scotland is strikingly modern, for this research has uncovered strangely familiar practices, such as business men catering to the ambitions and desires of their clients, businesses surviving because they understood the value of good packaging and target markets, and the use of photography to specifically elevate, memorialise and place individuals in certain circles of influence. However, by applying a range of cultural theories to empirical data, I have aimed to capture the newness of these experiences for Victorians. For, this was the era before a visually saturated mass media; it was the thirty years when the middle classes were just beginning to grasp the power of the photographic message and its “on-going moment.”<sup>10</sup> By viewing the medium as an emerging discipline, and exploring the impact of literature, exhibitions and albums, the thesis explores the variety of ways commercial images were produced and consumed to suggest that the photograph was the result of a dialectical

---

<sup>9</sup> Edwards, “Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual,” in Long et al., eds., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*. 34.

<sup>10</sup> This is the title of a recent book by Geoff Dyer who discusses American photographers. He looks at the repetition of certain subjects, like hats, fences, blind people and doors to illustrate how photographs have extended the moment into a narrative that plays on similarities and differences. See: Geoff Dyer, *The Ongoing Moment* (London, UK: Abacus, 2007).

relationship; a constantly shifting mediation between inception and reception. Two strands of thinking were necessary to achieve this. First, because the subject particularly aimed to assess photographs in Scotland, a historically-specific groundwork was required (section one in the thesis). Then, based on this foundation, images that had been typecast or overlooked could be assessed in more detail (section two in the thesis). No such history of how commercial photography was introduced into Scotland has yet existed. Therefore, a map of how commercial images were first 'sold' to the Scottish public was vital for 'setting the scene', as was a view of how photographers were initially guided into the commercial field and how an image of Scotland was commodified.

It was argued in chapter one that exhibitions introduced a Scottish middle class to photography in the early 1850s. This was a time when the blockbuster show had become a political tool for championing Britain's productivity, and industrial capitalism had turned technology and science into a form of entertainment. Following in the wake of the Great Exhibition, the first photographic displays demonstrated how photographs could be promoted as commodities available to everyone. With the realities of social class and the division of labour, however, the exhibition was evidently aiming to promote the benefits of photography to consumers from the middle classes and above. As a spectacular form of entertainment that softly propagated institutional ideology, the exhibition was designed by and for elite locals to subtly reinforce their local prominence, cultural awareness and civic responsibility. Consequently, the sociological impact of these exhibitions was profound, both for photographers hoping to professionalize their businesses and for middle class consumers eager to be seen as British Scots, contributing to modern society. Showing the impact of the Society of Arts' 1853-1854 travelling exhibition was a good way of illustrating this. It was advertised as a picture of British

photography, when in fact the majority of images on display were of picturesque English architecture and woodland. As the research shows, the manner in which locals lovingly embraced the exhibition, and then mobilised to create similar displays that could reflect the standards set out by the Society of Arts in 1853, established two vital precedents for Scottish commercial photographers. First, that a British standard was only attained by framing Scotland's landscapes with an Anglicised lens. And second, that participating in a 'national' exhibition was the most effective method of declaring one's professional membership to a British community of photographers. All the initial photographic exhibitions in Scotland were directly associated with national institutions. The committee in Dundee worked with the London Photographic Society in 1854, for example, while the Glasgow Photographic Society organised their 1855 exhibition to coincide with the British Association for the Advancement of Science's annual meeting.

With little history and tradition, photography was still at an embryonic stage. The principles and advances debated amongst elite scientists in the 1840s were popularised in exhibitions, but also with the middle class fashion for specialised periodicals (chapter two). Photography's journals played a key role in shaping the discipline during the 1850s and their pages held particular resonance for commercial photographers operating in Scotland. All the editors were based in England and favoured the trend for using didactic story-telling and catechisms to deliver precise instructions on camera use, compositional aesthetics and technical chemistry. Crucially, therefore, the journals quickly established a professional community within which the petit bourgeois trader could participate under a pseudonym and debate with other photographers across the country. Like the photograph itself, the journals provided an opportunity for imaginary democratic freedom. They gave commercial photographers in smaller towns like Kirkcaldy, Largs and Dumfries a chance

to enter a British discourse. By contributing to the technical and theoretical debates, commercial photographers could promote themselves as innovative British professionals rather than parochial common traders. This is illustrated most pertinently with the travelogue, a trend in travel writing that appeared in photographic journals with recurring persistence throughout the 1850s and 1860s. These were texts highly influenced by the tradition of travel writing and they consistently interpreted the world with English values. This view from the 'centre' was enthusiastically taken up by urban Scots who wished to locate themselves at the heart of the Empire. For commercial photographers, these travelogues had the added benefit of suggesting they were gentlemen touring and exploring. This imbued their businesses with some of the central tenets of ideal middle-class conduct, including altruism, self-help and individualism.

While chapter one relied on museum theory and Victorian studies to uncover the role of exhibitions and the culture of display and documentation, chapter two was more interested in theories from the fields of geography and literature to explain how the travelogue and the art of writing assisted photographers with the mission to legitimate their landscape images. Having established the social currency of commercial photography for Scotland's middle class, the second section could go on to illustrate how photographs functioned as commodities; manufactured and purchased for distinct reasons, imbued with human agency and imagination, thus, open to interpretation. The case studies relied on the argument that photography was part of a capitalist process that reinforced a social system based on class and status, and that institutional practices manufactured the precepts upon which individuals could model themselves and their landscape. Theory on commercialism and the hegemony of bourgeois culture helped illuminate how exhibitions and journals were instrumental in this. Additionally, it was

important to recognise that these were images catered to a fractured social body of groups and individuals all with differing needs and desires. Therefore a set of discrete arguments, highlighting how individual photographers worked and how the interpretation of images was determined by cultural context, was the best method of demonstrating how images were the products of both unconscious and conscious behaviours. A history that focuses on one producer or consumer will not demonstrate how photographs operated broadly in Scotland. What is more helpful, is a historically-driven methodology that locates images in their moment, then an application of relevant theories that can tease out the nature and context of specific images to uncover their hidden messages and codes.

The album *Dundee Old and New* is a good example (chapter three), for it was formed from a collection of photographs that could be found in James Valentine's public catalogue of works. These, until now, have only been discussed in terms of their value as tourist souvenirs. However, in the context of photographs by Annan and Burns, which were both promoted in albums and exhibitions to mitigate concerns over street reform, Valentine's images are seen in an entirely different light. Those members of Dundee's Improvement Committee organising an aide memoire for their erstwhile leader, were a functional part of their contemporary moment. Consciously, or not, they built a narrative that discussed ruins as an inexorable result of a city's preservation and progress, rather than the direct consequence of a political process that advanced the economic prospects of a select few. The album was shown to be motivated by pervasive ideas and forces circulating in Dundee. These were informed by wider discourses that ultimately stemmed from Napoleon III's restructuring of Paris and the suggestion that widening streets, creating grand civic buildings and removing working class communities would civilise towns, but also that photographic displays would convince the public of the advantages

of these changes. In Scotland, this discourse on urban reform was promulgated by middle class elites eager to be seen contributing to society. It was, therefore, driven by wider concerns over public morality. Here, the study of photography's circulation and consumption reveals more about how these images are products, born from a certain set of social relations, and should not be analysed from their visual content alone.<sup>11</sup>

This is why the commercial studio, as well as the image itself, must be appreciated as an intensely unique space (chapter five). Foucault's theories on heterotopic space describes this best, for photographs and the experience of being photographed provided a new site for play and fantasy for Victorians, which could be traced back to a real and tangible space. For middle class consumers who attended the studio, it was like the boat Foucault describes as a "heterotopia par excellence"; a "place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself".<sup>12</sup> Of course, the studio did not float across the ocean like Foucault's ship, but it was a space that, for the first time, provided middle class citizens with an opportunity to see themselves suspended, separated from their daily lives but yet strangely still connected to it. For Victorians a commercial portrait was not simply a reflection of themselves, it had a currency, being real proof of having physically visited a particular high street studio; the edge of a carpet, a false balustrade or decorative backdrop being the signifiers of this. Hence the power of the *Aberdeen Citizen* montage, which was designed to construct an imagined community yet actually reinforced the advantages middle class citizens could gain by sitting for a portrait at Wilson's fashionable studio.

---

<sup>11</sup> Tagg, *Burden of Representation*. 188.

<sup>12</sup> Foucault. "Des Espace Autres."

The close examination of how photographs were used throughout this period has demonstrated that the image absorbed and emitted a wide scope of cultural meaning. Also, that this meaning, or ‘truth’, was accessed and controlled by the circulation and display of the image. Back in 1859, the *Photographic News* reported on a photographer who had placed an image of a woman in his studio specimen case, to display his skill to customers passing by on the street. The woman’s husband had demanded the picture be taken down, not just because the photographer was exhibiting what the husband believed to be his property but also because it left his wife’s character available to public scrutiny and debate; the single instant she had posed was now an open field. The case was debated in the journals, one critic determining, “we see no necessity for showing up people in private life, who do not covet the honour of a niche in a photographer’s specimen case; while there are so many, who, in the language of the immortal P. T. Barnum, ‘if not kept well before the public, languish and die’.”<sup>13</sup> By the end of the period under discussion in this thesis, the problem of photography’s “on-going” moment was already complex for those celebrities who were expected to be “before the public.” In October 1888, for example, the Queen was hosting a large family gathering at Balmoral, and asked Wilson to record some tableaux-vivants being performed by members of the royal family and esteemed guests.<sup>14</sup> The programme itself was well advertised in the local papers, but Wilson’s presence was not. Victoria had specifically requested exclusive rights to the prints and demanded the destruction of the negative plates after they had been processed.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Editor, "Caution to Photographic Artists," *The Photographic News* 2, no. 31 (1859). 50.

<sup>14</sup> The invitation is recorded in Charles A. Wilson’s Correspondence with Helmut Gernsheim 20<sup>th</sup> August 1955, in “Business Information: Residues: Facts and Figures,” *Roger Taylor Collection of Papers on George Washington Wilson*. MS 3839.

<sup>15</sup> This is mentioned by Roger Taylor in his archived notes. Prints were bound in an unknown number of albums for select guests and family members only. One album that still exists is at the Aberdeen Public Library: George Washington Wilson, *Theatricals at Balmoral: A Collection of Photographs by G. W. Wilson* (Aberdeen, UK: G. W. W., 1888). Reference number, LO 792 W69. A programme for these theatricals, entitled, “Tableaux Vivants held at Balmoral Castle on Friday and Saturday October 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>,”

Victoria's concern over the public display of this panorama of private play demonstrates how significantly photographs were shaping public belief systems. The mass circulation of photographic images had helped inaccessible figures like Victoria build familial ties with her public. In Scotland, this had specifically manufactured a believable image of a modern British family at Balmoral, surrounded with 'ethnic' Scottish symbols. Queen Victoria is the ultimate example of the new consumer, for she understood how photography could manufacture an ideal truth. At each sitting she intimated through her secretary that she wished to be photographed "in a certain attitude" and the commissioned photographer simply complied with the order.<sup>16</sup> The image she wished to elicit was one of a definitive, happy and unified family, at least until Albert's death in 1861 when she started to use photography to display her grief. Photographs of Victoria in the 1860s often depicted her looking at an image of her lost husband with their children gathered by her side. They were stalwart portraits of a family bearing the weight of loss and were devoured by a public in sympathy with the matronly Victoria because they were snapshots of an idealised reality. The photograph literally converted the distant monarch into a symbol of middle class domesticity.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, Wilson's set of tableaux-vivant photographs would have ruptured this formulated truth, confusing the Royals' familial image with mythological, historical and biblical narratives. As a consumer, Victoria must have been aware that a photograph preserved and memorialised a moment for posterity. This was clearly the reason she asked Wilson to attend Balmoral that evening. Yet, she was also aware that this sort of preservation extended what had

---

1888" is in a collection assembled by Wilson's son: Charles A. Wilson, *George Washington Wilson Scrapbooks*. Aberdeen Public Library, Local History Department Collection. No reference number.

<sup>16</sup> This was reported in an article: A. Wynter, "Cartes de Visite," *The British Journal of Photography*. 12<sup>th</sup> March, 1869. 125. It is quoted here from: Dimond and Taylor, *Crown and Camera*. 25.

<sup>17</sup> Langford, *Suspended Conversations*. 132. For more on this, also see Margaret Homans' chapter "Victoria's Sovereign Obedience," in Christ and Jordan, *Victorian Literature and the Visual Imagination*. 169-97.

been a private moment and left any future interpretation of the image hard to control (hence, her request the negatives be destroyed).

Victoria's decision to even allow Wilson to witness and record the tableaux in 1888 is remarkable, for he could easily have distributed these photographs of the royals 'at play'. Her faith in Wilson is therefore evident, and suggests the Aberdonian photographer had successfully attained a 'gentlemanly' professionalism. By this time Wilson's business was one of the largest in the country, but, back in the 1850s, he had been competing for clients with other local photographers. The research has demonstrated how Wilson laid the foundations for success (chapter five); he had an early association with Balmoral, located his studio on the better side of town and marked his studio with excellence by publishing *Aberdeen Citizens*.

Wilson's example tells us that commercial photographers succeeded when their images could be used to elevate status, rather than simply provide a vague reflection of an individual's physical stature. Even though photographic 'truth' was viewed with sceptical belief during these years, there was an underlying faith that, by halting time, the camera allowed spectators to look closer at nature and the foundations of life, which in turn would allow individuals to learn more about themselves and the world around them. Francis Frith put it best when he associated this 'look' with the fashion for finding moral truths. "We can scarcely avoid moralising in connection with this subject" he wrote in 1859, "since truth is a divine quality, at the very foundation of everything that is lovely in earth and heaven" and it "pervades" photography. As a commercial photographer himself, Frith insinuated that studios had a duty to disseminate photographs. For the truth

inherent in the images, he argued, would exercise the “happiest and most important influence, both upon the tastes and the morals of the people.”<sup>18</sup>

What this cumulative detail now proves is that a photographer’s professional ‘qualifications’ were not only based on technical skill and artistic ability, but also on a set of morally-based middle class values. As one contemporary writer put it, a ‘professional’ portrait photographer must be able to make a “careful and long study”, he must also be well versed in “high culture”, provide “an appearance to inspire confidence” and exhibit “all the elements of a gentleman”, including “courtesy...patience and good temper, a refined and keen perception of mind”, so that he might intuit the mental capacity of an individual based on their physical characteristics.<sup>19</sup> As a result, the best commercial photographers were expected to be well-educated, cultivated, socially-aware British gentleman. Those that were attracted clients who wanted to be seen in a similar light. James Valentine’s reputation as a morally-upstanding citizen of Dundee certainly contributed to his studio’s success. While John McGhie in Lanarkshire, who operated in the shadow of the larger photographic printing works of Thomas Annan, inspired confidence in his work by demonstrating a cultured knowledge of travel literature, poetry and history.

To survive and excel, the studio photographer had to cater to the moral code of middle class life, but also cater to the aspirations and desires of the middle class consumer. The photograph album (chapter four) is a case in point, for it played a vital role in filling documentary images with a deeper aesthetic meaning, which in turn increased their value, both in terms of economics and novelty. Instead of providing

---

<sup>18</sup> Francis Frith, “The Art of Photography,” *The Art Journal* 5 (1859). 71-72.

<sup>19</sup> J. Beattie, "Photography from a Professional Point of View," *The British Journal of Photography* 15, no. 400 (1868). 4.

Scottish estate owners with individual prints of their houses and lands, McGhie used the album to create a careful and lengthy study of 'high culture'. His images of estates and historic sites provided landowners with evidence that their property gave them real ties to Scotland's heritage and, therefore, a rightful place in British society. McGhie also invested Lanarkshire estates with status and meaning by using the British picturesque mode, which was a fashionable style because of its seeming ability to translate the world with an honest and 'truth-loving' eye. As a result, he linked the local landscape to a national ideal. He catered to a public taste for photographs that, in Thomas Sutton's words, were capturing "those bits of nature and passages from rural scenery and life in which Great Britain is so peculiarly rich, whether in its wilder or more cultivated aspects."<sup>20</sup>

The immense scope of photographic activity in this period has made it difficult to make grand assertions about everything commercial studios were involved with. I have not ventured into the vast businesses that supported the photographer's work, those who supplied the paper, lenses, cameras and chemicals, for example. Neither have I delved deep into the correspondence and debates of the local societies. What I have done instead, is to advocate for seeing the photograph as an instant moment that at once absorbed a wide collection of values, philosophies and ideologies, while also emitting a range of meanings, whose interpretation was highly dependent on the context of display and circulation. This is a valid method for analysing such a vast archive of images. It allows for a critical evaluation of the middle class imagination and the processes and effects of commercial photography.<sup>21</sup> In Elizabeth Edwards's adroit terms, the manner in

---

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Sutton, "First Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland," *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 19 (1857). 25.

<sup>21</sup> As Geoffrey Batchen has suggested in his study of the carte de visite phenomenon, "we must develop a critical history of both the bourgeois imagination and the processes and effects of photographic

which photographs are touched, passed around and shared suggests that a human's response to imagery is multi-sensory and should be analysed accordingly.<sup>22</sup> Edwards suggests this is a position that "responds to the inherent reflexivity in photographs" and highlights the "shifting relations between referent, image and viewer which have marked thinking about photography since its inception."<sup>23</sup> The photographs under discussion here are from middle class Britain and were specifically packaged and produced, consumed and used, in Scotland. They are interpreted as more than statements of capitalist activity that harnessed human labour to provide a commodity with surplus value. They are shown instead to be products of middle class policy, visually able to support the principles of unionist-nationalism, the rhetoric of puritanical evangelism, and the values of moral reform and capitalist endeavour. This reveals that commercial photographs in Scotland were more than objects of consumption. They were instruments of power, for they manufactured middle class identity during a time when the bourgeoisie were governing civil society, and they were also socially-charged objects whose meaning was profoundly affected by the gestures, experiences and performances<sup>24</sup> of bourgeois life.

---

reproduction." See: Batchen, "Dreams of Ordinary Life," in Long, et al., eds., *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*. 94.

<sup>22</sup> Edwards, "Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual," in *Ibid.* 31-48.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* 45.

<sup>24</sup> In her article "Thinking Photography Beyond the Visual," Edwards writes: "Interpretation of, and through, the senses becomes a mode of recovering truth as a collective material experience revealed through gesture, experience, and performance." *Ibid.* 45.



## Bibliography

---

Bibliographic references are divided into five sections.

“Unpublished Sources” include archives and primary sources. Catalogue numbers are listed if they existed, in some cases the research involved the study of a specific manuscript, in other cases I have read through the entire collection.

“Published books” takes into consideration the major publications I have used during the research. I have also divided the articles and journals into two sections, according to the period in which they were written.

Finally, websites are listed alphabetically. Authors or artists are mentioned when those sites were only accessed to obtain a specific work; otherwise the title of a website section or the overall site name is listed to indicate general use.

## Unpublished Sources

- Art Manufacture Association Articles of Constitution, Administration and History for the Royal Institution. Edinburgh, UK: National Archives of Scotland, NG 3/7/27/2.
- Board of Manufactures Annual Report to the Crown 1838-1844. Edinburgh, UK: National Archives of Scotland, NG 1/7/12.
- Court of Session Concluded Sequestration Processes under 1856 Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act. Edinburgh, UK: National Archives of Scotland, CS 318.
- Crown Office Precognitions, Precognition Papers for John Henry Greatrix, Thomas Grimshaw and Sewell Grimshaw. Edinburgh, UK: National Archives of Scotland, AD14/67/284.
- Dundee City Council Improvement Committee Minute Books. Dundee, UK: Archive of City Police Board and Commissioners Dundee, Dundee City Archives.
- Edinburgh Improvement Act Minute Books 1870-1872. Edinburgh, UK: City Archives, SL64/1/2.
- George Walker, Private Journals, 20 Volumes. Aberdeen, UK: Central Library; Local Studies Reference Department.
- George Washington Wilson Archive. Aberdeen: Aberdeen, UK: University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, MS 3792.
- Glasgow Photographic Association Papers. Glasgow, UK: Mitchell Library, MS 250.
- Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland, Copies of Circulars. Edinburgh, UK: National Archives of Scotland. NG 3/7/3.
- James Valentine Collection. St Andrews, UK: Special Collections Department, University of St Andrews.
- James Russel of Blackbraes Trust Papers, List of Pictures and Engravings, 1861. Falkirk, UK: Falkirk Council Archives, A1808.102.
- Johnston, Karen. *Thomas Rodger 1832-1883: A Biography and Catalogue of Selected Work*. Unpublished Thesis. 3 Vols. St Andrews, UK: University of St Andrews, 1997.
- Lamb Collection. Dundee, UK: Central Library, Local History Department.
- Peter Carmichael of Arthurstone (1809-1891) Reminiscences; Life and Letters. Dundee, UK: Dundee University Archive, MS 102/1-3.

Pollock, Venda. *Negotiating the Urban Terrain: Representations of the City of Glasgow in the Visual Arts*. Unpublished Thesis. 2 Vols. St Andrews, UK: University of St Andrews, 2003.

Roger Taylor Collection of Papers on George Washington Wilson. Aberdeen, UK: University of Aberdeen Special Collections and Archives, MS 3839.

Stevenson, Sara, and Julie Lawson. *First Thirty Years of Scottish Photography, 1839-1870*. Edinburgh, UK: Scottish National Photographic Collection.

Scottish National Photographic Archive. John Thomson Papers, Buchanan Archive, Journal and Newspaper files and Carte-de-Visite Collection. Edinburgh, UK: Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Wilson, Charles A. Private Scrapbooks. Aberdeen, UK: Aberdeen Public Library.

## Published Books

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London, UK and New York, NY: Verso, 1991.
- Andrews, Malcolm. *Landscape and Western Art*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Anon. *An Account of the Pleasure Tours in Scotland: Illustrated with Maps, Views of Remarkable Buildings Etc., with an Itinerary*, 4th ed. Edinburgh, UK: John Thomson, 1827.
- Anon. *New Picture of Scotland*. Edinburgh, UK: J. Turnbull, 1807.
- Auerbach, Jeffery. *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display*. New Haven, NJ and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Barringer, Tim. *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*. New Haven, NJ and London, UK: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Barthes, Roland. *Camera Lucida*. Translated by Richard Howard, 2000 ed. London, UK: Vintage, 1993.
- . *Image, Music, Text*. Translated by Stephen Heath. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1977.
- Batchen, Geoffrey. *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997.
- . *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance*. Amsterdam, NL and New York, NY: Van Gogh Museum and Princeton Architectural Press, 2004.
- Behdad, Ali. *Belated Travelers: Orientalism in the Age of Colonial Dissolution*. Durham, NC and London, UK: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Bell, Morag, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan, eds. *Geography and Imperialism, 1820-1940*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Benjamin, Walter and Hannah Arendt. *Illuminations*. London, UK: Pimlico, 1999.
- Best, Geoffrey. *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-1875*. London, UK: Fontana Press, 1979.
- Black, Barbara. *On Exhibit: Victorians and Their Museums*. Charlottesville, VA and London, UK: University Press of Virginia, 2000.
- Borley, Lester, ed. *The Grand Tour and Its Influence on Architecture, Artistic Taste and Patronage*, Proceedings of a Conference Held in Edinburgh, September 2007, in Conjunction with the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Edinburgh, UK: Europa Nostra, 2008.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: The Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. 6 ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996. Reprint, 1984.
- Boyd, Kelly, and Rohan McWilliam, eds. *The Victorian Studies Reader*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.
- Boyer, Christine M. *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*. Cambridge, MA and London, UK: MIT Press, 1996.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Bray, Elizabeth. *The Discovery of the Hebrides: Voyages to the Western Isles 1745-1883*. Edinburgh, UK: Birlinn, 1996.
- Briggs, Asa. *Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- . *Victorian Things*. London, UK: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1988.
- Briggs, Asa, and Archie Miles. *A Victorian Portrait: Victorian Life and Values as Seen through the Work of Studio Photographs*. 1st U.S. ed. New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1989.
- Brock, William Hodson. *William Crookes (1832-1919) and the Commercialization of Science*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008.
- Brotherstone, Terry, and Donald J. Withrington. *The City and Its Worlds: Aspects of Aberdeen's History since 1794*. Glasgow, UK: Cruithne Press, 1996.
- Brown, Alexander. *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs: Being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds and Dens of the City*. University of Glasgow Press, 1976 ed. Glasgow: Thomas Murray and Sons, 1858.
- Brown, Callum. *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1997.
- Buchanan, William, ed. *J. Craig Annan: Selected Texts and Bibliography*. (New York, NY: G. K. Hall, 1994.
- Bukits, Julian. *A Study of James G. Tunny, 1820-1887*. Edinburgh, UK: Julian Bukits, 2009.
- Burgin, Victor, ed. *Thinking Photography*. Basingstoke, UK and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1982.
- Campbell, Colin. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. London, UK: Blackwell, 1987.
- Chard, Chloe. *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: Travel Writing and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1991.

- Checkland, Sydney and Olive. *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914*. London, UK: Edward Arnold, 1984.
- Cherry, Deborah. *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture, Britain 1850-1900*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2000.
- Christ, Carol T., and John O. Jordan, eds. *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*. Berkeley, CA and London, UK: University of California Press, 1995.
- Clarke, Graham. *The Photograph*. Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Coates, Colin M., ed. *Majesty in Canada: Essays on the Role of Royalty*, Conference Papers from the University of Edinburgh, Centre of Canadian Studies. Toronto, CA: Dundurn Press, 2006.
- Cobbett, William. *Cobbett's Tour in Scotland and the Northern Counties of England*. London, UK: Mills, Jowett and Mills, 1833.
- Collini, Stefan. *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Collini, Stefan, Richard Whatmore, and B. W. Young, eds. *Economy, Polity, and Society: British Intellectual History, 1750-1950*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- , eds. *History, Religion and Culture: British Intellectual History, 1750-1950*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Comment, Bernard. *The Panorama*. London, UK: Reaktion Books, 1999.
- Cooke, Anthony, Ian Donnachie, Ann MacSween and Christopher A. Whatley, eds. *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present*. 5 vols., vol. 2. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press Ltd., 1998.
- Coull, James R. *The Sea Fisheries of Scotland: A Historical Geography*. Edinburgh, UK: John Donald Ltd., 1996.
- Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992.
- Cunningham, Hugh. *The Challenge of Democracy: Britain, 1832-1918*, New History of Britain. New York, NY: Longman, 2001.
- Dammann, Gordon, and Alfred J. Bollet. *Images of Civil War Medicine: A Photographic History*. New York, NY: Demos, 2008.
- Daniel, Malcolm. *The Photographs of Édouard Baldus*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994.

- Davey, Nancy. *Dundee by Gaslight: A Glimpse Of "Old Dundee" Through the Eyes of the Victorian and Edwardian Photographer*. Dundee, UK: Dundee Museum and Art Galleries, 1975.
- Davison Art Center, ed. *Northern Light: Photographs by David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson from the University of St Andrews*. Middletown, CT: Davison Art Center, Wesleyan University, 2003.
- de Vires, Jan. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behaviour and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Demata, Massimiliano, and Duncan Wu, eds. *British Romanticism and the Edinburgh Review: Bicentenary Essays*. Hampshire, UK and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Dennis, Barbara, and David Skilton, eds. *Reform and Intellectual Debate in Victorian England*. London, UK: Croom Helm, 1987.
- Dennison, Matthew. *The Last Princess: The Devoted Life of Queen Victoria's Youngest Daughter*. London, UK: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007.
- Devine, T. M. *Clearance and Improvement: Land, Power and People in Scotland 1700-1900*. Edinburgh, UK: John Donald, 2006.
- , ed. *Scottish Elites*. Edinburgh, UK: John Donald Ltd, 1994.
- . *The Scottish Nation: 1700-2007*. Revised ed. London, UK: Penguin Books, 2006.
- Di Bello, Patrizia. *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts*. Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
- Di Bello, Patrizia, Collette Wilson and Shamoan Zamir, eds. *The Photobook from Talbot to Ruscha*. London, UK: I.B. Tauris, 2012.
- Dimond, Frances, and Roger Taylor. *Crown and Camera: The Royal Family and Photography 1842-1910*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 1987.
- Driver, Felix. *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire*. London, UK: Blackwell, 2001.
- Duncan, Ian. *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Duncan, James, and Derek Gregory, eds. *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*. London, UK: Routledge, 1999.
- Dyer, Geoff. *The Ongoing Moment*. London, UK: Abacus, 2007.
- Dyos, H. J. and Michael Wolf, eds. *The Victorian City*. 2 vols. Vol. 1. London, UK and Boston, MA: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

- Edwards, Elizabeth, ed. *Anthropology and Photography 1860-1920*. New Haven, NJ and London, UK: Yale University Press in Association with the Royal Anthropological Institute, 1994.
- Edwards, Steve. *The Making of English Photography: Allegories*. Pennsylvania, PA: Penn State University, 2006.
- Erlandsen, Roger, and Vergard S. Halvorsen, eds. *Darkness and Light, Proceedings of the Oslo Symposium, 25-28. August 1984*. Oslo, NO: Oslo Institute for Historical Photography and the Norwegian Society for the History of Photography, 1995.
- Fischer, Steven Roger. *A History of Reading*. London, UK: Reaktion Books, 2003.
- Ford, Colin. *The Hill/Adamson Albums: A Selection from the Early Victorian Photographs*. London, UK: Times Newspapers, 1973.
- Ford, Colin and Roy C. Strong. *An Early Victorian Album: The Photographic Masterpieces (1843-1847) of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson*. 1st American ed. New York, NY: Knopf, 1976.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. Second Vintage Books ed. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1975.
- Fowler, John. *Mr Hill's Big Picture: The Day That Changed Scotland Forever*. Edinburgh, UK: Saint Andrew Press, 2006.
- Fraser, Hamish, and Irene Maver, eds. *Glasgow: 1830-1912*. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Manchester, UK and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1996.
- Gallagher, Catherine, and Thomas Laqueur, eds. *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley, CA and London, UK: University of California, 1987.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell 1983.
- Gernsheim, Helmut. *The Origins of Photography*. London, UK: Thames and Hudson, 1982.
- Gibbons, Joan. *Contemporary Art and Memory: Images of Recollection and Remembrance*. London, UK: Tauris & Co, 2007.
- Gill, Graeme. "Bourgeoisie, State and Democracy: Russia, Britain, France, Germany and the United States of America." Oxford, UK: Oxford Online Scholarship, 2008.
- Gordon, Eleanor, and Gwyneth Nair. *Public Lives: Women, Family and Society in Victorian Britain*. New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Gottlieb, Roger S. *An Anthology of Western Marxism: From Lukács and Gramsci to Socialist-Feminism*. New York, NY and Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Gould, Roger V. *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune*. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1995.

- Grant, Alexander, and Keith J. Stringer, eds. *Uniting the Kingdom? The Making of British History*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1995.
- Grant, Douglas. *The Thin Blue Line: The Story of the City of Glasgow Police*. London, UK: Long, 1973.
- Green-Lewis, Jennifer. *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism*. Ithaca, NY and London, UK: Cornell University Press, 1996.
- Greenberg, Ressa, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, eds., *Thinking About Exhibitions*. New York, NY: Routledge, 1996.
- Greiner, Katherine Haldane. *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005.
- Groth, Helen. *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Guerin, Frances, and Roger Hallas, eds. *The Image and the Witness: Trauma, Memory and Visual Culture*. London, UK and New York, NY: Wallflower Press, 2007.
- Gunson, A. R., ed. *By Royal Appointment: Aberdeen's Pioneer Photographer George Washington Wilson 1823-1893*. Papers from a Conference organised by the University of Aberdeen in association with the Centre for Scottish Studies. Aberdeen, UK: University of Aberdeen, 1997.
- Hadley, Elaine. *Living Liberalism: Practical Citizenship in Mid-Victorian Britain*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010.
- Hall, Ken. *George D. Valentine: A Nineteenth-Century Photographer in New Zealand*. Nelson, NZ: Craig Potton Publishing, 2004.
- Michael Hallett, ed. *Rewriting Photographic History*. Birmingham Polytechnic Conference Proceedings, UK: The Article Press, 1989.
- Hamilton, Peter, and Roger Hargreaves. *The Beautiful and the Damned: The Creation of Identity in Nineteenth Century Photography*. Hampshire and London, UK: Lund Humphries in Association with The National Portrait Gallery, 2001.
- Hannavy, John. *Masters of Victorian Photography*. Newton Abbot, UK: David and Charles, 1976.
- . *Roger Fenton*. Boston, MA: David Godine, 1976.
- . *Victorian Photographers at Work, History in Camera*. Princes Risborough, UK: Shire Publications, 1997.
- . *The Victorian Professional Photographer*, Shire Album. Princes Risborough, UK: Shire Publications, 1980.
- Hannavy, John, Christopher Carrell, and Third Eye Centre. *A Moment in Time: Scottish Contributions to Photography, 1840-1920*. Glasgow, UK: Third Eye Centre, 1983.

- Hannavy, John, and Scottish Arts Council. *The Camera Goes to War: Photographs from the Crimean War, 1854-56*. Edinburgh, UK: Scottish Arts Council, 1974.
- Hardie, William. *Scottish Painting: 1837-1939*. London, UK: Studio Vista, 1976.
- Harrison, Charles, and Paul Wood, eds. *Art in Theory, 1900-1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford, UK and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992.
- Harrison, Charles, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds. *Art in Theory, 1815-1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford, UK and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998.
- Harrison, J. F. C. *Late Victorian Britain 1875-1901*. London, UK: Routledge, 1991.
- Hart, Janice, and Elizabeth Edwards, eds. *Photographs Objects Histories: On the Materiality of Images*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2004.
- Harvey, David. *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- . *Paris: The Capital of Modernity*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2003.
- Herb, Guntram, and David Kaplan, eds. *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale*. Lanham, MA: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999.
- Hight, Eleanor M., and Gary D. Sampson, eds. *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place*. London, UK: Routledge, 2002.
- Higonnet, Patrice. *Paris: Capital of the World*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. First Harvard University Paperback ed. Harvard, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Hobsbawn, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Homans, Margaret, and Adrienne Munich. *Remaking Queen Victoria*, Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Honeyman, Katrina. *Women, Gender and Industrialisation in England, 1700-1870*, British Studies Series. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 2000.
- Hoppen, K. Theodore. *The Mid-Victorian Generation, 1846-1886*. Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Hume, John R., and Tessa Jackson. *George Washington Wilson and Victorian Glasgow*. Keighley, UK: Kennedy Brothers in association with Aberdeen University Library and Collins Gallery, 1983.
- Johnson, Brooks. *An Enduring Interest: The Photographs of Alexander Gardner*. Norfolk, VA: Chrysler Museum, 1991.
- Jussim, Estelle, and Elizabeth Lindquist-Cock. *Landscape as Photograph*. New Haven, CT and London, UK: Yale University Press, 1985.

- Knox, William. *Industrial Nation: Work, Culture and Society in Scotland, 1800 - Present*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- Kriegel, Lara. *Grand Designs: Labor, Empire and the Museum in Victorian Culture*. Durham and London, UK: Durham University Press, 2007.
- Langford, Martha. *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums*. Montreal and Kingston, CA: McGill and Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Lansdell, Avril. *Fashion à la Carte, 1860-1900: A Study of Fashion through Cartes-De-Visite*, History in Camera. Princes Risborough, UK: Shire, 1985.
- Lawson, Julie, Ray McKenzie and Alison Morrison-Low, eds. *Photography 1900*, Proceedings of the Conference of the European Society for the History of Photography in association with the Scottish Society for the History of Photography, Edinburgh, 24<sup>th</sup> – 26<sup>th</sup> September 1992. Edinburgh, UK: National Museums of Scotland, 1994.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. 1991 ed. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 1974.
- Lenman, Bruce. *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization Scotland 1746-1832*, The New History of Scotland 6. London, UK: Arnold, 1981.
- Long, J. J., Andrea Noble and Edward Welch, eds. *Photography: Theoretical Snapshots*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.
- MacLeod, Christine. *Heroes of Invention: Technology, Liberalism and British Identity, 1750-1914*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Macleod, Dianne Sachko. *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the Making of Cultural Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Mancoff, Debra N. and D. J. Trela, eds. *Victorian Urban Settings: Essays on the Nineteenth-Century City and Its Contexts*. New York, NY: Garland, 1996.
- Martin, Maureen M. *The Mighty Scot: Nation, Gender and the Nineteenth-Century Mystique of Scottish Masculinity*. Albany, NY: State University of New York, 2009.
- Mays, Deborah, ed. *The Architecture of Scottish Cities*. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 1997.
- McCaffrey, John. *Scotland in the Nineteenth Century*. New York, NY: St Martin's Press, 1998.
- McCauley, Elizabeth Anne. *Industrial Madness: Commercial Photography in Paris, 1848-1871*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
- McCoo, Donald. *Paisley Photographers: 1850-1900*. Glasgow, UK: Foulis Archive Press, 1985.

- McGowan, Linda. *Fife's Fishing Community*. Gloucestershire, UK: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2003.
- Merrifield, Andy. *Dialectical Urbanism: Social Struggles in the Capitalist City*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 2002.
- . *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*. New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge, 2006.
- Milton, Andrew. *Turner and the Sublime*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981).
- Miskell, Louise, Christopher A. Whatley, and Bob Harris. *Victorian Dundee: Images and Realities*. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 2000.
- Mitchell, W. J. T., ed. *Landscape and Power*. 2 ed. Chicago, IL and London, UK: The University of Chicago, 2002.
- Moffat, John. *Pioneer Scottish Photographic Artist, 1819-1894*. Eastbourne, UK: JSM Publishing, 1989.
- Moran, Maureen. *Victorian Literature and Culture*. London, UK and New York, NY: Continuum, 2006.
- Morgan, Marjorie. *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*. Hampshire, UK and New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Morris, R. J. *Scotland 1907: The Many Scotlands of Valentine and Sons, Photographers*. Edinburgh, UK: Birlinn, 2007.
- Morrison-Low, Alison, and J. R. R. Christie, eds. *Martyr of Science: Sir David Brewster, 1781-1868*. Edinburgh, UK: Royal Scottish Museum, 1984.
- Morrison, John. *Painting the Nation*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2003.
- Morton, Graeme. *Unionist-Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860*, Scottish Historical Review Monographs Series No. 10. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press, 1999.
- Mozley, Anita Ventura. *Thomas Annan: Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877*. New York, NY: Dover, 1977.
- Newhall, Beaumont, ed. *Photography: Essays and Images, Illustrated Readings in the History of Photography*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1981.
- Normand, Tom. *Scottish Photography: A History*. Edinburgh, UK: Luath, 2007.
- Osbourne, Peter D. *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin*. 2nd ed. Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 2007.

- Payne, Peter Lester. *British Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth Century*. 2nd ed., Studies in Economic and Social History. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan Education, 1988.
- Pearson, Nicolas. *The State and the Visual Arts: A Discussion of State Intervention in the Visual Arts in Britain, 1780-1981*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press, 1982.
- Pittock, Murray, G. H. *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1991.
- Pollock, Griselda. *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1988.
- Poovey, Mary. *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830-1864*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Poster, Mark, ed. *Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings*. Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Richards, Thomas. *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Robbins, Keith. *Nineteenth Century Britain: Integration and Diversity*. Oxford, UK and New York, NY: Oxford University Press and Clarendon Press, 1988.
- Rodger, Richard. *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Roth, Michael, Claire L. Lyons, and Charles Merewether, eds. *Irresistible Decay: Ruins Reclaimed*. Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1997.
- Ryan, James R. *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualisation of the British Empire*. London, UK: Reaktion, 1997.
- Ryan, Simon. *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia*. Cambridge, UK: University of Cambridge, 1996.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage, 1979.
- Schwartz, Joan M. and James R. Ryan, eds. *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*. London, UK and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2003.
- Seiberling, Grace, and Carolyn Bloore. *Amateurs, Photography and the Mid-Victorian Imagination*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Short, John Rennie. *Imagined Country: Society, Culture and Environment*. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 1991.
- Sidey, Tessa. *Valentines of Dundee: Photographs, Postcards and Greetings Cards from the 1850's to the Present Day*. Dundee, UK: Dundee Museums and Art Galleries, 1979.

- Siegel, Elizabeth. *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: A History of Nineteenth Century American Photograph Albums*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.
- . *Playing with Pictures: The Art of Victorian Photocollage*. Chicago, IL and New Haven, CT and London, UK: Art Insitute of Chicago in association with Yale University Press, 2009.
- Slater, T. R., ed. *The Built Form of Western Cities*. Leicester and London, UK: Leicester University Press, 1990.
- Smith, Derek. *Thomas Annan: Photographer of Glasgow, 1868-1877*. Glasgow, UK: Third Eye Centre, 1981.
- Smith, John S. *Aberdeen in the Nineteenth Century: The Making of the Modern City*. Aberdeen, UK: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.
- Smith, John S. , and Brian Kiloh. *The Sparkling Cage: Brian Kiloh in the Footsteps of George Washington Wilson*. Aberdeen, UK: Keith Murray and Aberdeen University Press, 1989.
- Smiles, Samuel. *Self Help with Illustrations of Character and Conduct*. 2nd ed. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1866.
- Smout, T. C. *A Century of Scottish People 1830-1950*. London, UK: Collins, 1986.
- Smout, T. C., and Sydney Wood. *Scottish Voices 1745-1960*. 2 ed. London, UK: Fontana Press, 1991.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. London, UK: Penguin Books, 1979.
- Spracklen, Karl. *The Meaning and Purpose of Leisure: Habermas and Leisure at the End of Modernity*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Stevenson, Sara. *Facing the Light: The Photography of Hill and Adamson*. Edinburgh, UK: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 2002.
- , ed. *Light from the Dark Room: A Celebration of Scottish Photography*. Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1995.
- . *The Fishermen and Women of the Firth of Forth*. Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1991.
- . *Thomas Annan: 1829-1887, Scottish Masters*. Edinburgh, UK: National Galleries of Scotland, 1990.
- Stevenson, Sara, Julie Lawson and Michael Gray. *The Photography of John Muir Wood: An Accomplished Amateur 1805-1892*. Edinburgh, UK: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1988.
- Sutcliffe, Anthony, ed. *Planning and the Environment in the Modern World: The Rise of Modern Urban Planning 1800-1914*. Vol. 1. London, UK: Mansell, 1980.

- Tagg, John. *Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories*, Communications and Culture. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1988.
- . *Grounds of Dispute: Art History, Cultural Politics and the Discursive Field*. Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1992.
- Taylor, Roger. *George Washington Wilson, Artist and Photographer, 1823-93*. Aberdeen, UK: Aberdeen University Press in association with the University of Aberdeen, 1981.
- . *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840 -1860*. New York, NY: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.
- Thomas, Sophie. *Romanticism and Visuality: Fragments, History and Spectacle*. New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge, 2008.
- Torrance, Richard. *Photographers in Scotland to 1914*. Edinburgh, UK: Scottish Genealogy Society, 2001.
- Vance Jr., James E. *The Continuing City: Urban Morphology in Western Civilization*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Wells, Liz. *Photography: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed. London, UK: Routledge, 2000.
- Whatley, Christopher A., ed. *The Diary of John Sturrock, Millwright, Dundee: 1864-65, Sources in Local History*. East Linton, UK: Tuckwell Press in Association with the University of Dundee Archives and Manuscripts Department, 1996.
- Wichard, Robin and Carol. *Victorian Cartes de Visite, History in Camera*. Princes Risborough, UK: Shire, 1999.
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society 1780-1950*. Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1971.
- Wilson, A. N. *The Victorians*. London, UK: Random House, 2003.
- Wolff, Janet and John Seed, eds. *The Culture of Capital*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Wynne, Deborah. *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- Young, Linda. *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia, and Britain*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

## Pre-1900 Newspaper and Journal Articles

A Member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society. "My First Photographic Trip to the Country." *British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 162 and 164 (1862): 111 and 46-47.

"Address." *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 1, no. 1 (1854): 1.

"Advert for Diorama Show." *The Scotsman*, 2nd March 1842.

Aliquis. "The Want of Photography in the Future." *The British Journal of Photography* 14, no. 386 (1867): 460.

American Correspondent. "American Photography." *Liverpool Photographic Journal* 3, no. 25 (1856): 1-2.

"Approaching Photographic Exhibitions." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 4 (1858): 37-38.

"The Approaching Meeting of the British Association in Glasgow." *Glasgow Herald*, 11th June 1855.

"Art Union of Glasgow." *North British Daily Mail*, 10th November 1862.

"Art Union of Glasgow." *Morning Journal*, 16th March 1863.

Beattie, J. "Photography from a Professional Point of View." *The British Journal of Photography* 15, no. 400 (1868): 4-5.

Blackie, John. "The New Excursion Route from Oban to Gairloch." *The Aberdeen Journal*, 26th August 1863.

Blair, William. "Our Improvement Accounts." *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 12th May 1876.

Brewster, David. "Photogenic Drawing, or Drawing by the Agency of Light." *Edinburgh Review* 76, no. 154 (1843): 309-344.

"British Association." *The Scotsman*, 10th September 1834.

"British Association." *The Scotsman*, 3rd August 1850.

"British Association's Meeting at Glasgow." *Glasgow Herald*, 12th February 1855.

"The British Association in Aberdeen." *The Photographic News* 2, no. 52 (1859): 304.

Brown, John. "Review of the Royal Scottish Academy Exhibition." *The Witness*, 22nd April 1846.

"Burns and Ballad Literature." *The Scotsman*, 9th February 1859.

C.A. "Photography in Algeria - 1-4." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 1-22 (1858-1859): 5-7; 63-65; 98-100; 12-13, 22-24; 232-233; 56-57.

- "A Catechism of Photography." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 1 (1858): 9.
- "A Catechism of Photography." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 3 (1858): 31-32.
- "A Catechism of Photography: Photographic Excursions." *Photographic News* 2, no. 36 and 37 (1859): 114-15 and 27.
- "A Catechism of Photography: The Operating Room." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 9 (1858): 103.
- "Caution to Photographic Artists." *The Photographic News* 2, no. 31 (1859): 49-50.
- CHL, AUR. "Exhibition: Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland." *The British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 157 (1862): 10-11.
- "City Improvement Trust." *The Scotsman*, 16th February 1871.
- "City of Glasgow and West of Scotland Photographic Society." *The British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 169 (1862): 237.
- "City Sketches: No. 11 - the Police Establishment." *Guardian*, 11th January 1859.
- Clarke, W. D. "On Pictorial and Photographic Representations of Melrose Abbey." *The British Journal of Photography* 13, no. 316 (1866): 246-247.
- Claudet, Antoine. "Photography and Its Relation to the Fine Arts." *The Photographic Journal* 6, no. 98 (1860): 259-267.
- "The Commercial Uses of Photography." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 16 (1858): 181-182.
- Cramb, John. "Palestine in 1860: Or, a Photographic Journal of a Visit to Jerusalem." *British Journal of Photography* 8, no. 133-156 (1860-1861): 32-33; 46-47; 130-131 46-47; 237-238; 55-56; 87-89; 364-365; 88-89; 425-426; 44-45.
- "Crieff Exhibition of Photographic Pictures." *Perth Advertiser*, 24th November 1853.
- "Critical Notices: The Photographic Exhibition at the Crystal Palace." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 3 (1858): 29-30.
- Crookes, William. "Introductory Address." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 1 (1858): 1.
- Davis, W. D. "Hints on the Nature of Pictorial Beauty and the Principles of Composition: A Lecture for the Edinburgh Photographic Society, March 5th, 1862. Part 2 of 3." *British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 164 (1862): 147-149.
- "Death of Mr. Frank Henderson, Ex-M.P." *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 22nd July 1889.
- "Dundee Meeting, 1867." *The British Journal of Photography* 13, no. 384 (1867): 435-436.
- "Edinburgh Improvement Trust." *The Scotsman*, 29th October 1870.

- Edinburgh Merchant Company. "Address of Condolence to Her Majesty." *The Scotsman*, 25th December 1861.
- "Editorial." *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 1, no. 2 (1854): 13.
- "Editorial." *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 1, no. 4 (1854): 45.
- "Editorial." *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 2, no. 1 (1855): 1.
- "Exhibition of Photographs at Aberdeen." *The Photographic News* 3, no. 57 (1859): 51-52.
- "Falkirk Art Exhibition." *Falkirk Herald*, 28th September 1854.
- "Falkirk Fine Arts Exhibition: Second Notice." *Falkirk Herald*, 5th October 1854.
- "Fine Art Gossip." *The Athenaeum* 16, no. 1655 (1859): 88-89.
- Foard, Mr. J. T. "The Connection of Art with Photography: A Lecture Given at the Liverpool Photographic Society Meeting February 6, 1855." *The Liverpool Photographic Journal* 2, no. 14 and 16 (1855): 16-19 and 52-56.
- Frith, Francis. "The Art of Photography." *The Art Journal* 5 (1859): 71-72.
- "Glasgow Cathedral Windows." *Glasgow Herald*, 19th October 1864.
- Glasgow Courier*. "Political Extracts: Ireland and the Irish." *Dundee Courier*, 20th July 1847.
- Glasgow Daily Herald*. "The Principle of the Diorama Applied to Photographic Pictures." *British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 158 (1862): 25.
- Glover, John. "The Art Bearings of Photography." *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 210 (1864): 96-97.
- Gutch, John. "Recollections and Jottings of a Photographic Tour, Undertaken During the Years 1856-1857." *Photographic Notes* 3, no. 51-53 (1858): 125-7; 36-37; 45-47.
- Haines, C. L. "On the Uses and Abuses of Photography - Lecture from 1858 Winter Session of Birmingham Photographic Society." *Photographic Notes* 4, no. 67 (1859): 23-24.
- "The High Street Catastrophe: Three More Bodies Found." *The Scotsman*, 29th November 1861.
- "The Improvement Debt." *The Dundee Courier and Argus and Northern Warder*, 14th May 1878.
- "The Improvement Muddle." *The Dundee Courier and Argus and Northern Warder*, 2nd November 1877.
- "Improvement Property Sales." *The Dundee Courier and Argus and Northern Warder*, 12th February 1878.

- Iota. "The Isle of Wight from a Photographic Point of View." *The Photographic News* 3, no. 54 and 55 (1859): 22-23 and 33-34.
- "Lecture on Photography." *The Stirling Argus*, 18th November 1853.
- "London Photographic Society Report." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 26 (1859): 304-305.
- "The Macdonald Fund." *The Scotsman*, 4th April 1860.
- Mactear, Andrew. "The Wet Versus the Dry Process." *The Photographic News* 2, no. 27 (1859): 9-10.
- Martineau, Harriet. "Female Industry." *The Edinburgh Review* 109, no. 222 (1859): 293-336.
- "Mechanics Institution." *Glasgow Herald*, 19th May 1845.
- "The Mechanics' Institution." *The Aberdeen Journal*, 17th January 1844.
- "Meeting of the British Association." *The Photographic News* 3, no. 55 (1859): 25-27.
- "The Mill Owners and the Valuation by 'One of Many'." *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 29th January 1866.
- Miller, Hugh. "The Calotype." *The Witness*, 12th July 1843.
- . "The Two Prints." *The Witness*, 24th June 1843.
- "Mr G. W. Wilson: Artist and Photographer, 19 Guestrow." *Aberdeen Journal*, 25th April 1855.
- "Mr Wilson's Negative Process." *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 233 (1864): 409.
- "Mr Wilson's Scottish Gems." *The British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 110 (1860): 23.
- Mudd, James. "On the Collodio-Albumen Process - Paper Read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Photographic Society of Scotland." *The Photographic Journal* 6, no. 95 (1860): 178-180.
- "The New Art on Silver." *The Scotsman*, 15th October 1839.
- "Notice to Institutions." *Journal of the Society of Arts* 1 (1853): 449.
- "Obituary, Councillor William Blair." *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 30th April 1895, 2.
- Osborn, W. B. "Photography: Its Application to the Present Wants of Society and Its Future Prospects - Paper Read at Ordinary Meeting of Birmingham Photographic Society." *Photographic Notes* 3, no.50 (1858). 110-113.
- "Our Editorial Table." *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 223 (1864): 295.

- "Photo Exhibition." *The Scotsman*, 1st January 1857.
- "Photographic and Fine Arts Exhibition." *Falkirk Herald*, 21st September 1854.
- "Photographic Contributions to Knowledge: Egypt and Palestine, by Francis Frith. First Notice." *British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 11 (1860): 32.
- "Photographic Exhibition." *The Aberdeen Free Press*, 9th December 1853.
- "Photographic Exhibition." *The Glasgow Herald*, 17th September 1855.
- "Photographic Exhibition." *The Aberdeen Journal*, 7th December 1853.
- "Photographic Exhibition." *The Dundee Courier*, 5th April 1854.
- "The Photographic Exhibition (Second Notice)." *The Scotsman*, 26th December 1859.
- "Photographic Portraits at Half Price." *The Scotsman*, 28th December 1850.
- "Photographic Portraits, on Glass and Paper." *The Aberdeen Journal*, 5th October 1853.
- "Photographic Society: Second Notice." *The Scotsman*, 13th February 1861.
- "Photography." *Glasgow Herald*, 24th September 1849.
- "Photography in Scotland." *The Art Journal*, April (1854): 100.
- "The Present Position of Photography (Reprinted from *Literary Gazette*)." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 10 (1858): 118.
- "Progress of the City Improvements." *The Scotsman*, 8th February 1870.
- "Queen: Court: Fashion. Tableaux Vivants at Balmoral." *The Penny Illustrated Paper and Illustrated Times*, 13th October 1888, 227.
- Read, Rev. W. J. "On the Application of Photography, Lecture Given March 6 at Manchester Photographic Society." *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 9 and 13 (1856): 127-131 and 201-204.
- "Recent Progress in Photographic Art." *The North British Review* 36 (1862): 172.
- "Reducing Prices Decidedly Foolish." *The Photographic News* 10, no. 434 (1866): 618.
- "Report of the Photographic Society of Scotland." *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 6 (1856): 53.
- [Review] *Photographic Notes* 3, no. 62 (1858): 252-253.
- Richson, Rev. C. "Elementary Instruction in Drawing." *The Art Journal* 2 (1856): 273.
- Rodger, Thomas. "On a Useful Application of Glycerine in the Collodion Process." *The Photographic Journal* 5, no. 85 (1859): 256-257.

- Ross, Horatio. "Address to the Photographic Society of Scotland, 10th February, 1857." *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 23 (1857): 95-97.
- S. "Notes for Alpine Photographers." *Photographic News* 1, no. 4 (1858): 38-39.
- Seely's *American Journal*. "The Photographer as He Is and as He Should Be." *Photographic Notes* 5, no. 93 (1860): 56-57.
- "Scottish Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures." *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 30th March 1839.
- "Scottish Gems." *The British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 109 (1860): 6-7.
- "Sotires Georgiades." *The Scotsman*, 11th September 1850.
- "Stereograms of Scottish Scenery." *The Photographic News* 3, no. 73 (1860): 248.
- "Stereographic Pictures - English and Welsh Scenery' by William Russell, Sedgefield." *Photographic News* 1, no. 15 (1858): 173.
- "Stereograph's. Picturesque Scenery of the Highlands of Perthshire by William Rodger of Montrose." *British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 131 (1860): 348.
- "Stereographs: Instantaneous Marine and Street Views by George Washington Wilson, Aberdeen." *The British Journal of Photography* 7, no. 128 (1860): 303-304.
- "Stereographs: Scottish Lake Scenery, Illustrated by George Wilson, Aberdeen." *The British Journal of Photography* 8, no. 140 (1861): 145-46.
- "The Stereoscopic Angle." *The Photographic News* 1, no. 2 (1858): 15-16.
- "Stirling School of Arts in Union with the Society of Arts, London." *The Stirling Argus*, 11th November 1853.
- "Street Photography." *The British Journal of Photography* 25, no. 942 (1878): 241-242.
- Sutton, Thomas. "The Collodion Process." *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 7 (1856): 82-86.
- . "Editorial." *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 5 (1856): 33-36.
- . "Editorial." *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 11 (1856): 167-8.
- . "Editorial." *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 15 (1856): 235.
- . "Editorial." *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 22 (1857): 81.
- . "Editorial." *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 22 (1857): 84.
- . "Editorial." *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 39 (1857): 415.
- . "Editorial." *Photographic Notes* 5, no. 95 (1860): 73-77.

- . "First Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland." *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 19 (1857): 24-26.
- . "First Exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland: Second Notice." *Photographic Notes* 2, no. 20 (1857): 45-46.
- . "Introduction to Second Edition of First Two Numbers." *Photographic Notes* 1, no. 1-2 (1856): 1.
- "Through Japan with a Camera." *The Photographic News* 3, no. 57-77 (1859): 56-58; 68-70; 80-82; 92-93; 104-105; 16-17; 30-31; 39-40; 50-51; 63-64; 77-78; 88-89; 200-201; 09-10; 25-26; 38-39; 50-51; 62-63; 75; 88-89; 301-302.
- Valentine, James. "Photographic Portraits." *Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser*, 13th July 1855.
- . "A Substitute for a Dark Room in Field Operations." *The British Journal of Photography Almanac and Photographers Daily Companion* (1867): 100-101.
- Vander Weyde, J. J. "Photographic Artists (Extract from Seely's American Journal)." *Photographic Notes* 5, no. 101 (1860): 167.
- Viator. "Pages from the Note Book of a Travelling Photographer." *Photographic News* 1, no. 8-24 (1858-1859): 91-92; 140-141; 224-225; 85.
- Walker, George. "In Memoriam: George Washington Wilson (1822-1893)." *Brown's Bookstall* 16 (1893): 49-59.
- Wall, A. H. "An Artist's Letters to a Young Photographer: On Landscape." *The British Journal of Photography* 9, no. 161 (1862): 68-70.
- . "Landscape Photography - Aerial Perspective." *The British Journal of Photography* 13, no. 324 (1866): 366-367.
- Wilson, George Washington "A Voice from the Hills: Mr Wilson at Home." *The British Journal of Photography* 11, no. 228-233 (1864): 352-354; 74-75; 288; 410.

## Post-1900 Newspaper and Journal Articles

- Alberti, Samuel J. M. M. "Conversaciones and the Experience of Science in Victorian England." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8, no. 2 (2003): 208-30.
- Arnheim, Rudolph. "On the Nature of Photography." *Critical Inquiry* 1, no. 1 (1974): 149-161.
- Bryan, Emily. "Nineteenth Century Charade Dramas: Syllables of Gentility and Sociability." *Nineteenth-Century Theatre and Film* 29, no. 1 (2002): 32-48.
- Barton, Ruth. "Men of Science: Language, Identity and Professionalization in the Mid-Victorian Scientific Community." *History of Science* 41 (2003): 73-119.
- Buchanan, William. "State of the Art, Glasgow, 1855." *History of Photography* 13, no. 2 (1989): 165-180.
- Cadava, Eduardo. "'Lapsus Imaginis': The Image in Ruins." *October* 96 (2001): 35-60.
- Carpenter, Kenneth. "European Industrial Exhibitions before 1851 and Their Publications." *Technology and Culture* 13, no. 3 (1972): 465-486.
- Crookes, Tom. "Putting Matter in Its Right Place: Dirt, Time and Regeneration in Mid-Victorian Britain." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 13, no. 2 (2010): 200-222.
- Downs, James. "Out of the Shadows: Ivan Szabo (1822-58), a Forgotten 'Photographic Luminary'." *Studies in Photography* (2008): 28-38.
- Durie, Alastair J. "Tourism and Commercial Photography in Victorian Scotland: The Rise and Fall of G. W. Wilson and Co., 1853-1908." *Northern Scotland* 12 (1992): 89-104.
- Editor. "Death of Mrs. John McGhie (Jean Warneuke)." *The British Journal of Photography* 58, no. 2686 (1911): 824.
- Fairfull-Smith, George. "Thomas & James Craig Annan of Glasgow: Photographers and Publishers." *The Private Library 5th Series* 2, no. 2 (1999): 75-78.
- Farquharson, Colin. "Dinnie - the Greatest." *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 30th December 1988, 16.
- Foucault, Michel. "'Des Espace Autres' [of Other Spaces]." Lecture given in March, 1967 and published by the French journal *Architecture/Mouvement/ Continuité* in October, 1984. Translated text: Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* (Spring, 1986). 22-27.
- Harvey, Michael. "Ruskin and Photography." *The Oxford Art Journal* 7, no. 2 (1984): 25-33.
- Johnson, Wendell Stacy. "Memory, Landscape, Love: John Ruskin's Poetry and Poetic Criticism." *Victorian Poetry* 19, no. 1 (1981): 19-34.

- Keilbach, Judith. "Photographs, Symbolic Images, and the Holocaust: On the (Im)Possibility of Depicting Historical Truth." *History and Theory* 47, no. 2 (2009): 54-76.
- Krauss, Rosalind. "Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View." *Art Journal* 42, no. 4 (1982): 311-319.
- Lawson, James. "The Urban Landscape: Between Progress and Decay." *Studies in Photography*, no. 1 (1998): 5-8.
- Lawson, Julie. "The Problem of Poverty and the Picturesque: Thomas Annan's *Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow* 1868-1871." *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, no. 2 (1990): 40-46.
- . "Bankruptcy through the Lens: the Case of Kenneth MacLeay." *Scottish Photography Bulletin* (Spring, 1986). 24-27.
- Linkman, Audrey. "The Itinerant Photographer in Britain, 1850-1880." *History of Photography* 14, no. 1 (1990): 49-68.
- McCoo, Donald. "John Urie: Portrait Photographer (1820-1910)." *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, no. 2 (1989): 3-14.
- McKenzie, Ray. "Scottish Photographers in Nineteenth Century Italy: Robert Macpherson and His Contemporaries." *History of Photography* 20, no. 1 (1996): 33-40.
- Morrison-Low, Alison. "Photography in Edinburgh in 1839: The Royal Scottish Society of Arts, Andrew Fyfe and Mungo Ponton." *Scottish Photography Bulletin*, no. 2 (1990): 26-35.
- . "Brewster, Talbot and the Adamsons: The Arrival of Photography in St Andrews." *History of Photography* 25, no. 2 (2001): 130-41.
- "Mr. A. Adams, Photographer." *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 23rd July 1914.
- Munsterberg, Marjorie. "A Biographical Sketch of Robert Macpherson." *The Art Bulletin* 68, no. 1 (1986): 142-153.
- . "J. M. W. Turner's *Falls at Schaffhausen*," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 44, No. 2 (1985). 24-31.
- Nassar, Issam. "Biblication in the Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century Photography." *Third Text* 20, no. 3 (2006): 317-326.
- Payne, Susan, and Paul Adair. "Magnus Jackson and the Black Art: The Happy Marriage of Old and New Technology." *Studies in Photography* (2008): 42-50.
- Plunkett, John. "Celebrity and Community: The Poetics of the Carte de Visite." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 8, no. 1 (2003): 55-79.
- Sekula, Alan. "The Body and the Archive." *October* 39 (1986): 3-64.

- . "The Traffic in Photographs." *Art Journal* 41, no. 1 (1981): 15-25.
- Shiff, Richard. "Art History and the Nineteenth Century: Realism and Resistance." *The Art Bulletin* 70, no. 1 (1988): 25-48.
- Simpson, Roddy. "Archibald Burns: Photographer of Old Edinburgh." *Studies in Photography* (2009): 68-77.
- . "Exposing Miss Mann." *Studies in Photography* (2010): 42-48.
- Smart, Robert. "Famous Throughout the World: Valentine and Sons Ltd., Dundee." *Review of Scottish Studies* 4 (1988): 75-87.
- Smith, Graham. "John Adamson, Sanitary Reform and the Fishing Community." *History of Photography* 25, no. 2 (2001): 180-189.
- . "William Henry Fox Talbot's Views of Loch Katrine." *Bulletin, Museums of Art and Archaeology, The University of Michigan* 7 (1984): 49-77.
- Snape, Robert. "The National Home Reading Union." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 7, no. 1 (2002): 86-110.
- Snyder, Joel, and Neil Walsh Allen. "Photography, Vision and Representation." *Critical Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (1975). 143-169.
- Stevenson, Sara. "The Annan Lecture 2007: The Doctor, the Lady and the Man who Printed His Own Money." *Studies in Photography* (2007): 12-18.
- . "The Hill View: 'the Eye Unsatisfied and Dim with Gazing.'" *History of Photography* 30, no. 3 (2006): 213-231.
- Stuhlman, Rachel. "Let Glasgow Flourish: Thomas Annan and the Glasgow Corporation Waterworks." *Image* 35, no. 3-4 (1992): 38-51.
- Tagg, John. "Power and Photography: Part 1, a Means of Surveillance: The Photograph as Evidence for Law." *Screen Education* 36 (1980): 17-55.
- Waller, John C. "Gentlemanly Men of Science: Sir Francis Galton and the Professionalization of the British Life-Sciences." *Journal of the History of Biology* 34, no. 1 (2001): 83-114.
- Wilson, Collette. "Memory and the Politics of Forgetting: Paris, the Commune and the 1878 Exposition Universelle." *Journal of European Studies* 35 (2005): 47-63.
- Withers, Charles. "Picturing Highland Landscapes: George Washington Wilson and the Photography of the Scottish Highlands." *Landscape Research* 19, no. 2 (1994): 68-79.
- Wollett, Christine. "The Maull Photographic Portrait Collection Held at the Royal Society." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 61 (2007): 69-74.
- Wooters, David. "The Quiet Art of Robert Macpherson: An Explication." *History of Photography* 20, no. 1 (1996): 2-3.

## Websites

- Annan, Thomas, and George Berwick. "Glasgow Observatory." Department of Astrophysics, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK.  
<http://www.astro.gla.ac.uk/observatory/history/obs-hist.html>.
- Annan, Thomas. "Book of the Month – Thomas Annan and the Glasgow Improvements Act Photographs 1868-1871." University of Glasgow Library Special Collections, Glasgow, UK. <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/Mar2006.html>.
- Archer, Frederick Scott. "Kenilworth Castle."  
[http://www.thescreamonline.com/photo/photo2-4/glass\\_slides/archer.html](http://www.thescreamonline.com/photo/photo2-4/glass_slides/archer.html).
- Browning, Robert. "Love among the Ruins." Department of English, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON. <http://rpo.library.utoronto.ca/poem/283.html>.
- Daniel, Malcolm "Édouard Baldus (1813-1889)." *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* 2004. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.  
[http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bald/hd\\_bald.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/bald/hd_bald.htm).
- Edinburgh City Libraries and Museums and Galleries. "Capital Collections." Edinburgh City Council, Edinburgh, UK. <http://www.capitalcollections.org.uk>.
- Fenton, Roger. "Roslyn Chapel." Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK.  
<http://www.vam.ac.uk/vastatic/microsites/photography/photographer.php?photographerid=ph023&row=1>.
- Ferguson, Kenneth, and Jessie Pettigrew. "Castles of Scotland Preservation Trust: Dalzell House, Motherwell." Castles of Scotland Preservation Trust. Motherwell, UK.  
<http://www.cospt.org.uk/>.
- Foucault, Michel. "Des Espace Autres." <http://foucault.info/>.
- "George Eastman House Collection." George Eastman House, Rochester, NY.  
<http://www.geh.org>.
- "Glasgow Cathedral Windows." Glasgow University, Glasgow, UK.  
<http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/GlasgowCathedral/ladychapel.htm>.
- Google. "Google Books." <http://books.google.com/books>.
- Grand Lodge of Scotland. "History." Freemasons' Hall, Edinburgh, UK.  
<http://www.grandlodgescotland.com>.
- Griffiths, Allan. "Luminous Lint." Halifax, NS. [www.luminouslint.com](http://www.luminouslint.com).
- Massey, Gerald. "Adelaide Anne Procter." <http://gerald-massey.org.uk/Procter/index.htm>.
- National Archives of Scotland and Scotland's General Register House, Edinburgh, UK.  
"Scotland's People." brightsolid, <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk>.

- National Galleries of Scotland. <http://www.nationalgalleries.org/>.
- Newton, William. "Burnham Beeches." Science and Society Picture Library, UK. <http://www.ssplprints.com/image.php?id=126216&idx=7&keyword>.
- Ratcliffe, Barrie. "Imaged Places/Imagined Spaces in Mid Nineteenth Century Paris: Deconstructing Early Photographs of the City; Reconstructing Popular Cultures." In digital book: Alan Sears, ed. *Urban Places, Urban Pleasures: The Cultural Use of Civic Space*. Humanities Research Group Working Papers (2002), University of Windsor, Windsor, ON. <http://www.phaenex.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/index.php/HRG>.
- Ross, Horatio. "The Scottish Highlands." [http://www.artnet.com/Artists/LotDetailPage.aspx?lot\\_id=2B53D6F9D1A13644](http://www.artnet.com/Artists/LotDetailPage.aspx?lot_id=2B53D6F9D1A13644)
- Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. "Scran." Edinburgh, UK. [www.scran.ac.uk](http://www.scran.ac.uk).
- Scott, Sir Walter. "The Lay of the Last Minstrel (1805)." <http://www.theotherpages.org/poems/minstrel.html>.
- Stubbs, Peter. "Edinphoto " Edinburgh, UK. [www.edinphoto.org.uk](http://www.edinphoto.org.uk).
- "Swansea Heritage." City and County of Swansea, Swansea, UK. <http://www.swanseaheritage.net/article/viewall.asp?offset=200>.
- Taylor, Roger. "Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839-1865." National Gallery of Canada, Toronto, ON. <http://peib.dmu.uk/index.php>.
- Thomson, Ross. "Edinburgh from the Castle " Flickr, [www.flickr.com/photos/nationalgalleries/page6/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/nationalgalleries/page6/).
- University of St Andrews Library Special Collections. "Photographic Collections." St Andrews, UK. <http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/specialcollections/photographiccollection>.
- Valentine, James. "George William Fox Kinnaird of Rossie." National Portrait Gallery, London, UK. [www.npg.org.uk](http://www.npg.org.uk).
- Wilson, George Washington. "George Washington Wilson Photographic Archive." University of Aberdeen, Aberdeen, UK. <http://ibase.abdn.ac.uk/>.