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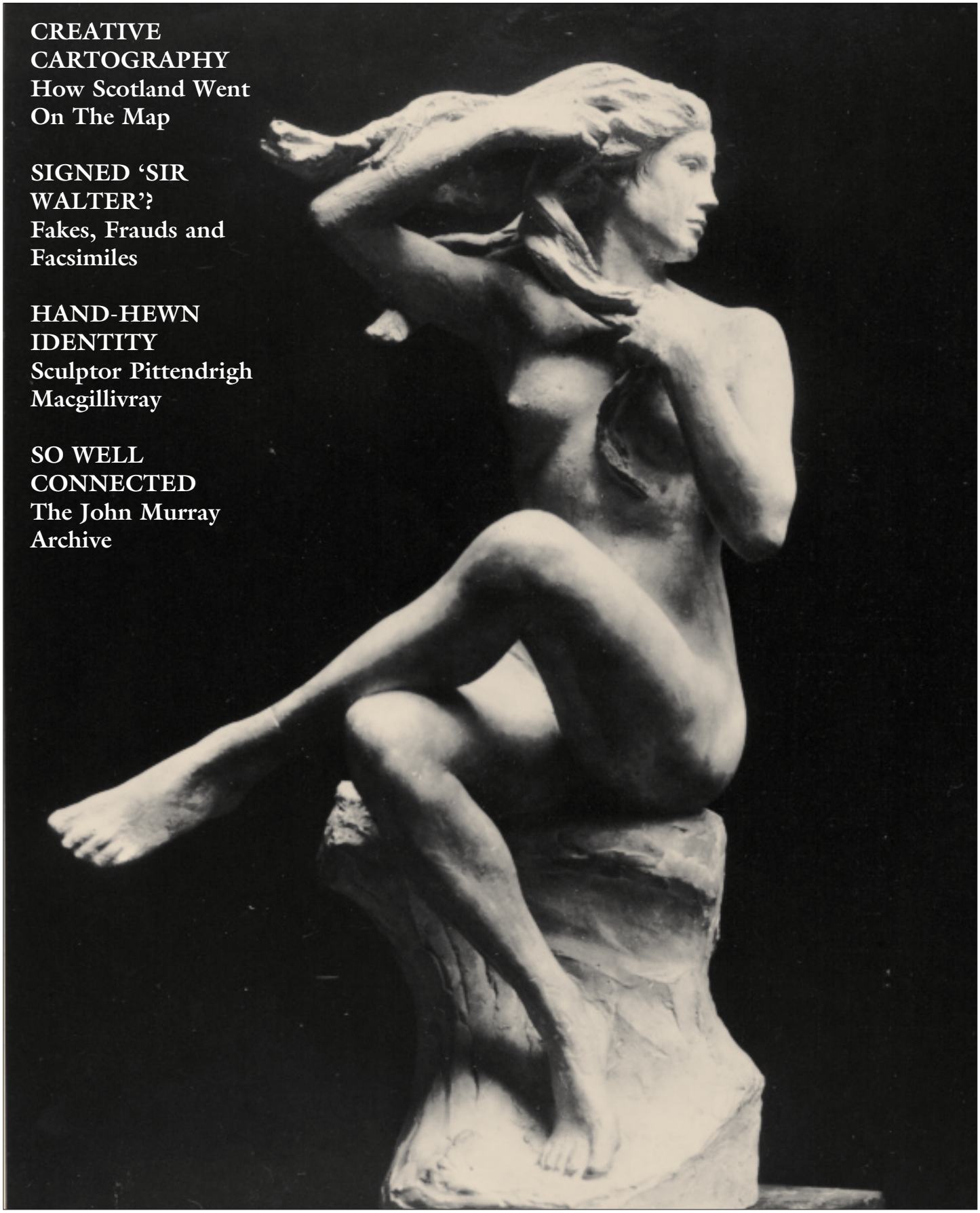
ISSUE 9 AUTUMN 2004

CREATIVE CARTOGRAPHY
How Scotland Went On The Map

SIGNED 'SIR WALTER'?
Fakes, Frauds and Facsimiles

HAND-HEWN IDENTITY
Sculptor Pittendrigh Macgillivray

SO WELL CONNECTED
The John Murray Archive



Putting Scotland on view

Joan Blaeu's 1654 Atlas Novus

Ian Cunningham, Christopher Fleet & Charles W.J. Withers

What shape is Scotland? How has it been mapped? This year marks the 350th anniversary of the publication of Scotland's first atlas, the Atlas Novus, *by the Dutch mapmaker Joan Blaeu. Based upon the earlier mapping work of Timothy Pont and that of several contemporaries, Blaeu's* Atlas *provides an unparalleled geographical picture of Scotland and an important source in Scottish map history. Christopher Fleet outlines the sources behind Blaeu's work and the National Library of Scotland website devoted to the* Atlas, *Ian Cunningham sheds light on the* Atlas*'s production in discussing its translation into English from the original Latin, and Charles Withers documents the intellectual background to this landmark publication in European history and geography.*

'Continue now, look at Scotland and enjoy a feast for the eyes.' So wrote the Dutch mapmaker Joan Blaeu in 'Greetings to the Reader' at the start of his 1654 *Atlas Novus*. Published in Latin in Amsterdam, the work contains forty-nine engraved maps of Scotland (and six of Ireland) and 154 pages of descriptive text. In combining maps with written descriptions, Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* offers an unrivalled picture of the nation in the mid-seventeenth century.

But why should a Dutchman publish a work of Scottish geography? Who was Joan Blaeu? How did he do it? To understand what the *Atlas* is, we have to understand how it came about. It was certainly not Blaeu's work alone. It was published in 1654, but the atlas was the result of over seventy years of map-making and editorial activity in Scotland and England as well as in the Low Countries. The history of the *Atlas Novus* is a story of war, avaricious printers, neglectful children, underachieving churchmen and anxious statesmen concerned with Scotland's geographical representation. It is a story too of poetic professors, Antwerp mapmakers as well as Amsterdam publishers, English and Scottish historians and the view of Royalty about the power of maps.

The story begins with the maps on which the *Atlas* is largely based, those of Timothy Pont. From the little we know of Pont's life, his epic survey of Scotland was packed into two or at the most three decades, following his graduation in 1583 from St Andrews. We know that Pont was appointed minister of Dunnet parish in Caithness in 1601 and that his written *Description of Cunningham* dates to about 1604–08. With one exception – his map of Lothian and Linlithgow engraved sometime before 1611 – Pont failed to get his work into print. According to Robert Gordon, Timothy was 'defeated by the avarice of printers and booksellers', a reference perhaps to the various monopoly agreements then made by some Edinburgh printers. In 1606, for example, the Edinburgh printer Thomas Finlayson acquired a 25-year license to print and import all maps and charts, which effectively deterred map publication until the late 1620s. And by 1615, from a deed that only came to light earlier this year, we know that Timothy Pont was dead.

In the years after Pont's death interest in the maps waned, and his heirs, Isobel his widow and children Timothy and Margaret, were later accused of neglecting them. Fortunately for posterity the Lord Lyon, Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, acquired the maps from them in or shortly before 1628, perhaps deriving some of his own topographic descriptions (Adv.MS.33.2.27) from Pont's materials. By 1631 Balfour had passed some of the maps on to the Blaeu publishers in Amsterdam. The key intermediary in this process, the man who in effect became the Scottish editor and promoter of the *Atlas*, was Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit.

Scotstarvit held the political offices of Director of Chancery, Lord of Session and Privy Councillor, and through these had the influence in Scotland and the Low Countries to drive the project forward. Discovered in 1967, a set of fifteen letters (Adv.MS.17.1.9) from Willem and his son Joan Blaeu to Scotstarvit, written in the years 1626–33 and 1641–57, provide vital information on the progress of the *Atlas*. From them, we know that by 1642 Blaeu had engraved about forty of the forty-nine maps within the *Atlas* directly from Pont's work, and provided a list of the areas for which maps were lacking.

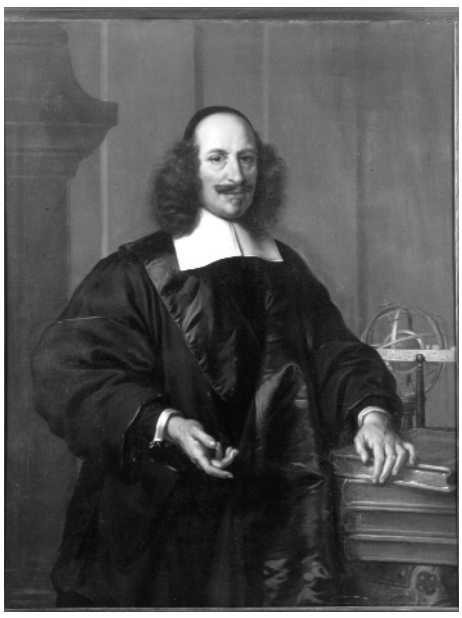
The few remaining maps within the *Atlas*, as well as some textual descriptions, were the product of Robert Gordon of Straloch – Blaeu praises him as 'the phoenix of geographers' – who was enlisted to help from the mid-1630s. His son James, Parson of Rothiemay, also assisted surveying new maps, such as that for Fife, in the 1640s. In the 1640s, Scotstarvit petitioned the General Assembly for its ministers to draw up topographical descriptions of their presbyteries and thus provide material for the atlas scheme. Although the request was repeated four times, it met with only partial success. By the mid-1640s, Blaeu was increasingly desperate for textual content. Fortunately, in September 1645 Scotstarvit escaped from the Civil War and spent over two months in Amsterdam helping Blaeu directly. By 1647 Blaeu had applied for copyright protection for the *Atlas*, and by 1649 the Dutchman informed Scotstarvit that he was ready to start printing. Sadly, events conspired against them. The execution of King Charles I in January 1649 and the subsequent Cromwellian administration deprived Sir John Scot of his official posts, and war between Britain and Holland (1652–54) acted to halt all progress for five years. Blaeu did not receive full copyright protection for the work until August 1654. Only then were the first copies printed. With some justification, Robert Gordon could write in his prefatory letter, 'Now at last, after many labours endured, the loss of much time and troubles such as the mind shudders to recall, our Scotland is put on view'.



***Scotia Regnum* from Blaeu's *Atlas*.**

All the texts (with one small exception, Pont's notes on the Antonine Wall, and one possible larger one, the list of islands on Loch Lomond) were originally written in Latin, still in 1654 the common language of scholarship in Europe. French, German, Dutch and Spanish editions followed soon after, but rather surprisingly, an English one seems never to have been projected. As the ability to read Latin fluently has steadily declined and threatens to become very rare, the texts have required translation – also a matter of 'much time and troubles' – in order to provide access to them.

Occasionally the texts confirm what is otherwise known about the creation of the *Atlas* or give new information on it. Blaeu tells us in his 'Letter to the Reader' for example, that Sir John Scot sat in his office in Amsterdam and from memory dictated many additions. This is vividly illustrated in the description of Kyle, where Scot's vernacular quotation of the expression 'I bide my time' is taken down by the Dutch clerk as 'Y beyd mijn thijm'. Blaeu's compositors were

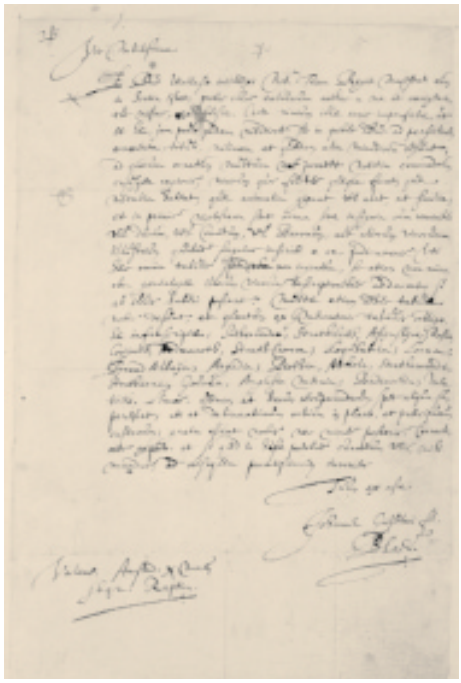


***A portrait of Joan Blaeu* (1598/9–1673), painted between 1645 and 1654 by Samuel von Hoogstraten. This illustration is by permission of the Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam.**

generally excellent, but unfamiliar names occasionally defeat them: misprints such as 'Dalbeith' for 'Dalkeith' and 'planus' for 'Blanus' (the River Blane) could scarcely have gone unnoticed by any Scot and confirm that no proofs were sent to Scotland. On the other hand, that Lauderdale was to be described by its earl (who was prevented from doing so by his capture at the battle of Worcester and subsequent imprisonment) is known only from Blaeu's apology on the matter.

The main interest of the texts lies in their content about Scotland in general and its individual regions. A summary description of the country is taken from Book 1 of George Buchanan's *History*, first published in 1582 (the parts concerning the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland are placed separately), together with the (otherwise unknown and remarkable) versification of it by Andrew Melville, dating from 1604. Robert Gordon discusses a variety of antiquarian matters, frequently taking issue with Camden: the outline and names on Ptolemy's map, the Roman walls, the displacement of Gaelic by Scots, and the identity of Thule. Political, legal and ecclesiastical administration is described, perhaps by Sir John Scot.

In one letter to Scot (10 March 1642, Adv.MS.17.1.9, f.5) Blaeu sets out



Letter from Blaeu to Scot, 17 June 1631. (Adv.MS.17.1.9, f.11)

the information he wishes in the local descriptions: commodities of each region, crops, metals, fauna, etc.; nobility, etc.; genealogies. These are, by and large, what the various authors provided, though the order and the amount of detail vary greatly. To take an example, Robert Gordon's 'New Description of Fife' covers the following topics: name, boundaries and size; soil and farming; woods, rivers, climate; products; harbours; old inhabitants; towns, especially St Andrews and its university; abbeys, etc.; nobility and gentry. Into this have been inserted poems by Arthur Johnston on the coastal towns of Fife and St Andrews.

There is much repetition in and between the various texts, largely due to the circumstances of compilation of the work. The basis for the description of each region is the short passage on it in Camden's *Britannia* (1607 edition). Frequent short additions and updates are due to Sir John Scot. Sometimes that is all that was available. But when fuller descriptions arrived (from Robert Gordon, David Buchanan, the ministers, and others), they were simply appended, despite the fact that the author frequently started from Camden, clearly not expecting his words to appear above his own. For each of Orkney and Shetland there are two base texts, Camden and George Buchanan, and two new texts, one based on each of these. For Sutherland Robert Gordon made extensive use of the manuscript belonging to (but not apparently written by) his namesake, the tutor of the earl. Gordon himself was an inveterate reviser of his own writing (as can be seen from his drafts in Adv.MS.34.2.8), and for Fife two versions of his description have been printed consecutively.

From such evidence, it is clear that Timothy Pont's map making, crucial though it is, was not the only influence upon Blaeu. Three further elements must be recognised. The first is the impetus afforded by the Antwerp-born mapmaker, Abraham Ortelius. The second is the influence of that pioneering work of British historical writing, William Camden's *Britannia*, first published in 1586. Finally, as we have noted, Blaeu drew upon geographical descriptions from several Scots, none a geographer in any formal sense, but each of whom helped provide accounts of parts of the nation.

Geography in the age of Pont and Blaeu was not as we now understand the term. Geographical knowledge then had three main forms: descriptive geography, mathematical geography and chorography. Where geography's concern was the description of the whole world, chorography aimed at regional description. This crucial distinction between geography, the accurate representation of the whole known world, and chorography, the pictorial and written 'impression' of local areas and places was widely used. Why? Because chorography appealed to late Renaissance ideas of intellectual order. More than that, the chorographic/geographic distinction was the most important classifying scheme for maps at that time. And it allowed a standard model of how space should in future be mapped. Chorography worked also through the conjunction of images and written descriptions. Chorography's textual features took several forms, including topographical poetry, for example. Chorography emphasised the local and did so with reference to the genealogies of notable families and to the remarkable features in a place – just those features

James Gordon's map from the Blaeu *Atlas*, showing Sir John Scot's house and estate, Scotstarvit, in Fife.





The Atlas of Scotland was published as volume V of J. Blaeu's *Atlas Novus*.

noted here of the 'New Description of Fife'. Geography, strictly put, followed from and depended upon chorography.

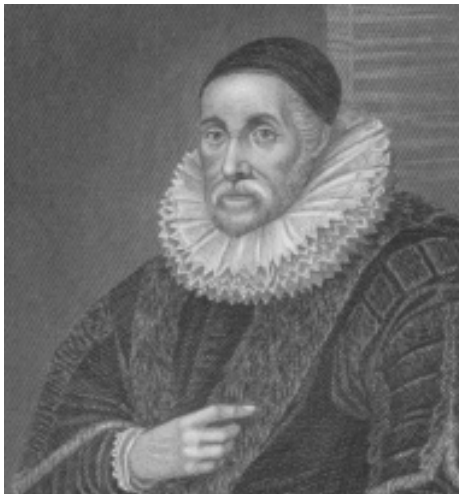
What of the importance to Blaeu's *Atlas* of Abraham Ortelius, who in 1570 had published his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, a comprehensive collection of maps of the world's countries? With its publication the idea of the modern atlas as a bound collection of maps of uniform size was born. The *Theatrum* was immediately successful. From 1625, Joan Blaeu's father, Willem Janszoon Blaeu, acquired the copyright for it. Willem Blaeu had trained under Tycho Brahe, the leading astronomer-mathematician, and through him understood how accurate map making was a means to proper natural and national knowledge. In 1631, Willem Blaeu produced an appendix to Ortelius's *Theatrum,* and, in 1634, published the first volume of his own intended world atlas entitled *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Atlas Novus* – a title which owes obvious homage to Ortelius. This 'new *Atlas*' was the endeavour to which Blaeu was contributing in his 1654 work.

But let us return to Ortelius. Like his contemporaries, Ortelius was interested in regional description, in historical origins and in subjecting ancients' geographical accounts to scholarly scrutiny. These interests were reflected in his *Parergon* (1584), a collection of maps illustrating ancient history, chiefly mainland Europe's Roman legacy. Importantly to our story, it does not

include Britain. Yet in 1577, Ortelius had met the man who would provide an historical and geographical account of Britain – or, to use its correct title as a Roman province, 'Britannia'. That man, encountered only in passing so far, was William Camden.

William Camden was a 35-year-old Oxford-educated schoolmaster when he published *Britannia* in 1586, a historical and geographical description of the British Isles. He did so at Ortelius's prompting, in order to provide coverage of Britain – Roman Britain – hitherto lacking. The work was hugely successful. Later and revised editions appeared throughout Camden's lifetime and long after: the passages relating to Scotland are taken from the much-expanded 1607 Latin edition. Like Blaeu and the *Atlas Novus* in which he is cited, Camden was well connected and his *Britannia* draws upon others' works. In Oxford and in London, he was part of the social and intellectual circles of influential men engaging with the power of geography. These men included John Dee, the alchemist (and the first man to speak of the 'British Empire'). Dee introduced Ortelius and Camden. Camden's circle also included John Stow the topographer and author, in 1599, of the *Survey of London*; Richard Hakluyt the Younger; and Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall, author in 1602 of the *Survey of Cornwall*.

Like the *Atlas Novus*, *Britannia* is a major monument of British and European history and Camden a key figure amongst the *Atlas*'s 'authors'. *Britannia*'s importance in relation to the *Atlas Novus* rests in its method and because it helped further establish chorography as a form of regional geo-historical description. Camden's contribution to the *Atlas* is also important because it is, in several respects, added to and even corrected by Scottish commentators describing their country's geography. That is why the Scottish humanist and historian George Buchanan begins his 1582 *History* with a detailed geographical description. Like others then, Buchanan knew that geography, in the form of chorography, was an essential part of the historical understanding of one's nation. In Blaeu's time, other Scottish men of letters and political influence were producing geographical writings. The manuscript 'Topographical Descriptions relating to Scotland', compiled between 1632 and 1654 by Balfour of Denmilne comes into this category. And had Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit's plan in August 1641 to 'have a description of our Shyredomes'



William Camden, author of *Brittania*.

met with greater success, we would have had more entries in the *Atlas* like those from John MacLellan, a Kirkcudbright minister, who wrote the geographical description of Galloway, and William Forbes of Innerwick who wrote on the Lothians.

Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* is a major work of Dutch publishing and of Scottish geography and history which, as we have demonstrated, should be understood as the result of interrelated European scholarly worlds. For monarchs, ministers, mapmakers, merchants and mathematicians alike, maps were routes to national knowledge. The maps are mainly Pont's or modifications of them by Robert Gordon and others. Much of the descriptive content is taken from Camden and Buchanan. Certain places – Amsterdam, Oxford, London, St Andrews – are more important in its publishing history than others. Certain people are likewise: an English antiquarian (Camden), a Scottish historian (Buchanan), Scots politicians (Balfour of Denmilne, Scot of Scotstarvit), a handful of Scottish chorographers and churchmen (led by Robert Gordon of Straloch) and, not least, a father-and-son firm of Amsterdam publishers.

Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* is a monument to Scotland's up-to-date vision of itself. Scotland really was 'put on view' as never before. Interested readers can 'put Scotland on view' for themselves. The website (http://www.nls.uk/maps) presents a fully searchable electronic facsimile of the entire Blaeu *Atlas* as it relates to Scotland, allowing maps and texts to be searched and browsed in a number of ways. High-resolution, zoomable images are presented, and the whole volume can be accessed with relevant links between maps and texts. Scholarly indexes of place-names and personal names have been compiled, complementing full keyword search possibilities. Related textual materials are also included, such as David Buchanan's description of Midlothian (intended for the *Atlas* but omitted), and the more detailed description of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire by Robert Gordon that only appeared in the 1662 edition of the *Atlas*. Supplementary essays and biographies of the leading figures involved provide further detail on this most remarkable publishing achievement and work of geography.

A small exhibition, *Scotland's First Atlas: the nation displayed by Joan Blaeu*, will run until 31 January 2005 in the Library's George IV Bridge Building.

Maps of Scotland are displayed at http://www.nls.uk/maps on the Library's website.



Note on sources

The National Library of Scotland holds several copies of Blaeu's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, in various languages, including the Scottish volume of the *Atlas Novus* (Vol. V, 1654) and the *Atlas Maior* (Vol. VI, 1662) with Latin text, both at WD.3B. Much of the supporting texts for the *Atlas* and related materials are in the Advocates Manuscripts. David Buchanan's 'Provinciae Edinburgenae descriptio' is Adv.MS.31.6.19, and Sir James Balfour's 'Collections on the Shires' is Adv.MS. 33.2.27. The fifteen letters from Willem and Joan Blaeu to Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit are Adv.MS.17.1.9. Several of Robert Gordon of Straloch's draft descriptions of provinces can be found in the 'Topographical Notices of Scotland', Adv.MS.34.2.8, and transcribed versions of these have been printed in Sir Arthur Mitchell's *Geographical Collections relating to Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane II* (Edinburgh, 1907) SCS. SHS.51-53. The Library has numerous copies of George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* from 1582 onwards. An edition of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum c.*1592, dedicated to William Camden, is at RSGS.45. Copies of the 1607 edition of William Camden's *Britannia* can be found at EU.9.C.1 and Gray.645.

The Hand of the Master?

Scott fakes and facsimiles as souvenirs or scams

Iain Gordon Brown

An American fur-trader and sometime Edinburgh University student, Henry Brevoort, was so pleased to receive a letter from Sir Walter Scott in 1813 acknowledging a present of a book that he had a facsimile of the document produced for circulation to friends. Copies subsequently found their way into many great libraries – which all thought they had the original. Even experts have been fooled by such reproductions. To paraphrase Oscar Wilde, to find one Scott 'autograph letter' is fortunate, but failing to realise that lithographers had been at work sounds like carelessness. Here, the National Library's own Scott expert goes forensic on Scott fakes and facsimiles.

Manuscript letters purporting to be written by Sir Walter Scott, but which are readily identifiable as fakes, are not uncommon. Many are the work of Alexander Howland ('Antique') Smith, who was active towards the end of the nineteenth century and whose career as a faker ended with a prison sentence in 1893. He had specialised in Burns and Scott, whose hands he imitated in a reasonably competent but not entirely convincing way.

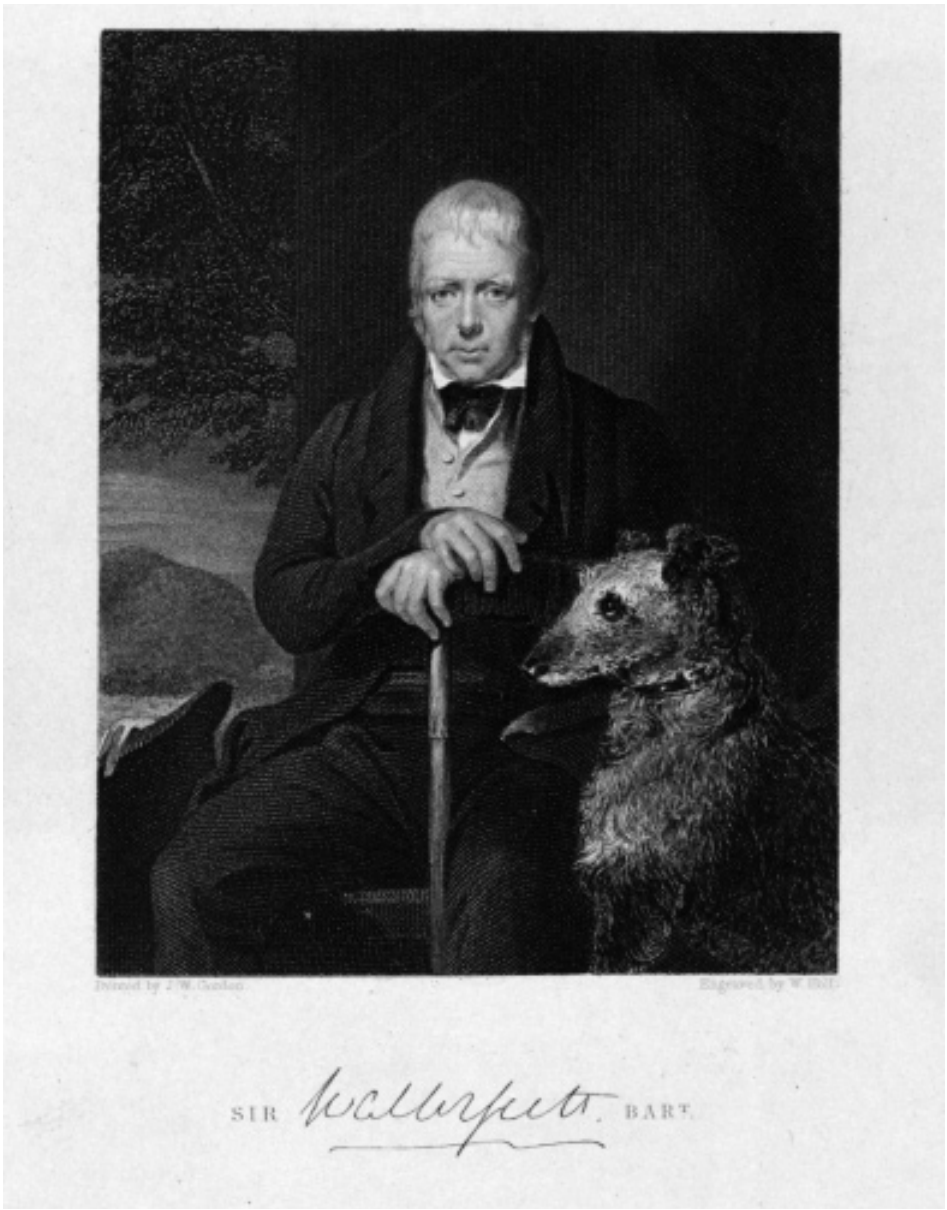
Weaknesses in his method were the persistent reliance on the wrong kind of paper, nibs that were not like those of the purported authors and which behaved differently in use, and a tendency to fold and seal the letters incorrectly. On one or two celebrated occasions distinguished scholars have been forced to eat their mortarboards when it has been demonstrated that certain of their arguments have been based upon documents subsequently proved to be spurious 'Antique' Smith creations.

Smith produced fakes and forgeries, but habitually referred to his productions as 'facsimiles'. In this debatable land, what exactly is the distinction between fake and facsimile, between souvenir and scam? Furthermore, in the field of Scott manuscripts, some 'facsimiles' are more than simply copies or reproductions, for what they offer the reader is actually something not originally or entirely written by the great man or, more accurately, something not originally written in the same form as the specimen offered in supposed 'facsimile'. So the additional question, 'When is a facsimile not a true facsimile?', may also be posed. Particularly interesting is the case of the 'dedication' of the so-called 'Magnum Opus' edition of the Waverley Novels.

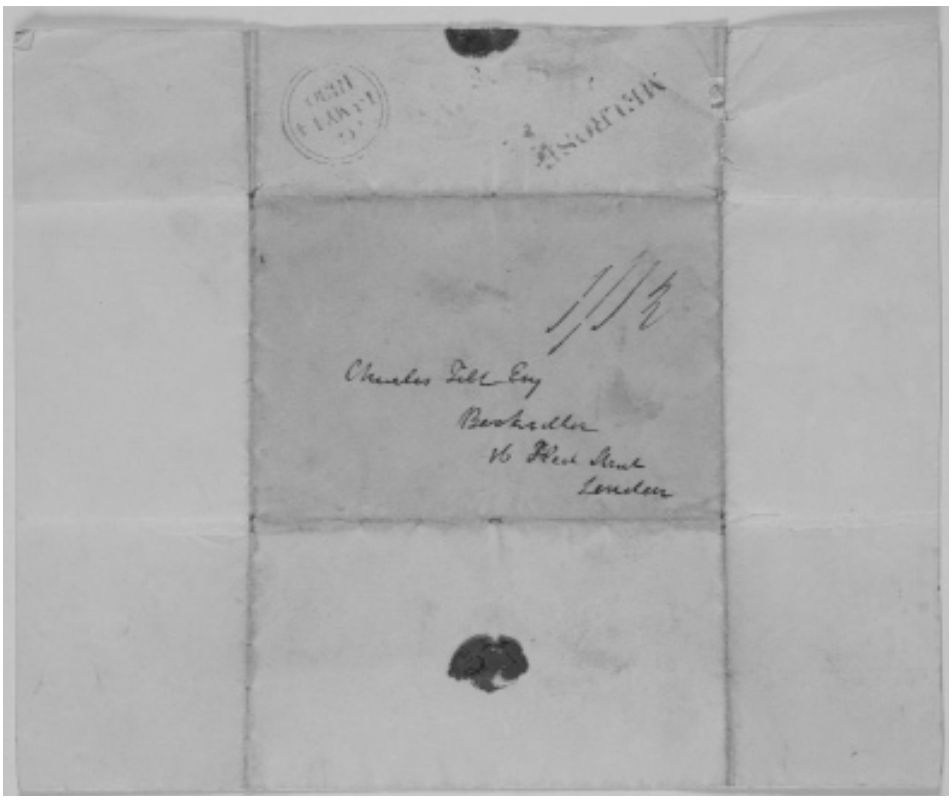
Fakes are clearly intended to deceive, and a commercial motive is almost invariably involved. Letters or verses in the style of the author in question are the most common types of such production. Verisimilitude is conferred if the faker can link his efforts to known and genuine correspondence or poems; but conversely there is commercial mileage in creating an episode otherwise unknown to biography or literary criticism. So, in a fake or forgery, the element of wilful deception is integral to the whole undertaking. A facsimile, on the other hand, is not intended to deceive – though it may indeed do so, albeit unintentionally, and often long after it was made. Times change, and with them our understanding of the market for memorabilia at the period when the facsimile was made. Facsimiles were often produced as illustrations to nineteenth-century 'life and letters' publications. Quite regularly, facsimile signatures derived from letters appear below portrait engravings. A Victorian periodical, *The Autographic Mirror* (EL.4.83.1), was intended to build up into a comprehensive 'paper museum' of hands, to satisfy the natural curiosity of readers. Scott is represented by several diverse examples; in addition to letters, gobbets from novel manuscripts were chosen for inclusion, seemingly without any apparent significance in the selection of text extract. Sometimes facsimiles have a permanent value, in that they may preserve the only surviving memory of a particular manuscript originial.

One Scott facsimile in particular causes a problem, and to that I shall turn presently. But first I must mention a peculiar instance of a Scott facsimile which still regularly deceives on account of the excellence of its production and the exceedingly cunning way it was conceived and executed.

In the spring of 1830, the London publisher Charles Tilt sent Scott a copy of the first number of his new work, *Landscape Illustrations of the Waverley Novels*, and received a short but courteous acknowledgement. Tilt evidently recognised in this a potential opportunity to puff his publication, making as it might seem a sort of unofficial endorsement of the work and a testimonial from the Author of Waverley himself. So, immediately after Sir Walter's death in September 1832, the enterprising Tilt produced a lithographed facsimile, which, with a slightly later reprint, has proved to be the most pernicious Scott 'autograph letter' in existence. Produced as a marketing ploy, it was never released with any intention to deceive; in fact it seems to have been distributed by Tilt to his better customers. Today even dealers and auction houses are fooled by the excellence of the facsimile. Does this, then, constitute a copy or a fake? The National Library of Scotland acquired the original letter (at least I think we acquired the original!) in 1988 (MS. 23141, ff. 9-10). The paper is watermarked 1827, entirely consistent with something Scott wrote in 1830. Tilt's lithographer had made the mistake of producing his facsimile on paper watermarked 1831 and subsequently 1832, facts incompatible with a document purportedly written in 1830. Tilt had the two postmarks copied exactly (though, in the original, one is in black and the other red ink: some of the facsimiles reproduce both in black), and even went to the length of having a red wax seal, broken as if opened on receipt, attached to the address sheet. (This seal is the real give-away because, though it was evidently individually applied to each



John Watson Gordon's portrait of Scott was painted for Robert Cadell in 1830 and was first engraved by John Horsburgh. In this later version by W. Holl, a facsimile signature of the sitter has been inserted between the typeset words 'Sir' and 'Bart.'. (MS. 23060, f. 19). Many nineteenth-century portrait engravings were ornamented with facsimiles of handwriting derived from letters. They satisfied a natural curiosity to know what a great man's hand looked like.



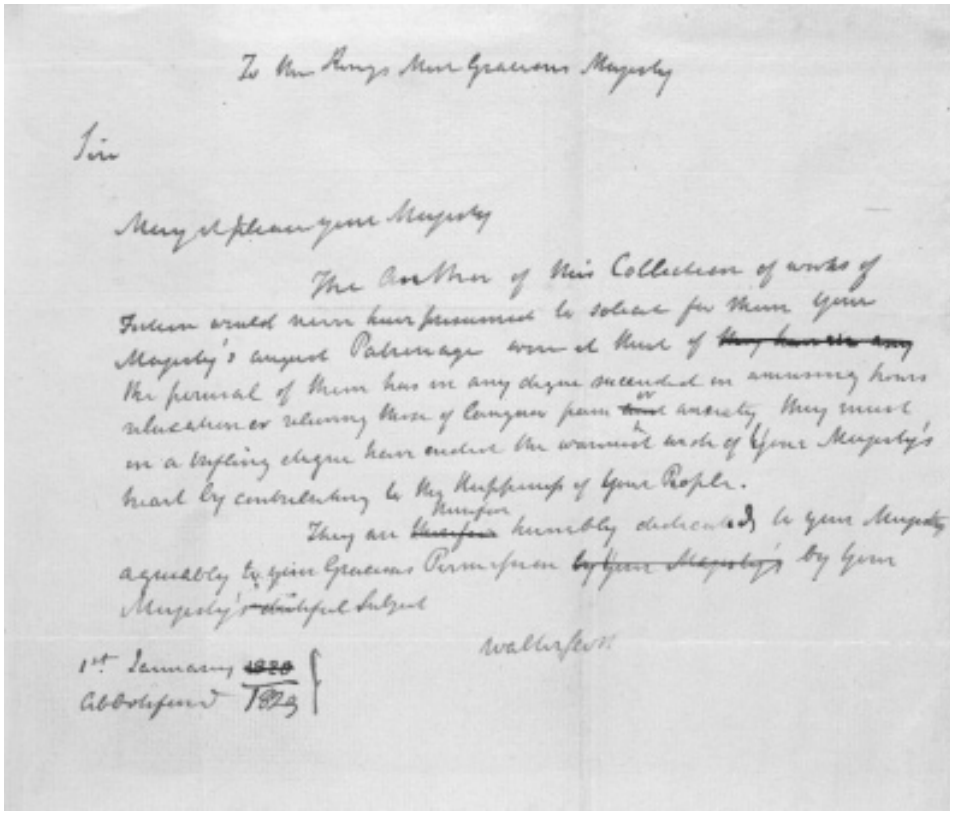
An example of the facsimile of the Tilt letter, showing the address panel, false red wax seal, reproduction postal marks (both in black rather than one red, one black) and artificial dust staining. (Acc.12101)

facsimile, it is invariably larger than Scott's original drop of wax. The paper of the real letter has been torn in the action of opening the seal, whereas in the facsimiles the wax seals have merely been applied rather than serving a serious if transient purpose.) The outer address panel is artificially dirtied and dust-darkened along its folds in a convincing if perhaps rather overdone way, though in the later printing this almost-too-good-to-be-true detail is omitted. One feature not present in the facsimiles is the barely discernible offsetting of 'Mr Charles Tilt/ Bookseller', which feature is visible in the original where Scott has folded his paper before the ink was quite dry on these last words. Certain of the letter-forms in the facsimiles show a closing-up of loops, indicators all of the reproductive methods used.

To bring the viewer close to the mind and spirit of the writer was certainly the motivation behind the production of a later 'facsimile' of Scott's holograph dedication to King George IV of the 'Magnum Opus' edition of 1829. The vicissitudes of the 'Magnum' dedicatory leaf are indicative of the immense popularity of Scott immediately before and for many years after his death.

On 11 May 1828 Scott recorded in his journal that, having dined with the King, he had spoken to His Majesty's Private Secretary, Sir William Knighton, 'about the dedication of the collected works'. Knighton had indicated that the suggestion would be 'highly well taken'. At the end of that year, Scott composed the royal dedication and sent it, along with other copy for the new edition of the Waverley Novels (which was by this time known to all involved as the 'Magnum Opus') to his publisher, Robert Cadell. On 18 May 1829 the first volume of the new edition was sent to the King at Windsor.

The Dedication appeared in the first volume of the Magnum *Waverley*, after the title-page and before the Advertisement: a handsome piece of



To the Kings most Gracious Majesty

Sir

May it please your Majesty

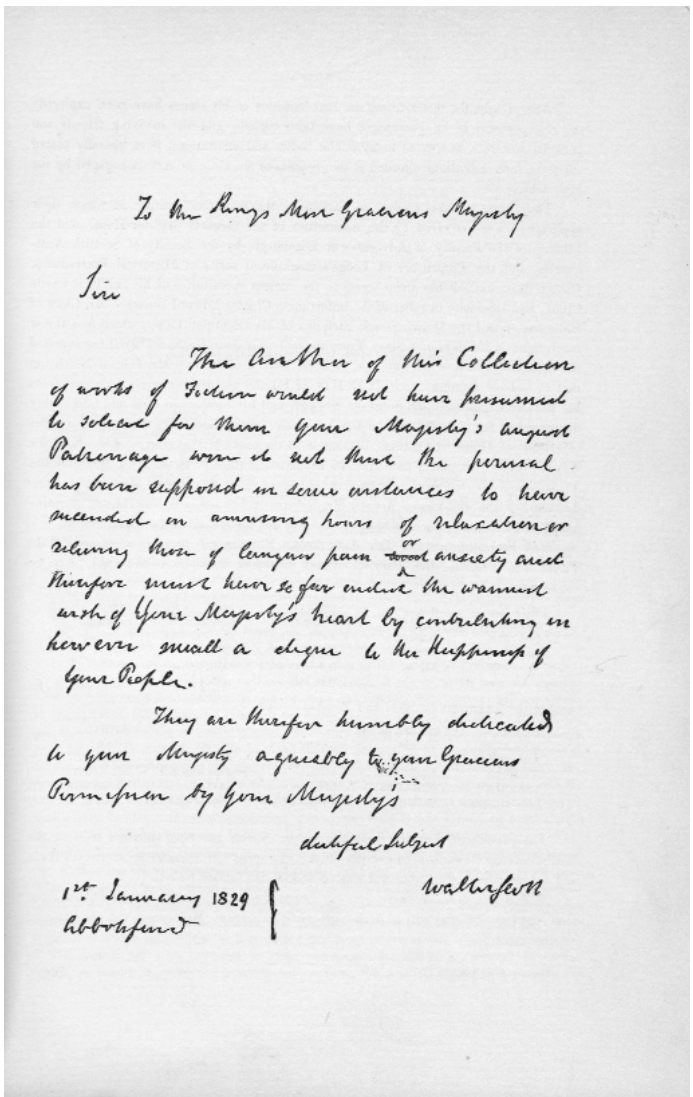
The Author of this Collection of works of Fiction would never have presumed to solicit for them your Majesty's august Patronage were it not that the perusal has been supposed in some instances to have amended an amusing hours of relaxation or relieving those of languor pain or anxiety they must in a trifling degree have endeared the warmest wish of your Majesty's heart by contributing to the happiness of your People.

They are therefore humbly dedicated to your Majesty agreeably to your Gracious Permission by your Majesty's dutiful subject

walterscott

1st January 1829
Abbotsford

The autograph manuscript of Scott's dedication to the King of the 'Magnum Opus' edition of the Waverley Novels, published between 1829 and 1833 (MS. 23001, f. 4). Scott's mental and physical infirmities are painfully obvious.



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walterscott

1st January 1829
Abbotsford

Scott's dedication of the 'Magnum Opus' as reproduced in 'facsimile' in the first volume of Cadell's Abbotsford Edition (Edinburgh 1842). The original text has been radically but silently altered, and the layout changed. (Hall.185.a.2)

steel-engraving by William Home Lizars in which the florid royal title at the head of the Dedicatory Epistle was balanced by the facsimile signature of Scott at its end. Cadell preserved an interesting paper relating to this signature. Scott had come to his shop in St Andrew Square one day in March 1829 to provide a specimen autograph for engraving. This was thought too stiff and stilted, and Cadell, in annotating the sheet bearing the specimen, commented that the facsimile, as published, 'was taken off the free running signature of a letter'. (At the same time, 'as a bit of fun' – not something one associates with Robert Cadell – Scott was persuaded to sign the paper additionally in his customary style used on court documents as Clerk of Session, 'WScott' [sic]. Cadell observed that an American visitor had once read this as 'Whop'!)

What concerns us here is the way the autograph manuscript of the dedication was presented to a public which bought various editions of the Waverley Novels throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. For, in time, and in order to convey a feeling of immediacy, the publishers included in their books what appears to be a facsimile of the original dedicatory letter to the King. Yet in fact what they printed was a fabrication, which is itself a bibliographical curiosity of some interest. The autograph manuscript of the dedication is bound into the first volume of the famous Interleaved Set of the Waverley Novels (MS. 23001). It is a sad and pathetic object. The evidence of Scott's mental confusion and physical deterioration is apparent: there are messy alterations, excisions, slips of the pen, repetitions and ungrammatical constructions. Clearly reproduction of the manuscript in facsimile would have done Sir Walter's shrewd and hard-headed publisher no service. Cadell was acutely aware that Scott was a valuable, money-making commodity. The public must not know that his powers were failing, that the Waverley stream of romance might soon dry up, and that with that the profits from his over-worked brain would be curtailed or even stopped. Hence the engraved version of Scott's epistle. But when Scott was dead these evidences of his enfeebled condition as he strove valiantly to clear his debts and pay his creditors could be seen only as touching and affecting. What had formerly repelled or appalled was, in retrospect, and in a perverse way, attractive and even a selling-point. A brisk trade developed in Scott memorabilia, and scraps of manuscript

were collected rather like holy relics. That, after all, was why the autograph manuscript of *Waverley* was presented to the Advocates' Library in 1850: the donor could not trust himself not to tear out more leaves to give away. So to market Scott, as it were, with all his faults, might now be good posthumous image-making PR. Thus when Cadell began to issue the Waverley Novels with a facsimile of the autograph dedication he was tapping into a vein of sentiment that betokens a wish to get near to Scott the man, with all the failings of age and infirmity and ill-health evident in his faltering hand and egregious errors.

But matters are not so simple. Readers of editions from 1842 onwards who encountered the facsimile dedication cannot have imagined that what they held in their hands was anything but a reproduction of an original they could not examine. No deception was being perpetrated. However, when copies began to circulate separately from the accompanying letterpress the trouble began. These still fool private individuals, tyro collectors and even dealers. And there is more. The 'facsimile' first produced by the opportunistic Robert Cadell in his Abbotsford Edition in 1842 was not in fact a true facsimile at all, for it offers up a text never originally created by Scott in 1828.

Cadell's Magnum Edition had been aimed at 'the less opulent classes of the community'. The Abbotsford, however, was to be 'of a different character'. The prefatory notice states: 'This is the age of graphically illustrated Books; and it remained to affix to these Works… such Engraved Embellishments as, had the Author himself been now alive, his personal tastes and resources would most probably have induced him to place before students of antiquity and lovers of art.' Scott had been a famous collector of objects which illustrated historical events and personalities. The Abbotsford Edition would present an album of images of these objects in order to illustrate the body of Scott's fiction. Great emphasis was laid on faithful copying of originals, in contrast to the 'fancy and ingenuity' previously employed in the illustration of Scott. Yet the irony is that, despite this stress on authenticity and on drawing from the ultimate source, Cadell's whole grand new project begins with a fabrication. For the royal dedication, listed as a wood engraving 'Fac-simile of Sir Walter Scott's Handwriting', drawn by W. Dickes and engraved by John Greenaway (father of the famous Victorian artist, Kate), does not reproduce what Scott actually wrote some years previously. Comparison of the original manuscript and the 1842 'facsimile' demonstrates the point. On a textual level Scott's rather rambling sentiments have been modified and sharpened, and a note of verbal and grammatical economy has been introduced. Aesthetically the look of the piece has been much improved by the silent removal of some (though not all: one has been left in for 'authenticity's' sake) of Scott's excisions and corrections. Line length has been shortened, the better to accommodate the manuscript to the format of the printed page. The small piece of offsetting visible towards the foot of the letter, caused by Scott's folding his paper with the ink on the date still wet, has been preserved, again for the sake of 'authenticity', though the most distinct of these intrusive marks has been removed in the facsimile's 'dutiful subject…' subscription. Altogether there is a host of differences between autograph and 'reproduction': some twenty-two words have been cut; twenty words have been supplied, either by copying from elsewhere other examples of Scott's writing of these same words, or by skilful fabrication; a few words or phrases have been transported into other places in the text, which has been joined together as seamlessly as was technically possible. All in all, this is a remarkable example of the engraver's art, which leads one to recall Ross Roy's observation (in the context of the silent emendation of Burns's texts in the course of transmission down the years) that 'even nineteenth-century engraved facsimiles have been made in such a way that a deletion is not apparent.' The possibilities for distortion of original manuscripts in facsimile reproduction was evidently not one that had occurred to Thomas Frognall Dibdin on his celebrated 'bibliographical, antiquarian and picturesque' tour to Edinburgh in 1838, when he remarked on a reproduction of part of *Marmion* in Cadell's possession: 'The fidelity of this lithographic copy cannot be surpassed.'

The Abbotsford Edition also boasted 'Fac-similes' of Scott handwriting at various other points. That at the head of the first chapter of *Waverley* is a fabrication, made up from one or other occurrence of the name of [Edward] Waverley in the novel manuscript, the subtitle 'or 'tis sixty years since' being in some way mocked-up by the engraver as the phrase does not, in fact, occur in the surviving portion of the manuscript extant in 1842. On taking over the Scott copyrights the firm of A. & C. Black re-used the 'cod' dedication in their Library Edition *Waverley* volume of 1852; and though this 'facsimile' was dropped for Black's 1871 Centenary Edition, the mock-up 'Waverley/or 'tis/ sixty years since' headpiece reappears, this time attractively set as part of a decorative engraving of the 'bear gates' of the mansion of Tully-Veolan. The excellent catalogue of the Scott Centenary exhibition of 1871, so rich in original materials, prints the first true facsimile of the autograph dedication as a photolithographic reproduction opposite page 130 of the second volume. This was taken from the manuscript in the first volume of the Interleaved Set, then in the possession of A. & C. Black. Yet oddly some later editions of the Waverley Novels, notably the Melrose Edition published in London by the Caxton Company and in Edinburgh by T.C. & E.C. Jack (1898) revert to the 1842 Cadell pseudo-facsimile. It is copies of this, some still bound into their cheap trade bindings and for all their obvious look of the printed reproduction on incorrect paper, which still today deceive the hopeful owner of 'a Scott manuscript' – with all its suggestions of money, and the magic of a great name.

Note on sources

Fake? The Art of Deception edited by Mark Jones (London 1990: GBE.1), the catalogue of a major British Museum exhibition, is instructive on all aspects of the subject of forgeries. *Fakes and Frauds. Varieties of Deception in Print & Manuscript*, edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester 1989: H3.89.4247) focuses on (mainly older and mainly printed) literary deceptions. J.A. Farrer, *Literary Forgeries* (London 1907: T.162.e) has a chapter on forged letters by famous authors. On 'Antique' Smith see William Roughead, *The Riddle of the Ruthvens and Other Studies* (Edinburgh 1936: X.171.e). The article by T.J. Brown, 'The Detection of Faked Literary MSS', *The Book Collector*, 2 (1953), pp. 6–23 is fundamental (HJ.3.1191). The entry on 'Facsimiles and Fakes' in John Carter, *ABC for Book Collectors*, 7th edition by Nicolas Barker (London, 1994: SU.35) offers a useful summary. On Scott's 'Magnum Opus' see Jane Millgate, *Scott's Last Edition* (Edinburgh 1987: H2.87.961). For the history of Scott collecting in the National Library of Scotland see Iain Gordon Brown, 'Collecting Scott for Scotland, 1850–2000', *The Book Collector*, 49 (2000), pp. 502–34.

A Guarantee and a Slogan

James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, no ordinary sculptor

LOUISE BOREHAM

The unexpected discovery is one of the joys of research. Louise Boreham had few leads about the life of her sculptor grandfather until she delved into manuscript collections at the Library and experienced that 'eureka' moment. She learned among other things that he had crossed swords with the larger than life sculptor-poet, James Pittendrigh Macgillivray (1856–1938), whose work includes the Gladstone Memorial, the statue of John Knox in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, and the Robert Burns Monument in Irvine.

My grandfather Louis Reid Deuchars (1870–1927) left a frustratingly meagre paper trail and because the family had scant evidence of his career I had to turn to other sources such as the National Library. On one foray I decided to hunt for clues among the papers of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray, a contemporary sculptor.

It was a daunting prospect to be faced with the index to the 223 files of Macgillivray's papers. Letters to and from other artists proved fascinating, but there was nothing from my grandfather. I moved on to material relating to work Macgillivray was doing at the time Deuchars came to Edinburgh. This proved to be the Gladstone Memorial, now in Coates Crescent Gardens. Although Macgillivray said that he never employed assistants, these records told a different story. Before me was evidence that grandfather had started work on one of the large female figures in December 1908. Unfortunately, his engagement only lasted three weeks, despite a reference from F.W. Pomeroy: 'I… have heard that he is a good hard working fellow and one willing to do what he is told.' Macgillivray's other assistants received similar short shrift: only one lasted for as long as a year.

My grandmother had spoken of a 'Jimmy Deas' who owed her husband money. The significance of this story now dawned on me. My suspicions were confirmed when I read Macgillivray's curt comment regarding my grandfather: 'I placed his case in the hands of A. Menzies, W.S., Rutland Street, who settled him.'

Once I had culled everything of relevance to my grandfather, that could have been the end of my interest in Macgillivray's papers, but I was then asked to write a piece about the Gladstone memorial.

His autobiographical notes claiming 'Highland extraction' and descent from a Jacobite 'who was out in the '45' demonstrate a fierce pride in his family history. He was born on 30 May 1856 in Port Elphinstone, near Inverurie, Aberdeenshire, to Margaret Pittendrigh and William Macgillivray, a sculptor and monumental mason. The family moved to Edinburgh around 1865 so that his father could take up employment in the studio of William Brodie. In 1869, James was apprenticed to Brodie for six years and at fifteen he entered the Board of Manufactures Art School in the Royal Scottish Academy building on the Mound. He studied water-colour, but fell out with the tutor in the antique drawing class and left aged seventeen. This was the only formal art education he received in his life. Nonetheless he had work shown in the RSA from 1872 to 1876. At the end of his apprenticeship he moved to Glasgow to work under James Steel, modeller. Then he was with John Mossman, sculptor, for two years. After a brief, unsuccessful sojourn in London, he returned to Glasgow, where he took a studio in Bath Street. In 1886 he went back to London and, while there, married Frieda Rettig Röhl, a German painter. At his studio in Chelsea he specialised in medallions and busts, but commercial success did not materialise. Back in Glasgow in 1888, Macgillivray became first manager of the *Scottish Art Review*, a short-lived Scottish version of *The Studio*. That same year, he was a founder of the 'Glasgow Boys'. The only sculptor in the group, he prided himself on his involvement and felt piqued if journalists failed to accord him due mention; he would upbraid editors, leaving them in no doubt as to what he perceived as the crucial significance of his role.



Pittendrigh Macgillivray lost in a book. (Dep.349/219 picture 5)

At that time west coast artists felt that their colleagues in the east held too many of the senior positions in the Royal Scottish Academy. Macgillivray was delighted to be elected an associate in 1892 and a member four years later. Commissions rolled in, and with them a comfortable income. This influenced the couple's decision to settle in Edinburgh in 1894, by which time they had two daughters, Ina and Ehrna. Macgillivray designed and built a substantial house at the top of Murrayfield Road, with an adjacent, spacious studio. Then personal tragedy struck. Frieda died in 1910 and Ina seven years later, aged only thirty. Among Macgillivray's papers is a testimonial to his family affections: a hand-sewn volume, largely in typescript, including family photographs and some of Frieda's letters, usually signed 'Your own Rhet'. Macgillivray's tribute to her describes their last outing:

Away into the country we went in the sunshine – saw the gathering of the corn, the golden stooks, and the ruddy colouring of the Autumn on the trees; more splendid



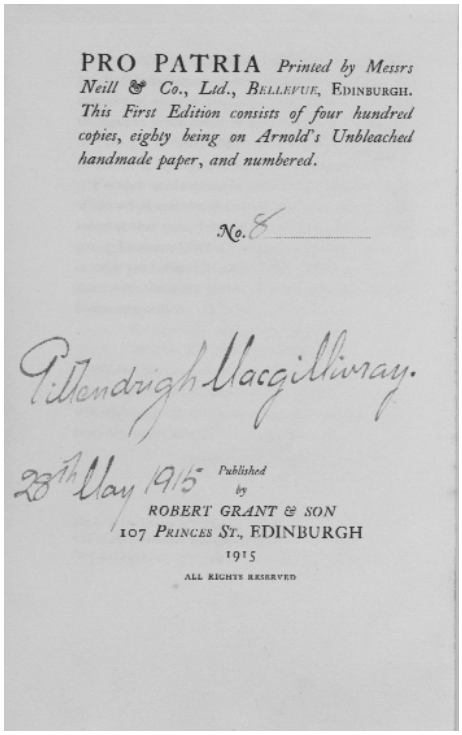
Pittendrigh Macgillivray's bookplate. (Dep.349/165)

than it had been for many years in this part. It was all beautiful! – a fine moment for one who had loved and painted landscape, as she had, to take farewell of the outer world – and her last outing it proved. … (how quiet she was, what long dreamlike memories were passing with the landscape we drove by – we scarcely spoke – her hand in mine). (Dep.349/219)

Sculpture commissions virtually dried up after 1920 and Macgillivray seems to have become an increasingly curmudgeonly old man. But, ever resourceful, he turned to prints, zincographs, paintings and photographs of his work. Macgillivray wrote poetry in Scots and English, which he published privately: *Pro Patria* appeared in 1915 and *Bog-Myrtle and Peat Reek* in 1922. Among his papers is a collection of eighty 'Sonnets in Petrarchan form dated … 1898 to 1934'; but it appears that only twelve typed editions were produced.

A strong Scottish Nationalist, Macgillivray corresponded with Christopher Grieve (Hugh MacDiarmid), who declared in a letter to *The Scottish Educational Journal*, July 1925, that he was 'by far our best complement to Burns as a vernacular poet' and extolled Macgillivray's achievements as an artist:

… let him be seen as the founder and fountainhead of a truly national school of sculpture and as one of the most delightful, versatile, bracing and vital artists Scotland has ever possessed and lamentably misprized, despite a certain amount of lip-service, and as a giant among pygmies so far as all his self-conceived rivals in the Art of


PRO PATRIA *Printed by Messrs Neill & Co., Ltd., Bellevue, Edinburgh. This First Edition consists of four hundred copies, eighty being on Arnold's Unbleached handmade paper, and numbered.*

No. 8

Pittendrigh Macgillivray.

23th May 1915

Published by
ROBERT GRANT & SON
107 *Princes St.*, EDINBURGH
1915
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

***Pro Patria* was issued in a limited edition of 400 copies, signed by the author. (Dep349/186)**

Sculpture today are concerned. Pittendrigh Macgillivray – the very name is a guarantee and a slogan! He will assuredly come into his own yet!

MacDiarmid was 'strongly attracted by Macgillivray's energy and force of personality', as Alan Bold has pointed out in his *Letters*.

It looks as if personal vanity as much as nationalist politics drove Macgillivray's attempts to revive the office of H. M. Sculptor-in-Ordinary for Scotland, which had been in abeyance for decades. The campaign was ostensibly organised by G. Emslie Troup on behalf of the St Andrews Society, but the representation to the Secretary of State for Scotland was actually drafted by Macgillivray. With supreme confidence in his own self-worth, he made the case for his appointment to the office:

… there has recently been erected in the Capital of Scotland a national monument to Mr. Gladstone. In unveiling that Memorial in January 1917, Lord Rosebery eulogised it as 'a noble monument'; and the general opinion of those competent to judge, is that the work is the most important and artistic manifestation of Monumental Sculpture which has yet been produced in Scotland. The designer and artist of the work is Mr. Pittendrigh Macgillivray, R.S.A., LL.D. a widely known artist of varied ability and high reputation, and one who within and outside the artistic profession would at once be acknowledged as the chief representative of his Art in Scotland. (Dep.349/101)

Signature slips in support of the campaign were sent out to the great and the good, with bulk supplies dispatched to Dundee and Aberdeen to avoid any accusation of favour towards the central belt. However, despite all this effort and expense, the original submission was rejected on 30 December 1919. Macgillivray immediately drafted a furious retort, asserting there to be

… an impression that pains have been taken to deny and annul this little mark of Sovereign favour towards the Art of Sculpture in Scotland, either on the ground of some petty economy as Scotland is usually made the victim of by English officials; or because there is considered to be no one in Scotland as distinguished in Sculpture as the Limner in Painting or the Historiographer in History. (Dep.349/101)

Troup tried to persuade Macgillivray to leave further representations to the St Andrews Society, but that would have gone against the grain. He was still stinging two years later when he was offered a Civil List Pension of £75. In a letter written to Lord Carmichael in spring 1921 he launched a tirade:

… why is this granted separate from the title which ought to go with it and give it dignity? – a dignity which is my due both for my work in and on behalf of Sculpture in Scotland, during the last 30 years? – Why should it be made half an act of charity to my circumstances? (Dep.349/101)

Macgillivray's self promotion was finally rewarded. In June his appointment as Sculptor in Ordinary to His Majesty for Scotland was confirmed. Despite the fact that the honour came with no remuneration and Macgillivray had to pay stamp duty on the Warrant, he wrote immediately to accept. The announcement brought considerable press coverage and a flood of letters of congratulation, all preserved among his papers.

This was all highly gratifying, but money remained an issue and the lack of a Civil List pension rankled. In 1933 he complained to the RSA about the honorarium of £98 a year received by D.Y. Cameron as HM Limner for Scotland:

He is very well off. His Art achievement is off [sic] little moment compared to mine, and he has given little public service.' (Dep.349/92)



Frieda Macgillivray with her daughters. (Dep.349/219 picture 14)



A family snap showing Ina and Ehrna Macgillivray with dogs. (Dep.349/219 picture 3)

Macgillivray also felt slighted that the Royal appointment brought no commission from the King.

He frequently lamented having had to sell his house. The Valuation Rolls of Edinburgh and Midlothian show that ownership of Ravelston Elms passed to the 4th Marquess of Bute in 1917, with Macgillivray continuing to live there as tenant until the end of his life. His relationship with the Bute family appears to date from when he was working on statues for the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, a building whose progress was closely followed by the 3rd Marquess. His son's philanthropic gesture towards Macgillivray was no surprise to me, since my own grandfather had been helped financially by him. Although he carped to friends about his treatment by his landlord, Macgillivray was not above writing obsequious letters to him. In 1933 Bute asked if he wanted to dispose of his 'fine collection' of old tartans, because the Marquess wanted to get ideas for a tapestry being woven at the Dovecot Studio for Mount Stuart (the family home on Bute). Macgillivray replied that he could reluctantly let his Lordship have the collection for £200. He concluded

… with gratitude to the generous spirit you have shown in allowing me to remain here rent free, and I want you to know that I take great care of the place and keep the garden in perfect order. (Dep.349/109)

During his latter years, an exhibition organised by Alexander Reid & Lefèvre in Glasgow in 1927 resulted in some sales, but Macgillivray grumbled that the dealer had done little to promote his work. His old friend, Thomas Corsan Morton, then curator of Kirkcaldy Art Gallery, allowed him to have a loan exhibition there in 1928, but sales were disappointing. An exhibition in Edinburgh at Parson's Galleries in 1930 later transferred to his own studio and was still available in 1933, when he was urging Lord Bute to come and see it. Macgillivray must have been struggling financially, but, in addition to the money from the Civil List, he was also in receipt of pensions from the RSA and the Nasmyth Fund. However, his spirit was unbowed. In 1937, his response to a letter from Alfred Longden in London was as biting as ever:

If anyone knowing Scotland, and me, and my position in the Country in relation to the Art of Sculpture ever had the least idea that I would send photographs of my work to London and to the studio of Reid Dick, for adjudication by him and a sub-committee of a Glasgow (Empire) exhibition:- they were vastly mistaken! (Dep.349/107)

My own feelings towards Macgillivray are equivocal. I respect him for his ability as a sculptor, yet he could display breathtaking arrogance. This manifests time and again through the papers deposited in the Library. I would find myself thinking: the sheer cheek of the man! He often referred to his humble origins with pride, but the fact that he was not born into privilege perhaps engendered a certain resentment towards the Scottish establishment and drove his brash insistence that the world should accord his achievements due respect. My view of him is coloured by his attitude towards my grandfather. After his brief stint with Macgillivray, Deuchars went on to work with the architect Robert Lorimer, who gave him a commission for a large war memorial group that Macgillivray doubtless thought should have been his. This provoked a venomous vendetta against the architect and my grandfather, which Macgillivray continued long after both had died. However, the 'hand-sewn volume' devoted to the memory of Macgillivray's wife and daughter does reveal a softer private aspect.

Macgillivray died on 2 May 1938, aged nearly 82. He was buried in the graveyard of Gogar church, beside his wife and daughters. When he chose the 'quaint picturesque place, on rising ground by a slow stream, and beside a little chapel of XIII century days', he little dreamed of the adjacent multi-lane highway now disturbing the peace. He must be birlin!

Note on sources

The papers and publications of James Pittendrigh Macgillivray are mostly to be found in his considerable deposit, Dep.349, but there are also some accessions: Acc.2920, Acc.3328, Acc.3501, Acc.5656 Acc.7534, Acc.10477 and Acc.11224/1. Also available are his two poetry collections, *Pro Patria*, 1915 (R.25.c) and *Bog-myrtle and Peat Reek: Verse mainly in the North and South country dialects of Scotland*, 1922 (X.191.a), and seven items of ephemera – speeches on art and Immortal Memories. *The Letters of Hugh MacDiarmid* edited with an introduction by Alan Bold (Lit.S.33.M) reproduces several friendly letters from MacDiarmid to Macgillivray, whom he liked and respected. Jennifer Melville's *Pittendrigh Macgillivray* (HP3.88.535), the catalogue of an exhibition held at Aberdeen Art Gallery in 1988, provides a well-illustrated account of the artist's life and work, while Louise Boreham's paper on 'The Gladstone Memorial' appears in *Dangerous Ground: Sculpture in the City*, Scottish Sculpture Trust, 1999 (HP3.200.0792). The Library also has the monthly periodical, the *Scottish Art Review*, which ran from June 1888 to December 1889 (Q.53).

The Alluring Archive of John Murray

Reflections of a researcher

BILL ZACHS

Backed by the Scottish Executive, the National Library of Scotland is pursuing with energy and commitment the opportunity to acquire the John Murray Archive. The Heritage Lottery Fund will announce its decision on the Library's application early in 2005. Integration of the archive into the Library's collections will enhance understanding of the cultural history of Britain and its empire in the last 200 years, a point emphasised in this article by Bill Zachs, biographer of the 'first' John Murray in the great publishing dynasty.

The House of Murray is undoubtedly best known as the publisher of Lord Byron, so much so that Byron's Murray is sometimes mistakenly regarded as its founder. In fact, the business was established a generation earlier, in 1768 – Byron would not be born for twenty years – by Edinburgh-born John Murray and run by him until his death in 1793. His son entered the business soon after and, with Byron and other notable authors in his lists, achieved prominence and made a small fortune.

While few researchers have come to the Murray Archive in London to delve into the eighteenth-century period, the materials for these early years of the firm's history offer a rich and unique record of the culture of the past.

Nearly twenty years ago, while a post-graduate student at Edinburgh University, I first visited the Murray Archive at 50 Albemarle Street in London in search of material about the Scottish historian Gilbert Stuart (1743–86). As hardly anyone had heard of this shadowy figure, who lurked on the darker side of the so-called Scottish Enlightenment, he seemed like an appealing choice for a doctoral dissertation. It was amazing to learn that Stuart's publisher, John Murray, was still in business after more than 200 years.

Stuart challenged the opinions of many of the leading writers of the day, including David Hume and William Robertson. As a literary critic and historian, he wrote in a politicised and personalised manner that was uncharacteristic of the generally well-mannered Georgian society in which he lived. Stuart's sharp mind – admired by Boswell among others – earned him respect, but his contentious approach secured his reputation as a trouble-maker.

An anecdote about Stuart in *Calamities of Authors: Including some Inquiries respecting their Moral and Literary Characters,* 1812, first alerted me to the possibility that some of Stuart's letters to Murray might survive. In this collection of twenty-seven essays on copyright, criticism, satire and literary genius, Isaac Disraeli included an account of Stuart: 'Literary Hatred: Exhibiting a Conspiracy against an Author', in which he quoted letters of Stuart to the first John Murray – letters he had borrowed from the publisher's archive. 'In the peaceful walks of literature', he wrote, 'we are startled at discovering genius with the mind, and, if we conceive the instrument it guides to be a stiletto, with the hand of an assassin – irascible, vindictive, armed with the indiscriminate satire, never pardoning the merit of rival genius.'

Stuart's trail led me to the Murray Archive, but not without a detour.

The address for John Murray given in the imprint of Gilbert Stuart's works is 32 Fleet Street. This shop, however, is no longer home to the publishing house. (It is now a Starbucks.) In 1812, when he was well established, the second John Murray left Fleet Street for the more fashionable West End, settling in at 50 Albemarle Street, the first one-way street in London. It was to this address that I wrote in the hope of finding Stuart's letters and from which I received a reply from the archivist, Virginia Murray, inviting me to visit.

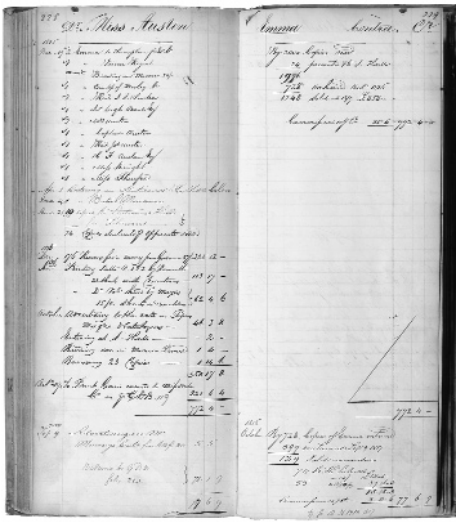
Everyone who walks into the drawing rooms at Number 50 feels something special. It is the power and continuity of history – the cultural history of Britain, and far beyond its shores, over two centuries. Since Murray's arrival in 1812, the impressive public rooms have only been redecorated once. Fine portraits of literary giants, such as Byron, Walter Scott, and Washington Irving, and of the heads of the publishing house, line walls covered in splendid gilt-embossed wallpaper. Shelf after shelf of Murray publications surround the visitor in a shrine to words and ideas. The list of authors who discussed their works in these rooms with generations of Murrays and who left a record of their contributions in the archive downstairs dazzles and even confounds the imagination.

Here, I thought to myself, is a splendid place to do some research. Here too was a busy office, doing what it had done so well for centuries: publishing books.

The archivist, Virginia Murray, greeted me, and soon after the formidable John (Jock) G. Murray, the sixth in the line, strode through the room and asked, 'What brings you to Murray's?' I stumbled an answer and cowered whenever he appeared.



Portrait of Gilbert Stuart by John Donaldson, this being the frontispiece to the 1805 edition (A.107.b) of Stuart's *History of the Establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, first published in 1780.



An account book showing details relating to Jane Austen's *Emma*, 1815–16; from the John Murray Archive.

However, it was impossible not to overhear his conversation with an author in an adjacent room that morning – and a meeting with his editorial team in the afternoon. I could easily imagine Gilbert Stuart and the first Murray, or Byron and the second, engaged in similar discussions 200 years before.

During this initial visit I examined fourteen letters written by Stuart to Murray, each one full of fresh and useful information. To my surprise these letters were not the ones referred to by Disraeli. It turned out that the cache of more than forty Stuart letters, borrowed by Disraeli for the *Calamities*, had never been returned to Albemarle Street. (I would later track them down at the Bodleian Library where they are deposited among the Hughenden Papers.) Fortunately, there was not enough time to transcribe all fourteen letters, giving me a good excuse to return to the wondrous surroundings of 50 Albemarle Street a few weeks later.

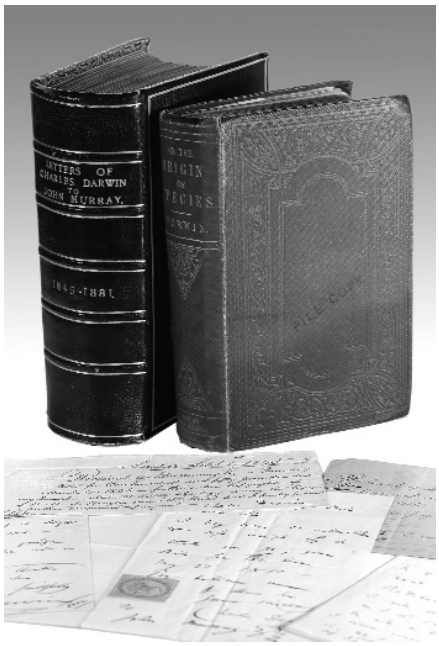
On this next visit more Gilbert Stuart material lay in store. Virginia Murray took me downstairs into the old wine cellar, in recent times used to store the early documents of the firm. She directed me to a shelf of vellum-bound folio volumes. These, it turned out, contained copies of nearly every letter the first Murray wrote during his bookselling career. Among more than 5,000 letters were nearly 150 to Gilbert Stuart. There were also volumes of account ledgers with entries for Stuart that revealed many literary projects besides his known published works. Stuart served as a regular reader for Murray; he anonymously translated a number of French works for British publication, and his critical eye is evident in many Murray books. In addition to these ledgers, there were Murray's 'day-books' which he recorded every single transaction over his shop counter.

With these materials, I could now properly tell the story of Stuart's productive if unhappy life. Angry at his failure to achieve popularity or financial success equal to his fellow writers, and disappointed at the loss of a professorship at Edinburgh University, he drank himself to death. His good friend Murray put it best just after the sad event when he wrote: 'Stuart was the greatest enemy to himself. He could not endure to be thought subject to human infirmities.'

Looking more generally through the eighteenth-century documents in the Murray Archive, I also realised that here were the makings of a new project – an account of the first Murray's career. Such an undertaking might just enable me to retain my seat in that inspiring drawing room at Number 50 for a while longer.

My next visit produced yet further revelations. As I pored over Stuart's letters and accounts, Virginia Murray appeared at my desk with a framed drawing in her hand. It was the original pencil sketch of Gilbert Stuart by the Scottish miniaturist John Donaldson from which an engraving, prefixed to his *History of the Establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* (1780) had been taken. Hands trembling, I held the drawing, looked deeply into Stuart's penetrating eyes, and felt the past move yet another step closer to the present. A chill ran through my

Darwin correspondence and a first edition of *On the Origin of Species* (1859); from the John Murray Archive.





Travel and exploration made a strong strand of the Murray publishing output. This image from the archive shows a letter and photographs by the intrepid Isabella Bird.

body, and it felt as if Stuart himself was in the room.

It was not easy for a newcomer like Murray to break into the top ranks of a long-established, closely-knit London trade. Making a living was a constant struggle, such that he would lament to one author: 'Commend to me a saleable work like *Robinson Crusoe* that will please the millions. What signifies a learned work when there are not learned men enough to buy it'.

Despite many setbacks, Murray determinedly struggled on and found a relatively lucrative niche in the competitive London marketplace, particularly as a medical publisher. With the inheritance of about £2,000 from a wealthy uncle in Ireland, Murray was able to take more risks. The landmark 1774 House of Lords decision that limited copyright and began to break the monopolistic practices of the book trade, created further opportunities for an aggressive, hard worker like Murray. Over 1,000 books published during a 25-year period include his name in the imprint. In 1783 he established and himself edited the *English Review*, a monthly periodical that secured a place as a rival to the longstanding *Monthly Review*, and *Critical Review*. Murray recruited able writers, including William Godwin, and paid them well. At his death in 1793 the journal was amalgamated with the *Analytical Review*.

In all, the first Murray did more than enough to perpetuate his name. The business he purchased for £700 in 1768

(with money borrowed from his wife) was valued at over £12,000 when he died at the age of 56, giving his son a solid foundation on which to build what would become the most renowned publishing house in nineteenth-century Britain.

Research into the career of the first Murray brought me regularly to Albemarle Street for several years. A laptop computer in tow, I set about reading through all the letters Murray wrote and all that he received. To best organise this material, and as a service to other scholars, I prepared an index of this extensive correspondence, noting letters to and from many notable figures – letters virtually unread since their composition. An endless list of further projects suggested themselves, but I was determined to remain focused on the first Murray.

The further realisation that hidden behind the volumes of the first Murray's letters and accounts lay the virtually intact archive of another eighteenth-century bookseller (Charles Elliot of Edinburgh) gave me hopes of a lifetime of research at Albemarle Street. But it clearly made more sense to leave this trove to others, and now Warren McDougall is working his way through this rich vein of material. (The Elliot papers ended up at Albemarle Street as a consequence of the marriage between the first Murray's son, John Murray II, and Elliot's daughter, Anne.) New information about many of the leading lights of the day – David Hume and Robert Burns among them – is to be found in these papers.

Meanwhile, Virginia Murray, together with her husband John (seventh in the line) and the redoubtable 'Jock', who died in 1993, encouraged me at every turn as the first Murray's story began to take shape. Although my fondest hope had been to have my book bear the Murray imprint, their suggestion that I find an academic publisher ultimately had my best interests at heart. I worked at the archive so often that friendships developed not only with the Murrays themselves but with members of their staff. One summer I was even asked to play in the firm's rounders team.

As a regular visitor to the Murray Archive, I often met other researchers who were delving into different aspects of the publishing house and its authors. There were the Byronists, of course, but also a steady flow of book trade historians, among them Peter Isaac, William St Clair and Angus Fraser (whose important archive of George Borrow manuscripts has been bequeathed to the Library, Acc.12091). There were such well-known writers as Miranda Seymour and Humphrey Carpenter, who is presently continuing the history of the firm down to the present day.

Rather like the first Murray's convivial gatherings with authors such as Gilbert Stuart, or the second Murray's well-known circle of '4 o'clock Friends', more recent researchers at Albemarle Street have shared in their own sense of camaraderie, largely facilitated by the warmth and enthusiasm of the Murrays themselves. Their commitment is grounded in the belief that the history of the firm and the story of their family are inseparable. The authors who filled their lists and the researchers who plumb their archive are all part of a wider family circle.

If the drawing rooms at 50 Albemarle Street have long been my home from home, the reading rooms of the National Library of Scotland are undoubtedly home itself for me as a researcher. The possibility that the Murray Archive will come intact into the national collection is a welcome and exciting one for all parties involved.

Just as the second Murray's move from Fleet Street to Albemarle in 1812 created a setting from which he would build an unrivalled publishing empire whose books were read by millions, the arrival of the archive in Scotland's National Library (where it would join other important publishers' archives such as Bell & Bradfute, Blackwood, Constable, Ballantyne and Smith Elder) would create an unrivalled centre for cultural studies that would be visited by people young and old, from far and wide. The first John Murray, who was born nearly 270 years ago in a tenement at Baillie Clerk's Land, less than fifty yards from the present headquarters of the National Library in the Lawnmarket, would, I can imagine, have looked in wonder at the legacy he established and relished its final return to the city of his birth.

Note on sources

The presence in Scotland's National Library of the papers of Blackwood, Constable, Ballantyne and Smith Elder – archives of world significance – means that it is an international centre for research into the history of publishing. Should the John Murray Archive eventually come to the Library, it would take its place alongside these complementary archives and, of course, the firm's output represented in its collections of printed books. Rather than single out individual examples, this note on sources places the emphasis on the 'Scottish' connection, which proved influential in the conduct of the firm's business on many levels. The 'first' John Murray was a Scot. In 1768, after attending Edinburgh University and having worked on an estate near Elgin, he travelled south to London, where he used his inheritance of £60 to enter publishing. He established a reputation as one of the foremost publishers of the day, producing books across a wide range of subjects including literature, travel and medicine. Following in his father's footsteps with energy and sound business acumen, John Murray II used the Scottish connection to establish beneficial alliances north of the border with William Blackwood and Archibald Constable. A key function of publishing is to promote the work vigorously in order to maximise readership. The firm of John Murray was never short of the requisite flair. John Murray II had it in spades: the first edition of Lord Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* sold out after three days. As the poet commented in his journal, 'I awoke one morning and found myself famous.' Success breeds success, and John Murray II attracted a glittering constellation of literary stars, including Jane Austen and Herman Melville, as well as many of the great thinkers and commentators of the day. It must have been a hard act to follow for John Murray III, who took the reins in the later nineteenth century. In 1859 he became the publisher of perhaps the most controversial scientific book of all time: Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Knowledge and expertise was passed down the generations of Murrays, with each successive incarnation of the business benefiting from the web of contacts and nexus of know-how established by its predecessors.

Further information on the subject is available from Bill Zachs' illuminating *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (H3.200.1939), and his *Without Regard to Good Manners: Biography of Gilbert Stuart 1743–1786* (H3.98.2525). *Calamities of Authors: Including some Inquiries respecting their Moral and Literary Characters* by Isaac Disraeli, 1812, is to be found at Dav.I.5/3.

Illustrations accompanying this article showing items from the John Murray Archive are reproduced with the kind permission of John Murray.

Notes on contibutors

LOUISE BOREHAM, retired college lecturer, has published several articles based on her thesis, Louis Reid Deuchars (1870–1927) and the Relationship between Sculptors and Architects. Her paper, 'The Gladstone Memorial' in *Dangerous Ground: Sculpture in the City*, Scottish Sculpture Trust, 1999, looked at Macgillivray's largest commission and the problems over its location. She has also given two lectures on his work: the bust of Sir Robert Rowand Anderson and the 1928 Kirkcaldy Art Gallery exhibition and its aftermath.

DR IAIN GORDON BROWN has served the National Library of Scotland and the worldwide scholarly community for nearly twenty-eight years. He is Principal Curator of Manuscripts, and is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. The literature and culture of the age of Walter Scott is one of his chief curatorial responsibilities, and in this field he has written (in addition to much other published work) a number of important articles, including a history of the Library's Scott collection, and has edited *Scott's Interleaved Waverley Novels: an Introduction and Commentary* (1987) and *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: the Image and the Influence* (2003).

IAN CUNNINGHAM formerly worked in the National Library of Scotland, latterly as Keeper of the combined Department of Manuscripts, Maps and Music. He was first chair of Project Pont, editing *The Nation Survey'd*, and in his retirement has translated the Latin texts of the Blaeu Atlas of Scotland into English. CHRISTOPHER FLEET is Deputy Map Curator at the Library, and he has taken a leading role in creating the Library's map websites. CHARLES WITHERS is Professor of Historical Geography at the University of Edinburgh. He has published widely on the historical geography of Scotland and on the historical geographies of science.

BILL ZACHS, author of *The First John Murray and the Late Eighteenth-Century London Book Trade* (Oxford University Press, 1998) and *Without Regard to Good Manners: Biography of Gilbert Stuart 1743–1786* (Edinburgh University Press, 1992). He lives in Edinburgh where he is currently editing a volume of James Boswell's correspondence and writing a study of the Rev. Hugh Blair (1723–1800). He is also working on a new project, 'The Scottish Endarkenment', an alternative view of eighteenth-century Scotland.

Cover: 'Eos' sculpted by Pittendrigh Macgillivray. (Acc.3501/36)

NLS diary dates

NOVEMBER-JANUARY
The Private Lives of Books: this free exhibition features books belonging to famous Scots and to ordinary people which illustrate the relationships that develop between books and their owners. *Scotland's First Atlas: The Nation Displayed* celebrates the 350th anniversary of this landmark volume, *Atlas Novus* by Joan Blaeu (see the article 'Putting Scotland on View' inside for more information). Both exhibitions run from 13 November to 31 January 2005. Open Monday – Saturday 10am to 5pm, Sunday 2pm to 5pm.

DECEMBER
Jack O' Lantern Shadow Puppet Theatre
The renowned shadow puppet theatre company performs 'Michael Scot and the Devil'. All ages welcome.
Tuesday 14 December 6pm

Our Favourite Books at Christmas: In Conversation at the National Library
We welcome book lovers and creative writers to share thoughts and readings on favourite books to give and read at this time of year… not necessarily about Christmas! With Rosemary Goring, Literary Editor of the *Herald*.
Thursday 16 December 7pm

JANUARY 2005
World Burns Night
A global cultural event celebrating Robert Burns' worldwide appeal and influence. A rich variety of music, song and refreshments will be on offer. All communities warmly welcome.
Tuesday 25 January 7pm, Causewayside Building

BE A FRIEND

The Friends of the National Libraries

is dedicated to helping the libraries and record offices of Britain acquire books, manuscript treasures and archives for the nation, especially those which might otherwise be exported. It has been doing this valuable work since 1931, and has helped the National Library of Scotland on many occasions. Annual membership is £15: contact Dr Iain G Brown of the Manuscripts Division for information on joining the Friends.

Spring 2005

CONNIE BYROM'S *'Blessings As Well As Beauties': The Edinburgh New Town Gardens* is due out in 2005. Her research has yielded some surprising findings, not least the rather fortuitous development of many of the open spaces in the New Town. She drew from many different sources, but her research at the Library, in particular among the Harden papers, brought to the fore the human element of this fascinating history, while William Playfair's letters to the Rutherford family were another rich resource.

KEN COCKBURN, editor of *The Dancers Inherit the Party: Early Stories, Poems and Plays by Ian Hamilton Finlay*, describes how the Library's archive of the artist's correspondence and other papers contributed to the compilation of the volume. Highly innovative, Finlay developed his aesthetic through various media. His prevailing themes have been expressed in a sequence of forms – painting, short stories, plays, poems, concrete poems, sculptural poems – culminating in the creation of the world-famous garden, Little Sparta.

J. FORBES MUNRO, Emeritus Professor of International Economic History in the University of Glasgow, examines the involvement of Sir William Mackinnon, one of Victorian Scotland's most successful entrepreneurs, in the 'opening-up' of East-Central Africa to David Livingstone's ideals of 'Christianity, Commerce and Civilisation'. Using papers held in the Library and elsewhere, he looks at the various elements of geo-strategic thinking, commercial considerations and humanitarian impulses which informed Mackinnon's actions, as well as those of fellow Scots.

JENNIE RENTON, a freelance editor and journalist, discusses some exciting possibilities arising from Edinburgh's new status as first Unesco World City of Literature and asks: How does this development connect with the National Library of Scotland's current strategy? She also takes a look at the splendidly produced two-volume book which presented the case. The Library has a copy of this publication, describing the city's rich literary life contemporary and historical.

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