

1-1-2007

The making of Sun Pictures in Scotland : influences and themes in Talbot's second photographic book

Elizabeth Knazook
Ryerson University

Follow this and additional works at: <http://digitalcommons.ryerson.ca/dissertations>



Part of the [Film and Media Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Knazook, Elizabeth, "The making of Sun Pictures in Scotland : influences and themes in Talbot's second photographic book" (2007).
Theses and dissertations. Paper 219.

TR
651
.K63
2007

The Making of *Sun Pictures in Scotland*

Influences and Themes in Talbot's Second Photographic Book

By

Elizabeth Knazook

Honours Bachelor of Arts in Fine Art History, University of Toronto, 2005

A Thesis Project

**Presented to Ryerson University and George Eastman House International Museum
of Photography and Film**

**In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

**In the Program of
Photographic Preservation and Collections Management**

**Toronto, Ontario, Canada &
Rochester, NY USA, 2007**

© Elizabeth Knazook 2007

**PROPERTY OF
RYERSON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY**

UMI Number: EC53632

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI Microform EC53632
Copyright 2009 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. I authorize Ryerson University and George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film, to lend this thesis project to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I further authorize Ryerson University and George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film to reproduce this thesis project by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

Abstract

William Henry Fox Talbot, an amateur scientist known for his invention of the calotype process, published two photographic books in his lifetime. The first, *The Pencil of Nature*, has received a lot of scholarly attention while *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, his second, has been largely ignored. There is little to account for this oversight, yet *Sun Pictures* has hardly registered in academic discourse.

This thesis is primarily aimed at describing the contents of *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, but also considers the subjects photographed in light of the numerous biographical resources published on the character and artistic personality of Talbot. It is apparent Talbot had an artistic purpose in undertaking *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. He photographed subjects that reflected his own interpretation of the popular picturesque style, and he attempted to assemble his book in a manner that resembled the current fashion in art book production.

Acknowledgements

Thanks very much to both my advisors, Marta Braun and David Harris, for refining my topic and helping me keep to the point.

This project would not have happened if I could not have had access to the book, *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, and for granting me access multiple times to two copies I am very grateful to Rachel Stuhlman, Librarian and Curator of Rare Books at George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film. Thanks also to Colin MacWhirter, Collections Reference Assistant at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal for allowing me to see the CCA's copy of the book.

I certainly could not have done this without the resources in Britain, and because I never traveled myself for this project, I am very grateful to all those working with Talbot collections who offered me their help. Thanks very much to Roger C. Watson, Curator of the Fox Talbot Museum at Lacock for seeking out an answer to every question I asked and for offering his advice so freely. Thanks to Brian Liddy, Curator of Collections Access at the National Media Museum, Bradford, UK, for providing photographs of Talbot's subscription lists for *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. And thanks to John Falconer, Curator of Photographs at the British Library, for helping me get started. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Larry J. Schaaf for pointing me to the right resources.

Explanation of documents used

Where **LA** followed by a number appears in the footnotes, this refers to the identification system used for documents at Lacock Abbey. **HS** refers to the Royal Society London's numbering system. Most of Talbot's correspondence has been catalogued as either an LA or HS number. I have added a second number to each of these, called a "document number," which refers to the numbering system employed by the online correspondence project at <http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk>. If anyone would like to consult the letters via this comprehensive online compendium, the makers of the project have provided a search feature that uses these document numbers. In rare cases, Talbot documents may only have this document number to identify them.

Table of Contents

Introduction	p.1
<i>Descriptive Section</i>	
The Book.....	p.5
The Contents	p.7
The Cameras.....	p.9
The Print Quality	p.12
Original Photographs versus Engravings	p.14
<i>Themes in the Book</i>	
The Subjects.....	p.17
Talbot and the Picturesque.....	p.19
Possible Themes in the Arrangement.....	p.27
<i>Costs</i>	
William Henry Fox Talbot and His Manufacturing Plans	p.35
Stylistic Comparisons for View Books with No Text.....	p.43
Conclusions	p.49
Appendix, The Subscription Lists	p.52
Bibliography	p.55

List of Illustrations

Figure 1.

Goodrich-Castle. William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales*, 1789. p. 26

Appendix

Sections of First Subscription List

The Talbot Collection, National Media Museum (Bradford, UK) p. 52, 53

Section of Second Subscription List

The Talbot Collection, National Media Museum (Bradford, UK) p. 54

Reprint of *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, taken from 2 copies at Richard and Rony Menschel Library, George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film (Photographs identified by call number of book)..... p. 61

1. Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh. (1974:0044:1-23)
2. Sir Walter Scott's Monument, Edinburgh; as it appeared when nearly finished, in October 1844. (1974:0044:1-23)
3. Abbotsford. (1974:0044:1-23)
4. Entrance Gate, Abbotsford. (1997:357:1-23)
5. Hall Door, Abbotsford. (1974:0044:1-23)
6. Effigy of Sir W. Scott's favourite dog Maida, by the side of the hall door at Abbotsford. (1997:357:1-23)
It has a Latin inscription, nearly as follows:-
Maida marmoreâ dormis sub imagine Maida
Ante fores domini sit tibi terra levis.
7. (1974:0044:1-23)
8. } Melrose Abbey. (1974:0044:1-23)
9. (1974:0044:1-23)
10. (1997:357:1-23)
11. } Loch Katrine. (1997:357:1-23)
12. (1997:357:1-23)
13. The Tomb of Sir W. Scott, in Dryburgh Abbey. (1997:357:1-23)
14. Highland Hut on the banks of Loch Katrine. (1997:357:1-23)
15. (1997:357:1-23)
16. } Scenery of Loch Katrine. (1997:357:1-23)
17. (1997:357:1-23)
18. The Castle Doune. (1997:357:1-23)
19. The same seen from the other side. (1997:357:1-23)
20. A Mountain Rivulet which flows at the foot of Doune Castle.
21. (1974:0044:1-23)
22. } Melrose Abbey. (1997:357:1-23)
23. (1997:357:1-23)

Introduction

It must have seemed as though photography virtually burst into being in the winter of 1839 with the announcement of the Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre's *daguerreotype* in France in early January, followed quickly by William Henry Fox Talbot's presentation of his process, *photogenic drawing*, to fellow scientists at the Royal Institution in London on 25 January 1839.¹ Word spread quickly through the news so that by the time Talbot published an account of his working methods on February 21, (before Daguerre published his secrets on August 20), there had already been considerable speculation about this new invention.² Few were privileged enough to view of one of these incredible images though, and those that were charged with describing them to the general public must have found the task difficult. If faced with Talbot's photogenic drawings, for instance, the viewer would actually be looking at negatives; some made by contact with the object being photographed (like a plant leaf pressed in a book, leaving an impression), and some done with a modified version of an apparatus called a *camera obscura*. The device had been in use for three centuries as an aid to drawing; the darkened box had a small opening through which light traveled, projecting an image against the back wall of the camera. This proved invaluable to the practice of photography, allowing the for objects at a distance to be rendered because the light coming through the aperture was concentrated enough so to make the chemicals on the sensitized surface react. Whether Talbot made photographs by contact or through the camera, the tones of his images were still reversed from that of a hand-drawn picture, making it more difficult to ascribe qualities in existing art practice to the new medium.

When Talbot demonstrated that he could create positives, beginning in April 1839, by re-printing a negative so that the tones were set right, these became far more accessible images.³ For his second exhibition, which opened in Birmingham on 29 August 1839, Talbot included a category of positive prints, called "Class II, Reversed image, requiring the action of light to be TWICE employed."⁴ This category, comprising numbers 53-64 in the exhibition, focused on illustrated, artistic subjects from lithographs to painted glass, to

¹ Larry J. Schaaf, *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 47.

² Ibid, 60.

³ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 18.

⁴ Roger Taylor, *Photographs Exhibited in Britain, 1839-1865: A Compendium of Photographers and Their Works / Photographies exposées en Grande-Bretagne de 1839 à 1865: répertoire des photographes et de leurs oeuvres* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives, 2002), 700-02.

“Copies of Transparencies, representing Moonlight among Ruins.” A third class of images, those taken with the camera obscura, were similarly subjected to the reversal process because, as Talbot explained,

The pictures, when taken out of the instrument, represent the scene reversed with respect to light and shade... Both these defects are remedied at the same time, by exposing the picture first made to the renewed action of light, and thus obtaining from it a transfer or reversed image.⁵

Talbot’s uncle William Fox-Strangeways saw the benefit in further adapting camera pictures to the rules of perspective in drawing so that the photographs appeared as one would expect drawings to look, and had written to Talbot advising him to “perfect the Camera branch of the art” on 10 June 1839.⁶ As the images became more familiar, the language intended for traditional art – painting and particularly forms of printmaking – became the standard vocabulary for photography as well.

Talbot himself was more restrained in his early correspondence and proffered the pictures as artist’s aids and tools for reproduction of all manner of objects rather than art objects themselves. A change in attitude is evident in his decision in 1841 to name the improved negative process the *calotype*, from the Greek *kalos*, meaning beautiful.⁷ His assertion of the calotype’s aesthetically pleasing characteristics, as seen in the salted paper prints made from calotypes, occurred publicly five years after he first revealed the photographic process, with *The Pencil of Nature* (1844-46). In this serialized book, published in six installments from June 1844 to April 1846, Talbot described in detail the technical processes for making negatives and positives as well as the myriad utilitarian applications that he envisioned for the prints made from the calotype negatives, and made some rather bold steps into the realm of calotype-as-art with several domestic landscape views scenes he included in the second fascicle issued on 29 January 1845. In the text accompanying the first plate in that number “The Open Door”, (Plate 6 in the series), Talbot compared his own

⁵ Roger Taylor, “Photographs exhibited by: Talbot, William Henry Fox (1800-1877),” *Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839-1865, Records from Victorian Exhibition Catalogues*. <http://peib.dmu.ac.uk/itemphotographer.php?photogNo=391&orderby=coverage&photogName=Talbot%2C+William+Henry+Fox+%281800-1877%29>

⁶ Letter, Talbot to William Horner Fox Strangeways, 10 June 1839. Document number 3890. This and further document numbers in the footnotes refer to the numbering convention established by the *Talbot Correspondence Project*, available online through De Montfort University in Leicester, England and the University of Glasgow, Scotland. <http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk/letters/letters.html>

⁷ Larry J. Schaaf, *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 112.

process to the Dutch school of art, which favoured detailed daily-life genre scenes carefully painted to show every glint of light that the camera likewise captured.⁸ Talbot had comfortably compared the effect of his positives, or *salted paper prints*, to etchings early on, calling them ‘altogether Rembrandtish’ in a letter to colleague John Herschel in a letter on 27 April 1839,⁹ but it is important to realize that he was not alone in his assessment, nor was he the driving force behind it. A reviewer in *The Critic* for August 1844, upon seeing Talbot’s improved salted paper prints in the first issue of *The Pencil of Nature*, boasted that “The triumph of Titian and the Old Masters is complete indeed, when Nature herself produces pictures exemplifying the soundness of principles on which they painted...”¹⁰ Talbot may have invented a whole new method of representation, but the overwhelming pressure to conform to visual codes in existing art practice must have weighed heavily on him when he was behind the camera. Although Talbot never claimed that any of his photographs were art objects, the desire to borrow, adapt, and explain the medium in terms of existing pictures is palpable.

The most artistic notion Talbot could have adopted was to travel with his camera to a location of picturesque beauty. For generations the *camera obscura* had been a drawing aid for travelers, so it would be natural to want to take the modified device with him.¹¹ He described the desire to do so in a letter to friend John Herschel in March of 1840:

I must now really transport my apparatus to some locality where picturesque objects are to be met with, such as a Cathedral, or a seaport Town, for my own neighbourhood is not particularly suited to the Artist...¹²

He was delayed however, and lamented to Améline Petit de Billier the following year that:

The bad weather has kept me from working for two months, it has even prevented me all year from undertaking a journey to seek the picturesque, as I had conceived of doing.¹³

⁸ Beaumont Newhall, *The Pencil of Nature* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1969). Plate VI *The Open Door*.

⁹ Letter, Talbot to Herschel, 27 April 1839. HS 17:293, document number 3872.

¹⁰ Larry J. Schaaf, *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 147.

¹¹ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989), 81.

¹² Larry J. Schaaf, *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 116.

¹³ Letter, Talbot to Billier, 5 December 1841. LA(AM)41-1, document number 5281.

He finally accomplished this goal in the fall of 1844, when he traveled to Scotland and photographed several locations popularized by literature. He later compiled twenty-three of the photographs into a book issued in July 1845 exclusively to those who subscribed, entitled *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. The book was at once original and thoroughly conventional, combining the still infant positive/negative process with the subject matter of popular travel. It was also the realization of the photograph's ability to compete with lithography and engraving not merely in the reproduction of images, but the making of them.

For all that has been written on the distinguished Talbot and his artistic inclinations, his *Sun Pictures in Scotland* has not been examined in depth in regards to this confluence of practical production and art.¹⁴ The nineteenth century gentleman was well-versed in the rules of landscape composition and Talbot's many outdoor scenes in *Sun Pictures in Scotland* would have exposed his work to the most vigorous scrutiny. His greatest critics would have been his peers, those wealthy connoisseurs and amateur sketch artists of the leisured class that purchased *Sun Pictures in Scotland* by subscription. Earning their approval would have been the true measure of success for Talbot. Two copies of his subscription lists exist, the first listing forty-nine names of the various lords and ladies that had some interest in the book, and the second, a revised and extended version of the first, appears to contain 126 names.¹⁵ Unfortunately no research has been done yet to uncover their reactions. The lone documented response to the book comes from Talbot's mother Lady Elisabeth Fielding in a letter to her son on 31 July 1845, where she claims that the people who had thus far received the book did not understand that they were actual photographs.¹⁶ Lady Elisabeth's comment raises a number of questions about the clarity of Talbot's intentions altogether: what did his audience think they were looking at? Did they understand the subjects of the photographs were associated with Walter Scott? Would they have understood that there was an organizing principle for the order of photographs? Was the book at all presumed to be artistic? While I do not have the reactions of his audience to fall back on, the book itself may provide some evidence as to how the photographs were interpreted. It is my purpose in this essay to draw

¹⁴ For a consideration of the Loch Katrine photographs in the book, see Graham Smith's "William Henry Fox Talbot's Views of Loch Katrine," *Bulletin of University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology* 7 (1984-1985): 49-77.

¹⁵ *Talbot Collection*, British Library.

¹⁶ Letter, Lady Elisabeth to Talbot, 31 July 1845. LA45-111, document number 5344.

conclusions about Talbot's ambitions by describing in detail the complete work and the circumstances that surrounded its creation.

The Book

The prospectus for *Sun Pictures in Scotland* was printed up at the end of May in 1845 and the book itself was being distributed to subscribers shortly after.¹⁷ It was issued as a bound folio with an elaborate green cloth cover and there were 120 copies published.¹⁸ Each copy, measuring 31.9 x 24.3 x 1.6 cm¹⁹, contained twenty-three photographs and sold for 21s or, as the amount was more popularly called, a guinea. The price was substantial but not unheard of for an illustrated book. *The English Catalogue of Books* lists every book published in Britain starting in the eighteenth century, and for the years 1835-62 it records a range of prices both above and below the one guinea mark. In 1844, when Talbot was busying himself photographing for *Sun Pictures*, the catalogue records that books like *Illustrated Commentary on the Bible*, printed in 8 volumes, sold for 7s 6d per volume. This was the same price as several of the later issues of *The Pencil of Nature*, Talbot's other photographic publication. At that price, issues 3-6 of *Pencil* and the volumes of *Illustrated Commentary* were approximately a third of the price of *Sun Pictures*. The 1844 *Illustrated Royal Progress to Scotland in 1842* sold for 31s 6d, or 10s 6d more than the price of *Sun Pictures*. To further illustrate this range, a reprint of *Reynold's Lectures, Illustrated*, was placed on the market in 1844 for 42s but could cost as much as 84s if the book was ordered as royal quarto, the same size that Talbot used for *Sun Pictures*. T.J. Ricauti also made use of the royal quarto sheets for his *Sketches for Rustic Work* in 1845, which was sold for 12s. Talbot's *Sun Pictures* clearly falls in the higher range, but it was not the most expensive item of its kind offered. This does not mean that it was affordable to everyone though, quite the contrary. Books published in the 1840s still catered to an upper class market, and for the most part were far beyond the price range of the average middle or working class buyer. Even the amount Talbot charged for the book

¹⁷ Letter, Lady Elisabeth to Talbot, 30 May 1845. LA450-050, document number 5265.

¹⁸ H.J.P. Arnold, *William Henry Fox Talbot; Pioneer of Photography and Man of Science* (London: Hutchinson Benham, 1977), 157. Arnold cites an bill from the binder, Alfred Tarrant, in support of his claim that 120 books were printed. Since the subscriber's list was re-written at least once, and the third page of the second section has yet another title which could possibly divide it into three lists, it is likely that the 126 names I counted were greater than the total number of people that Talbot printed the books for. In other words, I would defer to Arnold.

¹⁹ Measurements taken from the copy currently held at the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal.

reflected a certain class consciousness; the guinea was generally exchanged for luxury goods or services, rather than the pound, which was seen as a labourer's fee. The book was, from the start, a luxurious item.

The title on the cover was printed in a sans serif font, embossed in gold and placed just above centre on the cover, framed by four decorative gold curls. This was followed by a title page, announcing:

Sun Pictures in Scotland

By H. Fox Talbot, Esq., F.R.S.

&c. &c. &c.

Juvat ire jugis qua nulla priorum castaliam molli devertitur orbita clivo.

London.

1845.

The title appeared in Black-letter, the author's name and the publishing information in a serif, and the Latin phrase in a sans-serif. The phrase is a line from Virgil's *Georgics*, which has been translated as "Joyous it is to cross mountain ridges where there are no wheel ruts of earlier comers, and follow the gentle slope to Castilia."²⁰ The imagery of the quotation is quite appropriate both to Talbot the scientist, uncovering a hitherto undiscovered aspect of the natural world, and Talbot as a gentleman, qualified to appreciate that very nature. Talbot's choice of a quotation from classical literature would have made the title page all the more elegant in the mind of the educated reader, who was already comfortable making allusions to Virgil's poetry when considering painted scenes.²¹ Talbot was creating a familiarity with other visual media in that respect, suggesting to the reader that Virgil was also appropriate to think of when contemplating Talbot's prints. The quotation's phrasing might also evoke associations with the familiar pastime of travel, lending yet another layer to the interpretation. William Gilpin, the quintessential author of picturesque travel literature, described the appeal of natural scenery as "the expectation of new scenes continually opening, and arising to his [the traveler's] view. We suppose the country to have been *unexplored*."²² Like Virgil, Gilpin thought the experience of discovery 'joyous', and those who

²⁰ Beaumont Newhall, introduction to *The Pencil of Nature* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1969).

²¹ Andrew Ballantyne, *Architecture, landscape and liberty: Richard Payne Knight and the picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 143-4.

²² John Whale, "Romantics, explorers and Picturesque travelers," *The Politics of the Picturesque*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 176.

traveled to the picturesque locations he described did so in the hopes of finding a place of unspoiled nature. The various associations I have drawn here from this single phrase would have been even easier for the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century readers to make. The practice whereby one associated ideas with aesthetics can be found in the writings of Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824), Joseph Addison (1672-1719), Reverend Archibald Alison (1757-1839), among many others. Thus, the Virgilian line on the title page of *Sun Pictures* places innovation in the comfortable setting of the rural, classical past, while presenting Talbot in the guise of a gentleman explorer rather than an inventor.

It is important to note that Talbot previously employed this quotation for the title pages of each fascicle of *The Pencil of Nature*. Talbot's reasoning for continuing to use the line would therefore have more to do with the purpose of his earlier book, which was primarily produced as a public explanation of his photographic process and its possible applications. He was certainly hurried when producing *Sun Pictures*, so the simple convenience of using a pre-selected quotation, evoking both innovation and picturesque travel, may have dictated its use here.

The Contents

A list of the photographs followed the title page:

List of Plates

1. Heriot's Hospital, Edinburgh.
2. Sir Walter Scott's Monument, Edinburgh; as it appeared when nearly finished, in October 1844.
3. Abbotsford.
4. Entrance Gate, Abbotsford.
5. Hall Door, Abbotsford.
6. Effigy of Sir W. Scott's favourite dog Maida, by the side of the hall door at Abbotsford.

It has a Latin inscription, nearly as follows:-

Maida marmoreâ dormis sub imagine Maida

Ante fores domini sit tibi terra levis.

7.

8. } Melrose Abbey.

9.

10.

11. } Loch Katrine.

12.

13. The Tomb of Sir W. Scott, in Dryburgh Abbey.

On the reverse side of the page:

List of Plates

Smaller Views

14. Highland Hut on the banks of Loch Katrine.

15.

16. } Scenery of Loch Katrine.

17.

18. The Castle Doune.

19. The same seen from the other side.

20. A Mountain Rivulet which flows at the foot of Doune Castle.

21.

22. } Melrose Abbey.

23.

There are only three printed pages preceding the plates themselves: the title page and the List of Plates (printed both front and back). The book contains absolutely no text beyond this point. Each image is framed by a single hand-inked line and identified by a handwritten number inside the lower right corner of the line border that corresponds to its number in the List of Plates. This is the same border style used for Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature*, however the border in *Pencil* was lithographed rather than hand-drawn, perhaps suggesting that *Pencil* was a slightly more professionally assembled work.

Of the twenty-three photographs included in each book, thirteen are large views printed one to a page on royal quarto pages, and ten are smaller views arranged two to a page. The larger photographs appear first. They are glued to the support ~~only~~ on the right-hand page, with all but the Scott Monument photograph (Plate 2) orientated sideways. The smaller photographs also appear only on the right-hand side of the book, but there are two on each page, oriented vertically and arranged one above the other. It is clear from the List of Plates that the views were generally grouped by size and then location. Locations that appear in the larger images are sometimes repeated in the smaller sets of images; at times the smaller views are so similar that they appear to have been taken from the same vantage point. Photographs 12 and 15 appear to be almost exactly the same view of Loch Katrine scenery, and photograph 16 is a variant of another Loch Katrine picture, 11. The Melrose Abbey shots are also taken from a similar position, with 7 and 21 mirroring each other and 8 and 23 doing the same.

The Cameras

One possibility for this repetition of subject matter between the large and small sets of photographs could be the presence of two cameras on site. Larry J. Schaaf has observed in his book *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* that Nicolaas Henneman, Talbot's longtime assistant, traveled with him to Scotland.²³ The two sizes of photographs, and the fact that four of the smaller pictures appear to be duplicate images, suggest that Talbot and Henneman set up two different cameras and photographed side by side. Talbot's usual camera produced prints approximately 160 x 200 mm in size, but another camera in his collection photographed 79 x 109 mm, sizes which correspond to the sizes of the prints in

²³ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 202.

the book.²⁴ In fact, Talbot had at least twelve cameras to choose from, further illustrating the point that he did not have to alter the size of a negative to achieve an assortment of sizes in his prints.²⁵ Talbot wrote in his journals about the possibility of altering the size of a picture, which he could have accomplished by re-photographing an existing print, but to do this with a paper negative would have resulted in an even grainier image that ultimately would be worthless for publishing. The solar enlarger would not become available until the 1850s, and even then it was only compatible with images on glass, not paper.²⁶ The high quality of the images is the real confirmation that the smaller photographs are in fact variants and not reductions or enlargements. The question remains, however, was Talbot operating both cameras?

Nicholaas Henneman was a competent photographer in his own right, and could have been the operator of the second camera on Talbot's Scottish trip. In 1844, Talbot's wife Constance wrote to her mother-in-law, Lady Elisabeth, that Henneman was at Lacock for the day "making experiments on the sensitiveness of different preparations, besides taking a few pictures."²⁷ Although Henneman was in Talbot's employ, he was also a valued friend who traveled on many excursions to York and Oxford with Talbot. Most of the mundane printing tasks were actually assigned to Charles Porter in those early years at Lacock. Henneman was clearly respected enough by Talbot to work with him on the taking of views at Talbot's home in Wiltshire, so it is entirely plausible that he used one of the cameras alongside Talbot in Scotland. This scenario accounts for both sizes of similar subject matter, and also for the variations. There is no formal indication that any *Sun Pictures* negatives were taken by Henneman, but this does not rule out the possibility either. Talbot rarely credited others with negatives and Henneman probably would not have asked to be recognized. This is further reinforced by Larry J. Schaaf's attribution of a Westminster Abbey view in *The Pencil of Nature* (Plate 22) to Henneman rather than Talbot, a fact that Talbot himself did not publicly credit.²⁸ Schaaf has noted that this was common practice in other fields; most artists, photographic or otherwise, would not have sought credit from a

²⁴ Roger C. Watson, Curator of the Fox Talbot Museum at Lacock, email message to author, 22 June 2007.

²⁵ D. B. Thomas, *The Science Museum Photography Collection* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969), 6-8.

²⁶ Roger C. Watson, Curator of the Fox Talbot Museum at Lacock, email message to author, 26 July 2007.

²⁷ Letter, Constance Talbot to Lady Elisabeth. LA46-23.

²⁸ Larry J. Schaaf, *H. Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile, Introductory Volume* (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989), 62.

master.²⁹ Since Talbot was clearly the author of the book and the one who determined the locations photographed (for Henneman only traveled alongside Talbot, not independently of him³⁰), Talbot would have taken credit for the arrangement and subjects of the book regardless of whether he exposed all the negatives himself or not.³¹

Alternatively, the scenario may be as simple as Talbot himself operating both cameras in the hope that if one of the negatives from a camera did not turn out, he would have another version. He indicates that he did employ this practice for his Scottish trip in an essay entitled “The Traveller’s Camera,” published in *The Literary Gazette* on 27 November 1852:

At first I was accustomed to prepare the paper beforehand, and carry it ready prepared, in closely shut paper-holders, to the scene of action. It was in this way that in September, 1844, I made a series of views of Abbotsford, the residence of Sir Walter Scott, which were published by subscription in 1845, in a small volume, entitled, *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. The paper was prepared in the inn, at Galashiels, several miles distant, and it retained its sensibility during some hours sufficiently well. [...] But this method had, in the first place, the inconvenience of being exposed to occasional failure, which required all the principal points of view to be taken in duplicate as a necessary precaution.³²

This could account for the fact that in at least four cases, the smaller views he published in *Sun Pictures* are almost identical to pictures in the larger views. It is unlikely that Talbot would have included the variant prints if he had obtained a greater yield from the smaller camera. The weather throughout the trip was certainly bad enough to make him concerned about his results as well. For instance, Talbot did travel to the town of Jedburgh that fall, but could not obtain any photographs there because of the “[e]xtremely dark weather.”³³ At Melrose he was far more successful. Printing the Melrose prints twice would have made up for the lack of photographs from Jedburgh. Even if Henneman did photograph with Talbot, it is possible that Henneman’s negatives were the ones that were lost to bad weather, or simply

²⁹ Larry J. Schaaf, email message to author, 8 August 2007.

³⁰ Katherine Peveraro, *Views of the North: Visions of Scotland From Talbot, Turner and Scott* (MLitt. thesis, University of St Andrews), 2004. Peveraro has discussed in detail the route Talbot took for his trip.

³¹ David Harris, email message to author, 1 September 2007.

³² William Henry Fox Talbot, “The Traveller’s Camera,” *The Literary Gazette and Journal of belles lettres, science and art*, (n. 1871, 27 November 1852): 876. Document number 6705. In this essay, Talbot also writes that he was not using the Traveller’s Camera at this point, but that his work in Scotland led him to invent the apparatus. However, he wrote to Charles Fellows on 1 August 1843 that “you will do well to take two Camera Obscuras with you, one of them small, of the size of mine, which works quickly...” Document number 4857. The smaller camera may in essence be the ‘traveler’s camera’ he claims to have invented later.

³³ Letter, Talbot to Constance, 9 October 1844. LA44-075, document number 5096.

that Talbot had enough of his own that he did not need to use Henneman's prints. In the end, it is not possible to know at this time whether Talbot was the sole photographer for each of the prints included in the book, but it is probably safe to assume that Henneman was certainly aiding him if not photographing as well.

The Print Quality

Once the negatives were obtained and the selections made as to which ones would appear in the book, Talbot must have encountered some difficulty in getting the rectangular negatives to produce impeccable prints. The occasional diagonal cropping at the photographs' corners varies from one print to another and the cropping is not always consistent from book to book either. For instance, in both copies of the book at George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film (Rochester, New York), the top two corners on Plate 8 are cropped. The same plate in the copy at the Canadian Centre for Architecture (Montréal, Canada) has no cropped corners. Plate 2 has two cropped corners in copy 1 from George Eastman House and the copy from the Canadian Centre for Architecture, but in George Eastman House copy 2 all four are cropped.³⁴ The resulting shapes of the prints were probably caused by something during or after the printing process, and not by any inherent flaw in the negative. However, it is important to note that in some instances Talbot made copy negatives and may even have made duplicate negatives out in the field. For instance, there are six surviving negatives for the Scott Monument in Plate 2 and two for Loch Katrine in Plate 16.³⁵ If one of the negatives produced flawed prints, but another of the same subject were fine, that could explain the cropping in some of the prints. It would take an enormous amount of effort to sort out which prints came from which negatives and whether the cropping was a result of printing the negative or the positive. Regardless of the cause, we do know that the desired shape was a smooth rectangle, as indicated by the consistency of the copy at the Canadian Centre for Architecture. At its printing, the Centre's copy must have been recognized as a spectacular example of the medium, as only one of the twenty-three photographs has any cropping at the corners.

³⁴ I refer to the book identified by the accession number "1974:0044:1-23" as copy 1 and "1997:357:1-23" as copy 2.

³⁵ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 202 and 206.

While the cropping made the most direct alterations to the photographs at the moment of production, they have been further transformed in the books by the process of time. Today, many of the prints are quite faded. When the books were assembled, glue was carefully applied by hand to only the outer edges of each photograph, which has since caused some buckling and discolouration on the edges of many of the prints. This problem was present even in Talbot's lifetime and after the production of *Pencil* glue was blamed for premature fading,³⁶ but as the problem of fading had plagued him from the start of his photographic experiments more than a decade prior, Talbot would have been aware before publishing that there was likely to be some density loss in the prints related to other causes. There are a number of other factors that are now considered to be causes of fading. Oxidative-reductive deterioration (the continued reaction of silver with light) causes loss of highlight detail, overall fading and a change in image hue. Moisture is a significant problem as well, although this tends to leave its mark after much time has passed; moisture and air circulation are the culprits behind the edge fading visible in many of the prints today.³⁷ Residual sulfides from the fixing process are often blamed for fading problems in salted paper prints as well, and it is likely that this has caused some of the photographs from *Sun Pictures* to fade more quickly than others.³⁸ Given the variety of contributing factors, we may never know which are responsible for the fading in a given print. The photographs have faded or remained saturated with colour so indiscriminately that it is impossible to locate one book with all the pictures unharmed, no matter what its storage conditions.

Since the photographs have in many cases not survived well, it is hard to say what Talbot's audience would have thought of the quality of the photographs they received. At the time the book was produced, the public would not have been aware that there were chemical issues that could cause fading of pasted-in photographic prints, or that differing camera sizes could produce variant views of the same scene. They may not have even been aware that what they had before them were actual photographs, as Lady Elisabeth so plainly reported to Talbot. Imagine their reaction to some of the early chemical changes, as their supposed lithographs changed colour!

³⁶ Larry J. Schaaf, *H. Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile, Introductory Volume* (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989)

³⁷ James M. Reilly, *Care and Identification of 19th Century Photographic Prints* (Rochester, NY: Eastman Kodak Co., 1986), 33.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 34.

Original Photographs versus Engravings

A small piece of paper measuring no more than 19 cm x 7 cm was inserted into the spine on the fly leaf of the book, explaining to the reader what he or she was about to see:

Notice to the Reader. The plates of the present work are impressed by the agency of Light alone, without any aid whatever from the artist's pencil. They are the Sun-Pictures themselves, and not, as some persons have imagined, engravings in imitation.

This notice does not appear in all copies of *Sun Pictures* available today. Of the two copies currently stored in the Rare Books collection of the Richard and Rony Menschel Library at George Eastman House, one copy contains the notice and one copy does not.³⁹ The notice was clearly an afterthought, probably inserted at the prodding of Talbot's practically-minded mother Lady Elisabeth Fielding, who argued in a letter dated 29 July 1845 that she was obliged to continue to hand out the first facsimile of *The Pencil of Nature* because everyone wanted to read the explanatory text.⁴⁰ She bemoans the use of the word "plates" instead of "representations" in *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, as the majority of her peers still do not understand that the images are in fact true photographs. This was not Talbot's first attempt at putting a notice in one of his books, however. Most copies of the second fascicle of *The Pencil of Nature* issued a few months prior to *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, contained a shorter version of this notice, running at 3 lines long rather than the 5 lines quoted above. The earlier notice was phrased as such:

Notice to the Reader.

The plates of the present work are impressed by the agency of light alone, without any aid whatever from the artist's pencil.⁴¹

In this context, it is likely that the notice did appear in all copies of *Sun Pictures*, and the copy at George Eastman House is simply missing the piece of paper. The five line notice appeared in numbers three through six of *Pencil* following its insertion into the second fascicle. Lady Elisabeth's comments may come from exasperation that Talbot did not include something

³⁹ The copy of *Sun Pictures in Scotland* at George Eastman House library that does contain the Notice to the Reader is identified by its accession number as "1974:0044:1-23." The other copy is numbered "1997:357:1-23."

⁴⁰ Letter, Lady Elisabeth to Talbot, 29 July 1845. LA45-109, document number 5339.

⁴¹ Larry J. Schaaf, H. Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile, Introductory Volume* (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989), 74.

more substantial – his extra two lines in the notice for *Sun Pictures* were clearly not the satisfactory explanation Lady Elisabeth was seeking.

The confusion that Lady Elisabeth describes regarding the verity of the photographs in the book as photographs was not public disbelief in photography itself, but a misconception that the pictures reproduced in the volume were not engravings made after photographs. By 1845 photography had existed in the public consciousness for six years and the population certainly accepted it, but for the most part the term would have been associated with the commercially-successful daguerreotype – a process which produced a direct positive on a fragile metal plate. Nicolas-Marie-Paymal Lerebours, an entrepreneur, photographer and publisher, found a way around the issue of the daguerreotype's inability to be reproduced by issuing a collection of engravings *after* daguerreotypes entitled *Excursions Daguerriennes: Vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (1840-44). Lerebours sent photographers out to such exotic locales as Egypt and the Holy Land as early as 1839 to daguerreotype scenes appropriate for the tourist market. The result was a serialized work that, when completed sometime on or after 30 October 1843, held between 111 and 114 aquatints in two or three volumes, depending on whether the owner had an earlier or later compilation. The publication date on the title page appears as 1842, but all 114 plates did not appear in the complete set until 1844.⁴² As only the first two fascicles of *Pencil* had been printed with paper photographs prior to *Sun Pictures*, and a rather restrictive patent taken out by Talbot on the paper process in 1843, it is easy to understand how perception of the medium could be skewed towards the metal plate technique.

Many collections of views engraved after, or printed from daguerreotypes were made in the next ten years, although not many predated the 1845 release of *Sun Pictures in Scotland*.⁴³ When Talbot released *Sun Pictures* his audience may well have imagined that his views were also engraved after photographs, rather than the originals themselves, missing a major selling point of the book! By focusing his efforts on producing images on paper, rather than the silver-plated copper sheet that the rival daguerreotype process used, Talbot had produced a photographic method that was uniquely suited to printing. Combined with his rather restrictive patent, Talbot had a monopoly on photographically-illustrated book production.

⁴² David Harris, email message to author, 17 June 2007.

⁴³ Janet Buerger, *French Daguerreotypes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 27. In her text, Buerger only refers to two daguerreotype publications that were published earlier than 1845.

If he were to make money from his process, his audience would need to recognize its uniqueness. Lady Elisabeth seems to have realized the value of getting Talbot's audience to understand that the photographs were originals and not lithographs more quickly than her son, who probably felt that the explanation preceding the first fascicle of *Pencil* was sufficient advertising.

The first indication in the correspondence between Talbot and Lady Elisabeth that suggests Talbot had not addressed his book with the seriousness that Lady Elisabeth felt it deserved appears 25 April 1845. Lady Elisabeth admonishes Talbot for sending copies of the views in the as yet unpublished *Sun Pictures* to David Brewster, Talbot's friend, scientist, and colleague in Edinburgh. Distrustful of Brewster's ability to keep the secret of the pictures to himself, Lady Elisabeth huffs that they had better try to sell subscriptions in Belgium because England will no longer be interested in purchasing what it has already seen for free: "I am of the opinion that whichever work is subscribed for should not have been seen by any eye till it comes out for many reasons."⁴⁴ A month later Lady Elisabeth sent two letters in quick succession, first reminding Talbot that the prospectus for *Sun Pictures in Scotland* needed to be printed for her arrival, and then a more determined announcement that she would be coming on the Wednesday and wanted to find the prospectus ready.⁴⁵ Lady Elisabeth was also the first to recognize that people still did not understand that the views printed in the book were original photographs and not done by lithography. On 31 July Talbot received his chilliest letter. Lady Elisabeth wrote that she was compelled "usque ad naseum" to explain that the views in *Sun Pictures* were real photographs, and that ultimately "Many people think the 3rd and 4th numbers of the Pencil of Nature worth all the Scotch views..."⁴⁶ Talbot and his mother clearly did not see eye to eye on the book's purpose and meaning.

It is arguable, then, that if Talbot intended to use this book solely to promote the understanding of his process, he did not succeed. His lax attitude towards providing a clear message suggests that he did not feel the need to explain the verity of the printed images as photographs, and why should he when he presumably felt that *The Pencil of Nature* would fulfill that purpose? *Sun Pictures in Scotland* was meant to confirm the calotype's ability to

⁴⁴ Letter, Lady Elisabeth to Talbot, 25 April 1845. Document number 5239.

⁴⁵ Letters, Lady Elisabeth to Talbot, 30 May 1845 and 2 June 1845. LA45-050, document number 5265, and document number 5286.

⁴⁶ Letter, Lady Elisabeth to Talbot, 31 July 1845. LA45-111, document number 5344.

render subjects generally left to artists, thereby demonstrating Talbot's artistry as well. The locations he chose to photograph, and the way he presented the book in his pre-publication advertisement all imply that Talbot had other things on his mind than supplementing his business portfolio.

The Subjects of the Book

The subjects of *Sun Pictures* are taken from three distinct areas of Scotland: the Scottish Borders, (comprising the former counties of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, on the border with England), Edinburgh, and the Perthshire Highlands in the West. Two views were taken in the city of Edinburgh; three at Abbotsford Hall, the home of the author Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832); one of an effigy of Scott's dog Maida (also at Abbotsford); three at Melrose Abbey about three miles away from Abbotsford; and three at Loch Katrine in the Perthshire Highlands. A single view of Dryburgh Abbey completes the series of larger views. In the smaller views, four pictures of the area surrounding Loch Katrine are followed by three of Doune Castle also in Perthshire, then by three of Melrose Abbey located back in the Borders. Doune Castle is the only location that is not represented in the larger views, and the two views featuring the small man-made structures Talbot referred to as 'Highland Huts' around Loch Katrine are different from the larger set of Loch Katrine pictures that show only an unpopulated lake. Graham Smith photographed and published all the views from the copy of *Sun Pictures* in the University of St. Andrews library for the 1980 *Bulletin of the University of Michigan Museums of Art and Archaeology*, but I have published them again here from photographs of the best prints in the two copies at George Eastman House.

According to undated, pre-publication subscription announcement for the work, the book was a compilation of photographs showing locations associated with the life and work of Sir Walter Scott – a fitting subject for a series of travel views.⁴⁷ Prior to Scott, very little had encouraged the English or Continental traveler to visit Scotland, but by the time *Sun Pictures* was released the market for travelers to Scotland abounded with bookish Romantics visiting the country's scenic geography and attractive ruins. Scott's dedication to the beauty of his native land was a major factor in this explosion in the tourist market. His audience found they could use his highly pictorial descriptions to enjoy the real-world corollaries, and

⁴⁷ The notice was reproduced in Graham Smith, "William Henry Fox Talbot's Views of Loch Katrine," in *Bulletin of University of Michigan's Museums of Art and Archaeology* 7 (1984-1985): 59.

many travelers carried copies of *Waverly* (1814) or *Rob Roy* (1817) in addition to official guidebooks. The site that experienced the greatest singular increase in attention through Scott was Loch Katrine, in the heart of the Trossachs. Scott's wildly popular poem *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) transposed the already popular Arthurian legend to the environs of the loch. By the 1840s, tourists were coming *en masse* to see the place as a historicized location from the poem, seeking leisure in the guise of an authentic cultural encounter. As Helen Groth has written, "The real in this context was easily set aside in favour of pleasure and nostalgia."⁴⁸ As a result many of Talbot's readers may have already visited the places he photographed. In using locations associated with Scott, Talbot fashioned an experience of Scotland that many would recognize and accept.

It may be a bit misleading to presume that Scott was the sole artistic personality influencing Talbot's choice of subject matter, however, as Scott himself is only mentioned in the book with reference to his monument. The lone authority we have for the claim comes from the subscription advertisement that reads: "Most of the views represent scenes connected with the life and writings of Sir Walter Scott. Among them will be found – Abbotsford, Melrose Abbey, Doune Castle, Loch Katrine, Dryburgh Abbey, Heriot's Hospital, Sir W. Scott's Monument, Edinburgh."⁴⁹

If the phrasing of the notice is considered carefully, one will observe that it states 'most [my emphasis] of the views represent scenes connected with the life and writings of Sir Walter Scott,' not all of them. This is a bit confusing, since Talbot does list all the sites represented in the book at the bottom of the notice. There may be two reasons for the wording combined with the list: there were originally more photographs intended for the book and the inventory given only refers to the Scott prints, or Talbot did not himself associate all the sites with Scott. In the first instance, we know that more photographs were taken in Scotland than were printed in the book. It is also possible that locations like Heriot's Hospital or Doune Castle, which had relatively minor parts in their respective literary works, were more famous for their own histories than their fictionalized roles. It would then be our assumption that all of the photographs have some association with Scott. The point seems to hang on Talbot's use of the word 'most'. Is this significant? As a traveler

⁴⁸ Helen Groth, *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87.

⁴⁹ Graham Smith, "William Henry Fox Talbot's Views of Loch Katrine," in *Bulletin of University of Michigan's Museums of Art and Archaeology* 7 (1984-1985): 59.

to Scotland, it is unlikely that Talbot would have been able to ignore Scott's overwhelming influence, and while it is quite possible that a few stanzas of *The Lady of Lake* came to mind as he stood with his camera on the banks of Loch Katrine, the advertisement is the only proof extant that Talbot thought the purpose of his book would be to illustrate of Scott's work.

It may be useful to look for examples from Talbot's work and correspondence that indicate the opposite – that Talbot did not prioritize the association with Scott at the time he took the photographs. Schaaf has observed that Talbot photographed the Scott Monument (Plate 2) just shy of the completion of the monument, and if he had waited a few days longer he would have seen a spectacular piece of white Carrara marble dragged up from the docks, a stone that was destined to be carved into an effigy of the beloved author.⁵⁰ If Talbot were focused on finding subjects best suited to the image of Walter Scott at the time he took the photographs, he would not likely have let this opportunity pass. In the end, Talbot was probably hesitant to assign the book's inspiration entirely to Scott in his advertisement because the photographs were primarily reflective of his own artistic interests and technical skills, in addition to being illustrative of Scott since the famous bard permeated all that was a traveler's Scotland. In this context, it will be useful to consider Talbot's known artistic abilities and preferences.

Talbot and the Picturesque

Aside from the fact that as the inventor of the photogenic drawing and calotype processes Talbot had the privilege to be the first to employ them artistically, he may have felt *obliged* to do so. It was a sort of cultural badge of honour in the early nineteenth century for the upper class to display their good breeding by cultivating knowledge of the picturesque aesthetic. The standard characterization of the popular picturesque generally comes from William Gilpin, whose many domestic guidebooks were widely read.⁵¹ Gilpin advised that his reader consider a landscape in almost a theatrical way, observing for example, dark hills framing the foreground like curtains, forcing the eye toward a water feature in the same way

⁵⁰ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 202.

⁵¹ Timothy J. Standring, "Watercolor Landscape Sketching During the Popular Picturesque Era in Britain," in *Glorious Nature: British Landscape Painting 1750-1850*, ed. Katherine Baetjer (New York: Denver Art Museum and Hudson Hills Press, 1993), 73.

that a theatre's sightlines force the eye towards a vanishing point.⁵² Where buildings were the main subjects they were often ruins as the qualities of roughness and irregularity were prized.⁵³ There was a reluctance to admit modernity into the picturesque aesthetic yet the world was not to be left as is; there was an overall emphasis on improving nature.⁵⁴ It was a highly subjective style as a result and Gilpin himself struggled with his definitions. He often emphasized that pictures were meant to "stimulate the imagination"⁵⁵ and therefore were not exact representations of locations. This is perhaps the key to the use of the word 'picturesque' in eighteenth century social dialogue; it referred to any landscape, real or imagined, that strove for an idealized, irregular and surprising naturalism.

In *Landscape and Ideology* (1986), Ann Bermingham first put forward the view that landscape painting provided a venue through which one could act out social customs, and later elaborated upon this idea by examining how the upper classes used the language of the picturesque: "For as much as it was a way of seeing, the Picturesque was what we might call a 'lingo', and the rapidity with which its terms could be learned, and the extravagant way in which they could be flaunted as a sign of aesthetic sensibility were often made the butt of satire."⁵⁶ For Talbot's generation, the way to understand this picturesque patois was to hire drawing masters to teach the art or procure drawing manuals that proffered self-improvement. As Martin Kemp observes in a study of the Talbot family's education in the art of drawing, Henry Talbot was certainly conventional in his tastes, and an enthusiast for picturesque scenery.⁵⁷ Kemp has argued that Talbot would have been privy to the kinds of drawing manuals that were spurred by the popularity of Gilpin's instructions, however vague, for sketching a scene on tour, but it is important to note that Gilpin was not the sole authority; he was indeed becoming out-of-date by the time of Talbot's photography, and moreover his picturesque had undergone several mutations. The picturesque by the 1840s

⁵² Malcolm Andrews, *Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989), 29.

⁵³ *The Sublime: A Reader in Eighteenth Century British Aesthetic Theory*, edited by Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 264.

⁵⁴ Malcolm Andrews, *The Picturesque: Literary Sources & Documents, Volume I*, edited by Malcolm Andrews (East Sussex, UK: Helm Information Ltd., 1994), 21-2.

⁵⁵ Bernard Denvir, *The Early Nineteenth Century: Art, Design and Society 1789-1852* (London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1984), 1.

⁵⁶ Ann Bermingham, "The Picturesque and ready-to-wear femininity," in *The Politics of the Picturesque*, ed. Stephen Copely and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 85.

⁵⁷ Martin Kemp, "Talbot and the Picturesque View – Henry, Caroline and Constance," in *History of Photography*, (1997): 273.

encompassed both detailed, textured works and the more vague atmospheric masses that characterized Turner's paintings, yet some qualities were so well-established that they did truly imply 'picturesque'. For instance, the concept of irregularity was so entrenched in the aesthetic that the word picturesque could be substituted for it in almost any situation. Since Kemp was speaking of Talbot's early training, it may be useful to use an example from Talbot's early years to illustrate this point. Observe a young Talbot's comment in a letter to his mother on 25 August 1815, when he was fifteen years old, on the picturesque qualities of his dinner table desserts:

Their form was tasty & picturesque, the façade of each was a rude but striking congeries of Rocks, & loose masses of Stone irregularly piled on high: the tout ensemble was allowed by the most perfect connoisseurs to be majestic & sublime. The cook, however, being too narrow minded to comprehend their noble disdain of a mathematical form, sought to reduce them to perfect symmetry, by flattening them into little pancakes!!! – Ignoble Change!⁵⁸

Talbot continued to relate life to the picturesque standards of Gilpin's work as can be seen in his description of his approach to the Mediterranean Sea in 1833:

I myself find it still more picturesque than I left it, the lapse of nine years and a half having impaired the mental picture, which therefore required a few fresh touches – Our first glimpse of the Mediterranean yesterday was impressive, a little bit of it is seen between two hills...⁵⁹

Talbot both implies that the Mediterranean appeared before him in a tripartite division of hill-water-hill in a very standard Gilpin composition, yet he also speaks of his memory of it as though he were painting it. Talbot also felt that the modern encroachment of factories and urbanity on the landscape did not fit the picturesque aesthetic, and so we see from his photographs a predilection for ruins.⁶⁰ In many ways, when Talbot used the term picturesque, he used it according to convention.

It would be difficult to say, however, that Talbot adhered solely to this aesthetic or that he, unlike his contemporaries, did not see it change and adapt to society. Later in his life, Talbot's argument for photography as art tends to revolve around the camera's ability to

⁵⁸ Letter, Talbot to Lady Elisabeth, 25 August 1815. LA15-008A, document number 662.

⁵⁹ Letter, Talbot to Lady Elisabeth, 21 October 1833. LA(H)33-018, document number 2752.

⁶⁰ In Talbot's letter to Lady Elisabeth Fielding on 14 August 1838, he writes "thus are manufacturies invading the domain of the picturesque." LA(H)38-006, document number 3714.

render detail in a manner evocative of the Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century,⁶¹ which Carl Chiarenza has argued occurred because of the importance placed on the science of the visual in that society.⁶² The comparison of the tonality of a salted paper print to that of a print by Rembrandt seems logical, (although Chiarenza takes some liberty in comparing Talbot's *The Open Door* to a painting by de Hooch). By associating his art with that of the Dutch school, Talbot validated the technological aspect of his photography through an accepted artistic style that blended well with the scientific. Yet the reference of the Dutch style did not preclude Talbot's scenes from also being called picturesque; in fact, Lawrence Goedde has argued that the Dutch employed a version of the picturesque, called *schilderachtig*, that embraced familiar subjects to British upper-class audiences.⁶³ Since the picturesque aesthetic was so flexible and yet pervasive as to work its way into common language as a sign of good breeding, Talbot had to be aware of the possibility that his choice of scenery would have been identified and judged according to the conventions of the picturesque.

Examining the choice of subjects and their rendering, the relationship between *Sun Pictures* and the popular picturesque sensibility is tangible. To open the book with a photograph of Heriot's Hospital (the term hospital suggested a charitable organization rather than an actual medical facility) is perhaps not the most obvious choice for a work based on Scott. The hospital did feature in Scott's novel *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1831), but *Fortunes* was not one of his more wide-read books. Rather, the hospital was more notable for its picturesque look than as the basis for literary nostalgia. The hospital offered Talbot the opportunity to show off his camera's adeptness at architectural scenes, all the while respecting the emerging Gothic taste for castellar architecture. With its unique and varied design, Heriot's Hospital fulfilled the picturesque demand for variety.⁶⁴

The Gothic spire of the Scott Monument, the second photograph in Talbot's series of plates for *Sun Pictures*, was particularly apposite to the irregularity of design that the picturesque style demanded of all scenery. Architect George Meikle Kemp was inspired by

⁶¹ Beaumont Newhall, *The Pencil of Nature* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1969), Plate VI *The Open Door*.

⁶² Carl Chiarenza, "Notes on the Aesthetic Relationships between Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting and Nineteenth Century Photography," in *One Hundred Years of Photographic History*, ed. Van Deren Coke (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1975), 21.

⁶³ Lawrence O. Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention: Subject, Style, and Artistic Self-Consciousness in Dutch Landscape," in *Looking at Seventeenth Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 135-6.

⁶⁴ Malcolm Andrews, *The Picturesque: Literary Sources & Documents, Volume I*, ed. Malcolm Andrews (East Sussex, UK: Helm Information Ltd., 1994), 6.

none other than Scott's beloved Melrose Abbey for the heavily embellished tower, in-keeping both with the antiquarian proclivity of the author and the popular taste for Gothic architecture.⁶⁵ It was given prime location in Edinburgh's city centre, with all of the citizens eager to pay homage to 'The Great Wizard of the North.' Standing at an impressive height of 200 feet 6 inches, the stone monument was also designed to house a statue of Scott more than double life-sized and carved out of imported Carrara marble (as discussed above). The central statue was not finished until 1846, but Talbot's photograph is not devoid of sculpture – the monument contained a series of niches in which statuettes of Scott's literary characters were placed.⁶⁶ Despite the fact that Talbot photographed the monument before completion, and was not able to fit in the entire structure because of the physical limitations of camera lens and angle, the photograph was one of Talbot's most popular prints available for individual sale.⁶⁷

Abbotsford Hall (Plates 3-5) likewise provided Talbot with a popular architectural subject. When Scott took possession of Abbotsford, he wasted no time in redesigning the old abbey to suit his combined English and Scottish heritage, and his newfound fame. The grand Hall was completed in 1824, a mixture of turrets and battlements, cannibalized medieval stonework from Melrose Abbey,⁶⁸ and elements from the new picturesque style, as advocated by men such as Uvedale Price in *Essays on the Picturesque* (1794). Scott's Gothic style was unique, for it aimed at historical authenticity in a way that early-Victorian Gothic domestic structures had not, and therefore "has come to assume a watershed significance... as the 'unsung prototype of Scots-Baronial architecture.'"⁶⁹ Even during Scott's lifetime, the significance of Abbotsford as an architectural innovation was recognized. In 1832, shortly before his death, Scott wandered into a bookshop in Frankfurt where the owner, not recognizing the face of the famous poet, tried to sell Scott a print of his own home! Scott is

⁶⁵ Michael Charlesworth, "The Ruined Abbey: Picturesque and Gothic Values," in *The Politics of the Picturesque*, ed. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67. Charlesworth is arguing for abbey architecture in particular, but the eighteenth century Gothic certainly had its roots in religious architecture.

⁶⁶ Statistical information on the monument provided by <http://www.aboutbritain.com/ScottMonument.htm>

⁶⁷ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 202.

⁶⁸ Richard Fawcett and Richard Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2004), 66.

⁶⁹ John Frew, "Scott, Abbotsford and the Antiquaries," in *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence*, ed. Iain G. Brown (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 37.

purported to have responded ‘I know that already, sir.’⁷⁰ The location certainly had some significance as a picturesque scene independent from its owner, being as much representative of Scotland as Scott, in much the same manner that Edinburgh Castle, famous as the birthplace of many Scottish kings and queens, is just as notable today for its perch above the city than as the home of any of the former royalty. Talbot could have photographed Abbotsford before deciding to thematically link the book to Scott.

The effigy of Scott’s dog Maida (Plate 6) is not an immediately obvious choice for a book of views, although it was located outside the house at Abbotsford, and sculptural garden elements were popular enough representations. The dog’s face was fairly well-known too – she had already been immortalized in a portrait with her doting owner by the painter Edwin Landseer (1802-1873).⁷¹ To isolate this sculpture with a black drop cloth as Talbot did, however, seems to point to the fact that he was more aware of its beauty as an object of art rather than a subject in a landscape. Talbot’s choice of imagery in this instance probably stemmed from the fact that he knew statuary was a particular *forté* of his camera. He recorded numerous experiments in photographing sculpture in his journals, and more than forty-seven separate images taken of a plaster cast of a Hellenic bust referred to as “Patroclus” still survive today.⁷² In each Patroclus image, Talbot has used a black cloth to isolate the bust from the background, drawing attention to the play of light and shadow emphasized by the white colour and deep baroque recesses of design. In at least one instance, he applied some opaque fluid to an image to soften the background in what may be an homage to the British watercolour medium.⁷³ Both the effigy of Maida and the Patroclus sculptures pay tribute to that popular Victorian subject, the portrait. In each instance, we see Talbot making choices that, although popularly associated with Scott, were also scenes deemed appropriate for sketching and painting, and choosing subjects for which he had previously proven his aptitude at photographing – architecture and sculpture.

⁷⁰ Iain Brown, introduction to *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence*, ed. Iain G. Brown (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), xiii.

⁷¹ Katherine Peveraro, *Views of the North: Visions of Scotland From Talbot, Turner and Scott*. (MLitt. thesis, University of St Andrews, 2004), 11.

⁷² Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 148.

⁷³ Susan L. Taylor, “Fox Talbot as an Artist: The ‘Patroclus’ Series,” in *Bulletin of University of Michigan’s Museums of Art and Archaeology* 8 (1986-88): 46. Taylor does not say whether the substance had been applied to the negative or the print.

The crumbling edifice of Melrose Abbey, overgrown with plant life, perfectly fitted the taste for picturesque views, and had been for years the site of a different kind of pilgrimage, one in search of antiquated scenery. It has already been discussed above that ruins were particularly favoured for the picturesque aesthetic, universally in garden design, painting and sketching. Their picturesqueness stemmed from the degree of ruination, generally preferred to be fairly advanced so that the building achieved an irregular design if it was not already privy to one. In the case of Melrose Abbey (Plates 7-9), the ruination was certainly well-advanced. Melrose had been the site of religious power since the mid-seventh century but it became notably linked with royalty in Scotland when King David (1124-53) founded a Cistercian monastery in 1137 near the site of the original abbey.⁷⁴ The abbey was located in a vulnerable position for the later fighting between the Scottish and English leaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on the boundary between the two countries, and became a place of meeting and negotiation.⁷⁵ It was the mustering point for Scottish troops invading the North of England on two occasions.⁷⁶ The abbey remained embroiled in Scottish patriotism until the last monk died there in 1609, and it passed from hand to hand until the state took over its care in the twentieth century.⁷⁷ By Scott's time, it certainly would have seemed a relic of a passionate past. In the photographs, one can see that the roof is missing, and the North wall is completely open to light and invading plant life. There is another element of the picturesque in Talbot's scenes at Melrose that is partially due to Talbot's approach to the building: the theatricality of all three pictures working together to slowly reveal the abbey part by part. This is the same sort of purpose that the serpentine trail generally was employed for in garden design; it introduced the elements of time and delay.⁷⁸ By showing Melrose the way he did, Talbot further entrenched it in the vocabulary of the picturesque.

It is not until Plate 10 that Talbot ventures away from architecture and man-made objects for the first time, but the results are spectacular. The scenery of Loch Katrine had been brought to the world's attention by Scott's poetry and the public embraced it

⁷⁴ Richard Fawcett and Richard Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2004), 22.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 49.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 54.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 67.

⁷⁸ *The Sublime: A Reader in Eighteenth Century British Aesthetic Theory*, ed. Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 264.

wholeheartedly for its role in *The Lady of the Lake* - but also for its remarkable physical similarity to the ideal structure of a picturesque landscape. A watercolour sketch by William Gilpin entitled *Goodrich Castle*, (see Figure 1), dating from around 1789, shows us an archetypal picturesque arrangement. The three otherwise flat planes that make up the basic picturesque composition of the late-eighteenth century are roughened and made irregular, with a dark foreground leading the eye into the pool of water in the middle of the composition for a pleasantly cocooning result. The image of Loch Katrine in Plate 12 has a similar construction, with a tripartite division and a darker foreground leading the eye towards the tranquil water. Talbot chose a point of view looking at the lake that worked with the same vocabulary as Gilpin's scene.



Figure 1. *Goodrich-Castle*. "This view, which is one of the grandest on the river, I should not scruple to call correctly picturesque; which is seldom the character of a purely natural scene." William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye and Several Parts of South Wales*, 2nd Edition (London: R. Blamire, 1789), 30-1.

Talbot returns to his architectural subjects with Dryburgh Abbey (Plate 13), at the end of the series of large views. The medieval abbey built c.1150 by the White Canons of the Premonstratensian Order, had long fallen into ruin by the time Talbot reached it in late October 1844, the crumbling basilica and cloisters left unoccupied and untended. The entranceway of what was probably the North Transept had been ravaged by both fire and war, leaving only the left corner with two smaller arches attesting to its original size and glory. Although the abbey was no longer in monastic use, it was still a hallowed burial ground, and most importantly for *Sun Pictures*, it was the final resting place of Walter Scott.

Doune Castle (Plates 18-20), a Scottish fortification dating from the fourteenth century, was another natural choice of architectural subject, contrasting nicely with the ecclesiastical architecture and the historically-inspired, but rather new, domestic setting of Abbotsford. The castle is set at the base of the Highlands, surrounded by gentle, rolling hills

rather than impressive mountains. Two shots of the castle itself show off its position in the countryside, particularly Plate 19, taken from behind the structure in its seemingly unmanicured lawn. The gardening here has been executed in a naturalistic way,⁷⁹ trees clumped irregularly on the lawns, simulating the accidents of nature. Although Scott's description of the castle in his novel *Waverley* vividly imbues the 'gloomy' bastion with all the mystery of a true Gothic romance, that Talbot took three pictures of what constituted a brief mention in the novel attests to the qualities it possessed as a picturesque subject. The mountain rivulet in Plate 20 was both a departure from Scott's description and a unique composition for Talbot. The camera has focused on the opposite bank of the stream at a low angle, making the thin wall of trees behind the stream appear to loom up into the sky, light illuminating every branch and curve of their growth. In using this composition, Talbot has captured a particularly inviting scene that offers the viewer a falsified yet charming and intimate view of the otherwise fairly large River Teith. It is most obviously with this scene that Talbot departs from depictions based on literary associations in favour of responses to natural scenery, leaving Scott's novels behind.

It was certainly to Talbot's advantage to use the pervasive influence of Walter Scott's name in his advertising in order to help his audience understand the kinds of subjects they could expect to encounter in his book. However, the photographs in *Sun Pictures in Scotland* clearly reflect another artist – Talbot himself. While in each case there is a connection with the life and writings of Scott, Talbot has clearly selected from the myriad of subjects those that were best suited to his camera and his taste for the picturesque.

Possible Themes in the Arrangement

Two things are definitely known about the pictures that were included in the book: first, that they did have some association with the life and writings of Sir Walter Scott, and second, that they were taken with two different cameras which produced pictures in two sizes. In arranging his pictures, Talbot *had* to be thinking about Scott, even if Scott was not originally the primary motivation for taking the pictures. As useful as this information is to the overall scope of the book, it still leaves questions unanswered as to what influenced Talbot's arrangement of his photographs. It seems unlikely that Talbot, a man who just two

⁷⁹ Thomas Repton, "On Gardening," in *The Early Nineteenth Century: Art, Design and Society 1789-1852*, edited by Bernard Denvir (London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1984), 35.

years later would publish a meticulous treatment of the history of language entitled *English Etymologies*, would not consider how the order of the images affected their reading, and content himself merely with the placement of the large views in front of the small views without thought for their interrelationships. It may be possible to glean something more of Talbot's purpose with *Sun Pictures* by considering how he arranged the photographs in the book.

To begin with, there is probably more than the division in size separating the large and small sets of pictures. Of the three different locations in the smaller views, for instance, both Loch Katrine and Doune Castle are taken from the Highlands. Doune Castle was a historic, traditional example of Scottish architecture of fortification, surrounded by a picturesque landscape that Talbot captures in the mountain rivulet scene on Plate 20. Melrose Abbey was, and still is, actually deteriorating. There is nothing contemporary or urbane about these scenes, and in that respect, they are part of the Scotland's ancient past. Loch Katrine and Melrose Abbey also appear in the large views but, I argue, as *different subjects*. Instead of the "Highland Hut" dominating Loch Katrine's landscape, in Plates 10-12 Talbot photographed across the water, revealing the mountains in expansive views. The images of Melrose Abbey appear as an anomaly in this context in that the images are virtually the same in the large and the small views. Yet, the choice to print the same subject twice may be reason enough to argue that he was thinking of the size difference in a purposeful way. Both Loch Katrine and Melrose Abbey are in locales frequented by tourists and therefore highly identifiable as scenes of romantic beauty as well as settings for fiction and poetry.

I would like further to propose that there is an attempt to visually separate the scenes of more authentic 'Scottishness' by presenting them as smaller, and at the end of the book. Malcolm Andrews has argued that the picturesque aesthetic, in its concern with ruins, acted out a kind of historical preservation that could easily have assigned an antique value to the Highland scenes.⁸⁰ The Scottish culture that Sir Walter Scott embraced was indeed retreating into the Highlands as the Lowlands became more 'civilized,' dividing the country temporally as well as geographically; the Highlands indicative of the past, and the Lowlands, the present. The 1842 publication of Queen Victoria's memoirs by Maclure and MacDonald of Glasgow presents this division in a more visually striking way than merely changing the size of the

⁸⁰ Malcolm Andrews, *The Picturesque: Literary Sources & Documents, Volume I*, edited by Malcolm Andrews (East Sussex, UK: Helm Information Ltd., 1994), 204.

views, and would have been a natural inspiration for Talbot's layout because the Queen's book was both recent and widely popular. Talbot may have even modeled his tour after the royal one, as is suggested by a letter he later received from friend Calvert Jones in 1845 asking whether "any points of decision regarding your [Talbot's] Belgian or Queen's tour"⁸¹ had been made. The specific tour that Jones is inquiring about was to have taken place in 1845 in Germany (but never did occur); a year earlier, Talbot followed a path in 1844 that closely resembled the Queen's Scottish tour. The Queen's book therefore may provide some justification for the arrangement.

The first half of *Memoirs* is lavishly illustrated with large lithographed drawings pasted onto the pages of the book, printed sideways with that single-ruled border that appears in Talbot's work also. This treatment only applies to the depiction of events in the Lowland cities, however, and when the Queen's route ventures northward into the Highlands in the second half of her book, the style of illustration and printing changes noticeably. The nature scenes and images of Highlanders in traditional dress are smaller, although still printed one to a page, and are not contained by a border. Perhaps Talbot took some visual cues from its construction, also dividing his book into two, and presenting the Highland portion as distinct from the Lowland views. For instance the Castle Doune, situated higher up in the hills of the Scottish countryside, with its river so quaintly termed in Talbot's captioning as a "rivulet", would be the perfect subject to place in a section of rustic views. Here Talbot could also place repeats of his beautifully printed Loch Katrine views with their more rustic accoutrements in the form of the "Highland Hut." The deliberate choice to put the only photographs of Highland scenery in the second half of the book and in a smaller format is further supported if one considers that Talbot did take larger photographs of Doune that were not included in the book. A document giving the prices for "Large Prints" from the Reading Establishment for 1846 lists "River Doune" as one of the subjects. The same document lists "River Doune" again as a ¼ sheet size print for sale.⁸² Talbot certainly took more photographs in Scotland on his trip than he published in *Sun Pictures*, so it is quite revealing to consider that there may not have been a need to print subjects like Doune Castle smaller than the rest.

⁸¹ Letter, Calvert Jones to Talbot, 4 September 1845. LA45-123, document number 5381.

⁸² LA46-2, *The Talbot Collection* at the British Library.

Edinburgh, Abbotsford, and Dryburgh do not appear in the smaller views, so that locations associated with Scott himself, rather than his fictional characters, appear in the larger section only. Scott had certainly visited Loch Katrine in order to write about it, and he was an adamant supporter of the restoration of Melrose Abbey, but these locations also evoke potent associations with his fiction (Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, as one may recall, was not as popularly associated with Scott's fiction as it was an architectural style.) In addition to Loch Katrine's role in *The Lady of the Lake*, Melrose featured in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), while Doune Castle was home to a scene in Scott's most celebrated book, *Waverley*. Each location in the smaller views could be seen as reserved for the views that were popularly associated with the antique vision of Scotland that Scott encouraged: "Consequently, it is reasonable to assume that Talbot intended his calotypes at least to evoke the action and settings of *The Lady of the Lake*."⁸³ By reserving this section for scenes of literary nostalgia, Talbot could introduce some of Scott's more overtly-sentimentalized imagery without the whole book appearing too maudlin.

The larger views may have been intended conversely to reflect a more contemporary reality, representative of an individual tourist's experience. It may have been natural in this case for Talbot to present the photographs in an order that echoed the way he approached the sites himself. Consider Talbot's three photographs of Abbotsford Hall (Plates 3, 4 and 5). Plate 3 is a view of the entire estate from a distance, a view that would have been captured from the road to Melrose. This is followed by Plate 4, a view of the main entrance gate, and then Plate 5, a photograph taken of the main door to the house. In this order, the photographs draw the viewer closer to the house in three successive stages. Talbot concludes the group of large Abbotsford views with the statue of Scott's dog Maida, which was visible at the side of the Hall door in the preceding photograph, Plate 5. Talbot went to the trouble of draping a black cloth behind the stone dog to block out the building behind, which implies that this was not meant to be part of the official Abbotsford group; but it still conforms to a logical movement because one must get closer to the building to see the statue properly. The final photograph in the Abbotsford-related imagery is therefore the one that is closest to the building.

⁸³ Graham Smith, "Views of Scotland," *Henry Fox Talbot, Selected Texts and Bibliography*, ed. Mike Weaver (Boston: G.K.Hall & Co., 1993), 123.

Talbot's audience would have been familiar with the architecture of Abbotsford Hall because of its prominent owner and unique design. Many may have visited the building themselves and used Talbot's views to all their own experiences. The eclectic mix of traditional building elements and modern architectural tastes is visible in Plate 3, the panoramic view. The two photographs following in the series (Plates 4 and 5) miss much of the strange architecture of the roofline by bringing the camera much closer to the Hall. It may be that Talbot wanted to show the Hall from an unconventional perspective, but it is also likely that Talbot was simply more comfortable photographing architecture close-up. The very first photograph in *The Pencil of Nature* shows part of the façade of Queen's College at Oxford at fairly close range. The perfectly defined cracks and crevices of the stone astonished reviewers for their "strikingly real effect," "the most perfect that can be conceived."⁸⁴ Talbot may have remembered this praise and photographed closer to the Hall to echo the success of the stark sunlight and shade of the Oxford view. It is also possible that Talbot's proximity to the Hall forced him to photograph within a much smaller frame than an artist would be confined to with the pencil or brush. Since he knew these closer views were less identifiable than the wider landscape shot, Talbot may have felt the need to place them in order of approach to facilitate understanding of their placement and relationship to the building.

Sir Walter Scott's home at Abbotsford was opened to the public in 1833, just five months after his death, and was immediately popular with visitors.⁸⁵ By 1845, there were many personal memoirs printed from those travelers who had visited Abbotsford. Henry McLellan describes his visit in his *Journal and Memoirs* (1834), and his text shares the same sense of discovery with Talbot's views. The Hall opens up ahead of McLellan in a panorama, before disappearing from view behind a long red gate as he descends into a valley. This causes him to lose his bearings, and he enters from a side door rather than the main gate that Talbot shows us.⁸⁶ It may be that McLellan came from a different approach than Talbot did, one which did not lead directly to the front door. After passing through the gate he entered a courtyard area "above the trees of which, the turrets and gables of Abbotsford

⁸⁴ Quotes from *The Spectator* for 20 July 1844 and *The Art-Union* for 1 August 1844. Reprinted in Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 176.

⁸⁵ "Abbotsford, The Home of Sir Walter Scott, Melrose, Scotland," Official Website, <http://www.scottsabbotsford.co.uk/house.html>

⁸⁶ I. McLellan Jr., *McLellan's Journal and Memoir* (Boston: Allen and Ticknor, 1834), 224.

were to be seen.”⁸⁷ Talbot’s construction echoes this, with Plate 3, the distant view being followed abruptly by Plate 4, the Entrance Gate. The large gate takes up the entire picture frame. This is followed by a retracted view of the Hall door in Plate 5 that gives us a glimpse of the larger façade again. Talbot, again, probably chose to leave the views in the order of the approach to convey as much of the building and its details as possible.

The comparison to a real-world experience of approaching the building is reinforced if one also considers the large photographs of Melrose Abbey (Plates 7, 8 and 9). The photographs begin with a view of the Gothic abbey from the south-east, looking towards the southern transept crossing (Plate 7). In the foreground, some of the adjoining graveyard is visible. Talbot must have struggled to capture this beautiful abbey in its entirety, and in the end he settled on the most architecturally attractive portion. In the Gothic style, the eastern end of the cathedral housed the altar, and was therefore the most ornate. The architecture here would generally have been lighter, with far more glass incorporated. In this particular building a missing wall allows one to look directly through the interior to see the light flooding in from a northern wall. Talbot also captures the southern entranceway, which is visible at the left and was used at the time as the principle processional entrance,⁸⁸ would have been more ornately decorated than the northern or even western facades. At Melrose, the beauty of the south-west façade is further enforced by a row of chapels added all along the side of the nave that had a high level of carved decoration compared with the other sides because they were on the more public side of the building.⁸⁹ It is also likely that the main road from town approached the southern entrance, so that Talbot could draw back further and still obtain a clear picture. The two pictures that follow this one appear to move down the southern side in a clear motion from East to West. Talbot comes in much closer to get a photograph of the southern door straight on (Plate 8), and then moves down the southern side towards the West to photograph the missing roof over the long basilica portion of the building (Plate 9). At Melrose Abbey, Talbot has recreated an imaginary approach from the road in the East to the western end of the building.

The final set of large views show a visit to Loch Katrine (Plates 10, 11 and 12). Graham Smith has described the orientation of the first two as being taken from the East

⁸⁷ I. McLellan Jr., *McLellan’s Journal and Memoir* (Boston: Allen and Ticknor, 1834), 224.

⁸⁸ Richard Fawcett and Richard Oram, *Melrose Abbey* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2004), 128.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 153.

end of the loch, with the third (Plate 12) looking south-west across the whole loch⁹⁰ indicating that Talbot traveled around some part of the loch to obtain different vantage points. Although there is not a clear starting or finishing point to the Loch Katrine journey, as there is in the architectural views, we may still derive a sense of movement from these photographs. According to John Leighton in *The Lakes of Scotland* (1836), the approach from the East was the principal road by which to arrive at the loch. If Talbot did approach from that direction, he would have had to traverse a narrow pass, known as the Trossachs Dell, which hid the loch from view until it was revealed spectacularly to the traveler emerging from the gorge. *The Scottish Tourist* describes the lake as literally “bursting upon the view.”⁹¹ From this approach, Talbot would have been able to capture the most picturesque elements of the loch, with the mountain of Ben Venue situated on the left and the Aroquhar mountains on the right in a very traditional, tripartite division of the picture plane, in-keeping with William Gilpin’s format. He took two photographs from this angle, Plates 10 and 11. This view, however, makes the lake appear far smaller than it truly is, so Talbot traveled around the lake to the south-west where the mountains would be behind him, opening up the picture plane for Plate 12. Schaaf has observed that Talbot did not travel over to Ellen’s Island, named after the heroine of *The Lady of the Lake*, supposing that trusting his photographic equipment to a small oar-boat might not have been in Talbot’s best interest.⁹² Even though Talbot remained on the shore, this set of photographs repeats the approach from the East and movement across to the West that was visible in the Melrose Abbey shots.

The smaller group of Loch Katrine photographs (Plates 14-17), in comparison, is relatively static and unrelated to one another. We see the image of the “Highland Hut” in Plate 14 followed by two views of the loch and then another view of the hut with the blurred figure of a man standing in front of it. We may gather from Talbot’s choice of wording in the title page that he did not see all four photographs as a single group; Plate 14 is titled “Highland Hut on the banks of Loch Katrine” while the other three are grouped as “Scenery of Loch Katrine” even though the subject from Plate 14 repeats in Plate 17. These two

⁹⁰ Graham Smith, “Views of Scotland,” in *Henry Fox Talbot, Selected Texts and Bibliography*, ed. Mike Weaver (Boston: G.K.Hall & Co., 1993), 119.

⁹¹ Preface to *The Scottish Tourist* (Edinburgh: Stirling and Kenney of London), 1834.

⁹² Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 206.

images are further separated by a page break, the first appearing at the top of the first page of small views, and the other at the bottom of the next. The Doune Castle images (Plates 18-20) are also unlike the sequenced larger architectural views. Talbot presents two landscape views, one from the front and one from the back, and then a detail view of a river on the property with part of the castle wall visible in the upper left. Rather than moving from the front of the castle through to the back and showing the larger landscape, Talbot walks quite a distance into the landscape and turns around to look back at the castle. His interest is therefore in showing the full view of the castle rather than the tourist's experience of the surrounds, emphasized by the fact that in neither the front or back view does one see where the river is located. The reading of each of the small locations as individual illustrative scenes further annexes the smaller views into a different thematic group. The small Melrose Abbey views, Plates 21-23, as mentioned were duplicate views. In this respect, they could be understood to have the same pattern of movement as their larger counterparts, but again, it is likely that Talbot did not envision that the same reading would be applied to the larger views as the smaller ones.

Although the large views of Abbotsford, Melrose and Loch Katrine are arranged in neat little packets, it is harder to establish a sequence or direction with the locations represented by only one or two photographs. For instance, the two Edinburgh views that open the book show two different locations in the city. Would it have been necessary to show Heriot's Hospital prior to the Scott Monument? There is some logic inferred here, as the Hospital was a feature of Scott's life and the Monument only appeared after his death, but the connection is rather weak. It is likely that although Talbot arranged the three locations mentioned above in order of the real-world approach to the buildings, he did not feel the need to arrange the photographs of the city in any geographical or temporal order. For instance, for the viewer to take the journey with Talbot from the view of Abbotsford to the Entrance Gate, one is only required to imagine a distance of metres. Since one could see the distance between the camera and the Hall in the picture, the viewer would know that trees and grass made up the scenery in that distance between. In this way, the mind is able to make the connection from where the camera was placed for the first picture to where the camera was in each successive view. For the viewers to connect the Hospital in the Old Town to the Monument in the New Town, they would have had to follow a path that

traversed several city streets.⁹³ These two pictures rely heavily on the viewer's knowledge of the layout of Edinburgh if one wished to connect them in any order.

Dryburgh Abbey in Plate 13 poses a similar problem for the argument of arrangement based on movement towards points of interest, since the abbey appears only once and is not geographically located near the Loch Katrine images that precede it. The reason for the placement of the abbey at the close of the large views must be that a grave marks a natural concluding point. This could at once signal that the photographs associated with touring ended with the large views, and the viewer was about to encounter a different subject, that concerning Scott's fictional legacy.

While there is no supporting written text, or any written documentation in Talbot's journals indicating why he arranged the photographs the way he did, it is still possible to suggest allusions to both fiction and literal movement in the organization. What has not yet been addressed, however, is why Talbot printed a book that did not take advantage of the written word to guide the viewer to this, or even another, understanding of his photographs. Talbot must have had a rationalization for a book without words, which implicitly claimed to take its influence from literature, to be successful. In order to consider precedents for Talbot's book, however, we must first examine his experience with the fiscal realities of professional publishing.

William Henry Fox Talbot and his Manufacturing Plans

The paper photographic process that would come to be known as the calotype was not an overnight discovery for Talbot, and he worked on perfecting it for nearly a decade prior to publishing. In 1839, despite not having achieved the results he desired with what he then-termed photogenic drawing, Talbot was pushed to reveal his invention to the world by the announcement of the daguerreotype. Talbot's confidence in his paper process at this early date, however, was low. The prints that he had available to show the public because of

⁹³ According to Schaaf, the photograph of the Scott Monument was originally thought to be taken from the window of Robert Cranston's Hotel at 43 Princes Street (*The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 202. In Katherine Peveraro, *Views of the North: Visions of Scotland From Talbot, Turner and Scott*, (M.Litt. thesis, University of St Andrews, 2004), Peveraro discovers that there was no hotel at this address by the name of Cranston, and concludes that the likely location was the Royal Hotel at 53 Princes Street. Larry Schaaf agreed with her conclusions.

his rush were prints that he had in stock from earlier experiments - as early as 1835.⁹⁴ They were photogenic drawings, a method that used a print-out process, meaning the images appeared slowly in the light and were not developed afterwards, but only initially stabilized. The exposure times were extremely lengthy and even his small camera images, on the order of six or seven centimetres high, would have required on average fifteen minutes.⁹⁵ Finally, Talbot also would have been showing his colleagues negatives rather than positives, because although he had certainly grasped the concept of using the negative to create a positive, he had not attempted it yet by this point.⁹⁶ Talbot's delay in announcing his discovery was conditioned by the fact that his camera pictures were not yet the impressive images he hoped they would be. Even close friend Sir John Herschel, upon viewing the daguerreotypes in Paris in 1839, confessed that he found them far more detailed and refined than Talbot's photogenic drawings.⁹⁷ Although Herschel would argue in a March 1839 paper before the Royal Academy that "the application of photographic processes... is susceptible of great development, and capable of producing very beautiful results," these results were not immediately achieved.⁹⁸

The year 1840 marked a turning point for Talbot, and the convergence of three elements that would finally make his process marketable. The first was that the British weather was unusually agreeable and the sun shone brilliantly through the month September, giving Talbot ample opportunity for printing.⁹⁹ The second was Talbot's discovery of the latent image in late September, brought out by a wash of gallic acid, which made the process infinitely more sensitive and drastically reduced exposure times.¹⁰⁰ Thirdly, Talbot managed to improve the fixing process so that the images did not fade upon subsequent exposures to light.¹⁰¹ He remarked in several letters to Herschel in 1840 that he wanted to take his camera out on artistic tours and in September of that year that he produced two camera views of a vignette size, "suitable to tourists who cannot take about with them a larger apparatus."¹⁰²

⁹⁴ Larry J. Schaaf, *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 47.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 103-4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 112.

¹⁰² Letter, Talbot to Herschel, 1 September 1840. HS 17:303, document number 4133.

Talbot decided that his new process, which did indeed look quite different from his earlier attempts with photogenic drawing, deserved a new name. The term *calotype* was originally published at the head of an article on 8 February 1841 and Talbot remained faithful to the term even though his mother promoted the more practical term *Talbotype*.¹⁰³ Talbot and Henneman traveled to France in May 1843, where they met with colleagues and friends regarding the use of the calotype in Paris,¹⁰⁴ but the real photographic tour would not come until the fall of 1844. Throughout the early years Talbot's desire to exploit his process for the purpose he had first intended remained constant, however, to make the sun take his pencil sketches for him.

If 1840 marked the year the process came into its own, 1843 was the year Talbot himself ceased to be an amateur by becoming a published photographer. Prior to 1843, Talbot made photographs in that haphazard way of inventors – at home and with the assistance of his obliging household staff. He may have exhibited his photogenic drawings as early as 1839, but his audience was limited to his peers in the scientific community. As much as this may have ensured his social standing, playing the amateur was not going to advance his financial standing. Talbot needed a way to reconcile these two worlds, where the scientist who sought to contribute only to the greater understanding of the world could also be the businessman who earned a profit from his knowledge. For Talbot, that opportunity would come through Nicholaas Henneman.

In early 1844 Talbot's longtime assistant Nicholaas Henneman left his employ as a servant, and with financial backing from Talbot, founded a mass-production photographic publishing house at Reading. As much money as Talbot may have invested, the venture was Henneman's own, with Talbot noting in his journal that he did not visit "N's Establish^{mt} 8 Russell Terrace" until 14 February 1844.¹⁰⁵ Shortly afterwards, Talbot voiced his satisfaction with Henneman's enterprise to William Jerdan, editor of *The Literary Gazette*: "The

¹⁰³ Larry J. Schaaf, *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 112.

¹⁰⁴ On the 12 May 1843 Talbot started a brief French tour at Calais, traveled to Paris, Rouen and Louviers before returning to Paris on 19 May. He sent two photographs of Rouen home to his wife Constance, and another two of Dover and Calais to his mother. He describes visiting a few sites in Paris, including the Tuileries. See LA43-055, document number 4822; LA43-057, document number 4824; LA43-058, document number 4825. While he is photographing on this excursion, his reasons for being in Paris are strictly business, however, as C. de Bassano writes to Talbot shortly before his arrival in France regarding a contract concerning the "Société Calotypique" Bassano began operating in Paris in 1843. See LA43-054, document number 4821.

¹⁰⁵ *Talbot Notebook*, London (May 1843-May 1844). Lacock Collection. From Larry J. Schaaf, *H. Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile, Introductory Volume* (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989), 17.

complexity of the art requires a division of labour... hitherto I have been the chief operator myself in the different branches of the invention."¹⁰⁶ With new confidence in his product, and a dedicated publishing facility freeing him to take the pictures rather than spend his time producing them, Talbot was able to set himself up as a photographic author.

It is important to understand that, although Talbot was slightly divorced from the business of publishing, he was still financially responsible for its function and like most start-up ventures, Henneman's business was not an immediate success. The Reading Establishment made most of its income from its single investor. Henneman billed Talbot for 10,400 photographs by the end of the first eight months in September; a remarkable number to have produced in that amount of time, yet distressing for economic projections that it was for a single client.¹⁰⁷ Since a large portion of those ten thousand must have gone towards Talbot's signature book *The Pencil of Nature*, that placed a great fiscal burden on the book to succeed. Unfortunately, the production of the book was not free from hardship. Schaaf's seminal work, the special anniversary reprinting of *Pencil*, describes the process of making the book as such: "The six numbers were issued in varying sizes on an erratic schedule. Talbot was forced to make last-minute substitutions, and even a contemporary customer could have been confused by what to expect. This was exacerbated by the ad hoc promotional efforts of Talbot, Henneman, and Lady Elizabeth."¹⁰⁸ Although the business did become well known in the town of Reading, it was not the successful enterprise its owner likely imagined it would be.

This places Talbot's work in a practical context that would be easy to ignore if one merely looked at the subject matter. *The Pencil of Nature* was the product of a business arrangement in a very fragile first year, during which the necessities of cost or time were considerable. Talbot's efforts to popularize his process also coincided with his first encounter with the realities of producing a large number of photographic prints, let alone seeing them published. He clearly had some difficulty estimating appropriate production quantities, demonstrated by the fact that he originally meant to include a far greater number of photographs than were actually included in *Pencil*. Talbot wanted to use fifty photographic

¹⁰⁶ Letter, Talbot to Jerdan, June 23, 1844. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre. From Larry J. Schaaf, *H. Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile, Introductory Volume* (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989), 17.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 19.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 72.

plates spread over the six fascicles. The first would sell for 12s and each of the remaining fascicles for 21s (or one guinea, the price he settled on for *Sun Pictures*). The *Pencil* at the end only contained twenty-four of the intended fifty photographs, with numbers three through six selling for a mere 7s 6d.¹⁰⁹ Were the costs of production too great and the book overpriced? Schaaf trounces the second accusation by observing that works issued contemporaneously with the *Pencil* could sell for much more, and that the modern perception of cost comes from a single reviewer: "Perhaps the reviewer for the *Athenaem* felt the price was too high relative to the quality of the product he was receiving, and later writers have taken this to mean that the *Pencil* was priced above market."¹¹⁰ Considering the difficulty Talbot had in producing the number of photographs for the book that he originally desired, and that he reduced the price of the last few fascicles of *Pencil*, Talbot may certainly have been more careful with his financial investment in *Sun Pictures*.

According to Talbot's contract with the publisher Longmans, *The Pencil of Nature* was published on commission by the author, which meant all the books needed to be delivered to the publisher in a completed state, and that all costs fell to Talbot to cover.¹¹¹ The firm of J. & H. Cox printed the letterpress, and Schaaf has speculated that Owen Jones, an architect and ornament designer who did work for Longmans in the 1840s, lithographed the cover art based on a watercolour design in Talbot's personal collection.¹¹² The binder Alfred Tarrant mounted, ruled and numbered the pages, and assembled the folios. It is impossible to know exactly what the cost of production of the volumes were because the records of the publisher, binder, and printer are fragmentary, but we do know that Tarrant was again employed on *Sun Pictures* while the letterpress firm of J. & H. Cox may have been contracted again, but only for three pages.

It is important to know the realities of Talbot's business in order to understand that some of the choices that affected the final presentation of *Sun Pictures* may have been economic. Knowing that Talbot had received a bit of a financial bruising over his business choices thus far, it is possible that Talbot wanted to keep his costs low for the second book, and therefore the decision to omit any text pages may primarily have been a pecuniary one.

¹⁰⁹ H.J.P. Arnold, *William Henry Fox Talbot; Pioneer of Photography and Man of Science* (London: Hutchinson Benham, 1977), 153.

¹¹⁰ Larry J. Schaaf, *H. Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile, Introductory Volume* (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989), 31.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 27.

¹¹² *Ibid*, 23.

Henneman's printing establishment was specifically photographic, with facilities set up to produce only photographic prints, not entire books. To print a book, Talbot first had to order the prints from Henneman, then to have them bound by Alfred Tarrant at another location, and finally have them delivered to Longmans and distributed by this third party. It is entirely possible that in order to produce this second book as cheaply as possible he sacrificed or attempted to minimize the outside costs, meaning the typesetter's costs and the distributor's costs. On the title page of the book, the location of printing is given as 'London' rather than Reading, which is where Alfred Tarrant, the binder, was located.¹¹³ What is absent is the publisher's stamp claiming the book for Longman's. With this book, Talbot's mother did all the work of promotion and distribution.

Eliminating the text may also have allowed Talbot to include more photographs. The second installment of *The Pencil of Nature* contained only seven photographs and sold for the same price as *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, which contained twenty-three photographs. Some sort of financial calculations must have taken place for Talbot to decide that these two items would be profitable at the same price, and the sacrifice of compositor's fees to set the type for explanatory text was made. Including pages printed with moveable type could also detract from the claim he made in *The Pencil of Nature* that the photograph was a tool for duplication, perhaps further encouraging him to forgoe the text. Almost from the beginning, Talbot envisioned photography as a replacement for the compositor or scribe,¹¹⁴ thus his comment that photography may "enable poor authors to make facsimiles of their works in their own handwriting."¹¹⁵

Finally, despite all these reasons for Talbot's abandonment of text, the real motivation may simply have been time constraints. We know Talbot did not write anything other than a few details regarding his room and board while he was away, and he may have been too busy to pen a story from memory in the time between his return in late October 1844 and the book's publication less than a year later in July 1845. To write anything, even another description of the process rather than a travelogue, in such a short period would mean that Talbot would have had to set aside a large amount of time in his busy schedule in

¹¹³ H.J.P. Arnold, *William Henry Fox Talbot: Pioneer of Photography and Man of Science* (London: Hutchinson Benham, 1977), 156.

¹¹⁴ William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature, Anniversary Facsimile* (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989), Plate 9. Fac-Simile of an Old Printed Page.

¹¹⁵ Letter, Talbot to Herschel, 21 March 1839. Document number 3843.

the winter and spring of 1845. Early in January Talbot wrote to his wife Constance that he had encountered some difficulty getting the second fascicle of the *Pencil of Nature* into the hands of his publisher, which could have easily distracted him.¹¹⁶ Talbot also spent a lot of time away from both Lacock Abbey and Reading, appearing to be engaged for some time with plans to travel to Belgium for a photographing tour, but the plans never came to fruition. The trip that did take place was with Calvert Jones to York in early October, the starting point of his Scottish tour. That trip was halted unexpectedly because of the death of one of Jones' relatives and so we will never know if Talbot and Jones intended to carry on to Scotland on that occasion. While Talbot may have done a lot of work with the calotype that year, it is important to remember that Talbot was an accomplished author in subjects other than photography, and these might easily have distracted him as well. He and the noted scientist John Herschel corresponded over a topic in calculus in September of 1844,¹¹⁷ and he was likely already working on his *English Etymologies*, which he published in 1847. With all these other concerns, and the next copy of *Pencil* on its way, Talbot may have been too hurried to write a thoughtful text from scratch.

Another possible attempt by Talbot to reduce expenditure with *Sun Pictures* is that he produced a limited number of books. While publisher's costs are reduced the more prints one makes from a single engraving, the cost of labour and production for a calotype positive, a salted-paper print, cannot be hurried or cheapened by bulk purchases. For example, in lithography the engraving of the plate made up the majority of the printing costs, while the ink and paper supplies were actually quite inexpensive and readily available.¹¹⁸ Once the initial composition was made, and a test copy had been run through the press and approved, subsequent prints made from the same plate that stamped the first test page no longer carried the cost of composition. The cost of that first plate could then be spread over a large number of prints and thus prints in bulk were offered at a reduced price.¹¹⁹ The same cannot be said for photographic production at the Reading Establishment. The procurement of the negative was by far the least expensive part of the process in an almost complete reversal of the printing press procedure. The cost to produce the negative rested solely on the part of

¹¹⁶ Letter, Talbot to Constance, 29 January 1845. LA46-016, document number 5173.

¹¹⁷ Letter, Herschel to Talbot, 13 September 1844. LA44-061, document number 5065.

¹¹⁸ Percy Muir, *Victorian Illustrated Books* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1985), 1-11.

¹¹⁹ Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003), 61.

the photographer who had already invested in the photographic supplies. The photographic printer relied on the photographer to bring in that item already exposed (if not already fixed).¹²⁰ The negative would then be taken by the photographic printer and sandwiched in a printing frame that contained a piece of glass and sensitized paper and exposed to the sun. This paper had to be of the finest rag, cut by hand to fit the size of the frame, and finally sensitized by hand so that it would accept an image. Since the original negative was used each time, the printer could not produce more than one print at a time. The exposure times could vary as well; the printing frame would be left out in the sunlight and checked periodically to see how the image was developing. If the print was grossly overexposed, or shifted in the frame during this time period, that print was discarded and the negative laid out with another piece of sensitized paper, and the entire process started again. If the print was successfully exposed, it still needed to be taken back into a dark room and washed, and fixed in a bath of hypo.¹²¹ Finally, each print had to be trimmed down to the image area. In some cases areas that had not printed well around the edges were dealt with by cropping corners, as discussed above, so that each print really needed to be considered individually and appropriately dealt with before being trimmed and pasted in to the book by hand. This is a highly labour-intensive process and cannot be reduced in cost proportional to the amount ordered – if anything, the more prints that were ordered, the more work it entailed. With the difficulty of printing a large number of calotype prints and the economical benefit of printing only a small number of text pages, Talbot may have been persuaded by the limited number of subscribers to produce only the 120 books and no text.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to find the average cost price for producing an illustrated book of lithographs roughly corresponding in format and date to *Sun Pictures* in order to establish a basis for comparison. Alexis Weedon has carefully examined the topic of estimating the real price of a book, and cites the problem of discounted bulk purchases, as well as reduced prices from competition between booksellers, as problem factors.¹²² It remains however that Talbot had no discounts offered him from Henneman, and he likely did not receive discounts from his binder or publisher for producing so few books. To make

¹²⁰ *Catalogue Five. Sun Pictures, The Reverend Calvert R. Jones*, ed. Larry J. Schaaf (New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr., Inc. and Meridian Printing, 1990), 15. According to Calvert Jones Henneman would print negatives for photographers so that they did not have to do this in the field.

¹²¹ For information regarding Brian Coe's efforts to print calotypes, see Brian W. Coe, " 'Sun Pictures' Modern Preparation," in *Camera* (1976): 22-23.

¹²² Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003), 54.

matters worse, he was responsible not merely for buying his prints from Henneman but for overseeing the costs of running the Talbotype Establishment as well. Talbot may have taken every opportunity to save himself some money in the making of *Sun Pictures in Scotland*.

This leaves us only to consider if there is any reason, aside from economics and lack of time, why Talbot thought a book of photographs without a narrative accompaniment would be successful. Since Talbot himself provides no information, it remains for scholars to compare his works with other illustrated volumes of various types in an attempt to find any similarities in construction.

Stylistic Comparisons for View Books with No Text

The first and most obvious comparison is to *The Pencil of Nature*, yet aside from the thin-line borders that frame the photographs, there are no other structural similarities between these two books. Each image in the *Pencil* is accompanied by text pages, and is not duplicated by a smaller print. The *Pencil* is often found bound in a less uniform way than the *Sun Pictures* since it was issued in folios rather than as a single entity, and it was the responsibility of the owner to arrange for binding the publication. For that reason the pictures sometimes appear in a different order.¹²³ The *Pencil* clearly had a different function as well, taking for its subject the photographic process and its utilitarian uses and possibilities rather than one based on a geographical location. Carol Armstrong has written on the implicit meaning in Talbot's text for this book, and she argues that Talbot still presents his process as an experiment, a rarity, and not as a certain success.¹²⁴ He offers *Pencil* as a guide for how to read the *unfamiliar*. Armstrong also points out that as part of an explanation of the uniqueness of the process, Talbot does have to address those 'photographs like paintings' and she reads his comments for *The Open Door* as an attempt to place photography at the end point of Dutch painting developments.¹²⁵ Talbot's claim creates an evolutionary background for photographs as art but does not go so far as to argue that he is the artist. The timing of *Sun Pictures* is worth some consideration in this respect. Talbot published the first fascicle of *Pencil* in June 1844 before he went to Scotland in October, and then there was a long delay before the second came out on January 29, 1845. By July 1845 when *Sun*

¹²³ Beaumont Newhall, introduction to *The Pencil of Nature*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1969.

¹²⁴ Carol Armstrong, *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998), 110.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 163.

Pictures was being distributed, he had released two more fascicles of *Pencil* – parts 3 and 4 in May 14-29 and June 21 respectively – but that book was still incomplete. *Sun Pictures* may have been hurried along because it was meant to complement the artistic claims he made in his text to Plate 6, “The Open Door” in the second fascicle. He was clearly thinking about the artistic qualities of his prints at that point and it may have been a natural conclusion to print elsewhere what he could not in the limited space of *Pencil*. The point remains, however, that even though Talbot may have been exploring the capability of the camera and working artistically with images in *The Pencil of Nature*, he was restricted by the fact that *Pencil* was primarily expository and therefore a different entity from *Sun Pictures*.

If no book of Talbot’s own making can be found to have a comparable construction to *Sun Pictures*, the next logical step is to try to find a photographic book that uses another process. As was mentioned earlier, the daguerreotype was embraced by the printing establishment even though the daguerreotype itself could not be reproduced. Engravings after daguerreotypes were initially used in publications to represent travel views, since the photographic process was thought to render a more faithful representation of exotic locales than the artist’s pencil alone.¹²⁶ Few works engraved after daguerreotypes entered the mass market before the publication of *Sun Pictures*, but N.M.P. Lerebours’ *Excursions Daguerriennes* were the most prominent. The serialized format meant that even though the book was not completed until 1844, the first ten parts consisting of forty plates were issued much earlier, between July 1840 and December 1841, giving the public ample time to absorb the idea of copied daguerreotype images before Talbot issued his books.¹²⁷ Each part comprised four prints and descriptive letterpress, selected from the work of different photographers at separate locations. Talbot’s work differs quite strongly here by virtue of the fact that it was the product of a single author, and (with perhaps the exception of Henneman), a single photographer’s vision.

Excursions Daguerriennes were not the only illustrated travel books published with engravings after daguerreotype plates, but the others of this genre do not yield rewarding comparisons to *Sun Pictures*, and it is uncertain whether Talbot would have had any familiarity with them. For instance, John Lloyd Stevens and Frederick Catherwood’s *Incidents*

¹²⁶ Clare L. Lyons et al. *Antiquity and Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 22.

¹²⁷ David Harris, email message to author, 17 June 2007.

of *Travel in the Yucatan* (1843) were widely popular and printed several times over. Its engraved illustrations were based on *camera lucida* drawings, supplemented by daguerreotypes. This two-volume work hardly sets a precedent for the photographically-illustrated tour book however, relying heavily on a personalized, heroic narrative that had been in use for the last century in colonialist writing.¹²⁸ Because of the emphasis on the story, the images interspersed throughout the text become secondary to the narrative in an almost complete reversal of the function of Talbot's book. These successful examples are followed by a number of failed attempts to publish a daguerreotyped tour, demonstrating that others had envisioned the idea of photographic illustrated publication. Some, such as Alexander Ellis, who left England for Italy in 1841 with a copy of Lerebours' book and the intention of publishing a similar work containing sixty views of Italy entitled *Italian Daguerreotypes*, never succeeded.¹²⁹ Ellis' effort does provide an important connection to Talbot, proving that copies of *Excursions Daguerriennes* were available to the British market. Knowing Ellis was able to purchase the book and daguerreotype equipment as early as 1841, and that Talbot had many friends in France including photographer Antoine Claudet,¹³⁰ it is safe to assume that *Excursions* would have been brought to his attention. Talbot had a successful example to follow and yet chose to approach the idea differently.

Before *Excursions Daguerriennes* captured the imaginations of the publishers, view books were already established market items and because these view books had a longer history and a larger audience, it is possible to find examples within that genre that may more closely resemble the structure of Talbot's work than any of the contemporaneous photographic books. Unfortunately it is not possible to say if Talbot did own one of these books, as the current Lacock Abbey library records give only two tour books for Scotland and no collections of views.¹³¹ Yet Talbot's mother made sure that he knew of them and their going rates:

I see there is a new Edition of Lord B's Childe Harold, illustrated with sixty prints! for one guinea! ... I see too that Moore's Irish Melodies are advertised with 154 designs by the celebrated Maclise.¹³²

¹²⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), 87.

¹²⁹ John Wood, *The Scenic Daguerreotype, Romanticism and Early Photography* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1995), 39.

¹³⁰ The earliest letter in Talbot's correspondence from Antoine Claudet is dated 5 January 1842, but from the tone of the letter there had been others previous to it. See document number 4414.

¹³¹ Roger C. Watson, email message to author, 9 August 2007.

¹³² Letter, Lady Elisabeth to Talbot, 8 January 1845. Document number 5152.

Talbot had so many artistic personalities in his life, including mother, sister Caroline and Uncle William Fox-Strangeways, that even if he did not collect view books, he would undoubtedly have discussed their details.

Virtue's Picturesque Beauties of Great Britain published in London by G. Virtue in 1831, with an introduction by Thomas Wright, was a collection of smaller views printed two to a page comparable in size and arrangement to Talbot's smaller views in *Sun Pictures*. The border around the images in both works is again a single, ruled line. The major structural difference is that Virtue's book is preceded by ninety-six pages of introductory text, and each of the images is captioned. A work published in 1825 by David Lizars of Edinburgh used a similar format to Virtue. The *Picturesque Views of Edinburgh* contained lithographed drawings by J. Ewbank, "to which [was] Prefixed An Historical Sketch of Edinburgh, from the Earliest to the Present Times" by James Browne, Esq. The "Historical Sketch", was an impressive 225 pages long with far fewer drawings. The images were printed sideways and took up the whole page more like Talbot's larger views. The prints in this work were contained by a more elaborate ruled border and featured captions also printed sideways. Ewbank's publication is useful to consider for the way subject matter repeats itself at random. It does not repeat any of the views – one cannot merely enlarge and shrink a lithographed page, and there would be no point to repeating a lithographed image exactly – but there are variants of subjects strewn throughout the book without much sense of sequence. The Church of St. Giles' distinctive steeple, for instance, can be spotted five times throughout the illustrations, indicating that the traveler is either directionless or making small circles, traversing the same location again and again. In both cases, there is a distinct separation in the books between the narrative and visual components however, with pages of images following the text. These books required one to browse through sheets of lithographs and flip back to the text at the front for explanations. Since Talbot claimed Sir Walter Scott's writings as his influence, perhaps he thought the reader would use his novels and poems to accompany his photographs, voiding the need for Talbot to write anything on the locations.

Finally, one might also consider the drawing manual format which Talbot would have known well.¹³³ Since the images in the manuals were produced for copying by the consumer, they also tended to be free of text. William Belch's *Drawing Book of Landscapes*, printed and sold by William Belch of Newting Butts in the 1830s, was a thin, cheap, lithographed series of pencil drawings set out as a progression that presented one view with the most basic structural lines and then showed the finished view on the opposite page. Aside from the title page giving the price of the work at 6d and a caption on each of the finished drawings stating the location of the view, there is no further explanation of the works in the book. The book is loosely bound in paper with three strings and clearly aimed at a different audience from that of Talbot's *Sun Pictures*, but this is merely one example of the genre. W. H. Townsend produced a book for the drawing of plant types called *A System of Foliage with Hints on the Acquirement of Touch, Being an Introduction to the Study of Nature, Designed for the Use of Amateurs* printed in London and Edinburgh in 1843 by Joseph Graham. The book was bound in an embossed leather cover and contained many plates. There is an introductory text describing the kinds of materials and supplies the artist should have in store to reproduce the works shown, perhaps because it was designed for the amateur. The text is separate from the actual images, however, with each of the plates bearing only a title, a small signature and sometimes a date. These plates vary greatly in size and orientation, and sometimes multiple detail drawings are printed on a page. This book would have been aimed at an upper class market, selling for at least several shillings rather than pence.

Whether or not Talbot owned these or similar books, he did attempt to enter his calotypes in the same market. In 1846 the Reading Establishment produced a pamphlet entitled "Sun Pictures or the Talbotype" that offered individual images for artists' use.¹³⁴ Talbot placed an order at Reading for 300 large prints of "Doun Castle, different views" in 1845 and Henneman printed a number of titled versions of prints for sale over the years.¹³⁵ Talbot still had not garnered the recognition he needed to make a photographic print shop successful in this capacity even as late as 1846, however, promoting him to contact the press.

¹³³ See Martin Kemp, "Talbot and the picturesque view – Henry, Caroline and Constance," *History of Photography*, v.21, (1997): 270-282.

¹³⁴ H.J.P. Arnold, *William Henry Fox Talbot; Pioneer of Photography and Man of Science* (London: Hutchinson Benham, 1977), 161. Not much is known about this particular venture, other than it was the brainchild of another employee at Reading, B.J. Cowderoy who was brought in by Talbot to try and increase the commercial success of the establishment.

¹³⁵ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 204.

In its 1 June 1846 issue the *Art Union* journal attempted to elevate Talbot's process by including a copy of one of his salted paper prints with an editorial note indicating "...the Talbotype has been hitherto only circulated in private societies, and is, consequently, less generally well known."¹³⁶ Talbot also started selling prints through Ackermann's around this time, a company that was well known for providing art supplies and drawing aids. T.H.A. Fielding's *The Art of Engraving*, produced in London by Ackerman in 1841, lists other publications by the company at the back of the book, and various costs of those books and artist's materials. At that date, there was no listing for the purchase or rental of calotype views as drawing aids but the company did advertise that a subscriber could have access to the store of original drawings in Ackerman's library for four guineas per year, lent for the purpose of copying and on condition all images be returned to the company before another could be requested. It is likely that the individual calotype prints available in 1846 through this company were sold rather than loaned, but for a similar purpose. There are various requests for the extension of the calotype patent for the use of artists occurring before *Sun Pictures in Scotland* was released, and Talbot clearly had an interest in marketing his calotype prints to artists, so it is not unreasonable to think that the source for the unconventional format of *Sun Pictures* were the conventional drawing manuals.¹³⁷

The problem with making comparisons to other media, either structurally or in terms of cost, is that different markets demanded different features and prices, and there are divisions within the markets themselves. Drawing manuals could vary widely in price and design, making it impossible to assume that all lithographed books of drawings were illustrated in the same manner, with text preceding image. W. Westall describes views across Great Britain in *The Landscape Album, or Great Britain Illustrated: in a series of 60 views* (London: Charles Tilt, 1832) using the alternating text and image technique that Lerebours' *Excursions Daguerriennes* had employed. Perhaps because this work is a survey of a larger area, using a single image to represent each location, this format was more appropriate. Yet the book of lavish engravings by Joseph Swan entitled *The Lakes of Scotland*, issued in London by Hodgson, Boyes and Graves in 1836, utilizes this format as well. There is still a long

¹³⁶ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 161.

¹³⁷ Talbot received two letters, one from Thomas Longman and another from his mother in 1845, requesting that Talbot grant John Linnell a license to practice the calotype for his art. Linnell was a landscape and portrait painter by trade. See LAM-085, document number 5309 and LA45-017, document number 05174.

introductory text, written by John M. Leighton, but the text continues throughout the views, describing their appeal. The argument for consulting the illustrated view books and drawing manuals is that Talbot must have had some type of genre of publication in mind in order to conceive, structure, and market his. It is likely that he chose a format that audiences would have been familiar with, and in the several examples listed above it is clear that early-nineteenth century audiences were familiar with volumes of images without text.

Conclusions

There is a reason why Graham Smith saw the photographs in *Sun Pictures* as antecedents of great paintings: the Loch Katrine photographs are visually compatible with the nineteenth century landscape painting genre, and their creator, Talbot, would appear to agree.¹³⁸ Yet Smith's preoccupation with Loch Katrine resulted in his assessment of the photographs in the book as individual art objects, ignoring the overall meaning of the book as a single artistic endeavour. Schaaf has also made comments on some of the images in *Sun Pictures* in his publications, specifically comments on Plates 2, 13, 20, (and a variant of 16) in *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot*.¹³⁹ In a forthcoming publication on the rare book collection of photographic publications at George Eastman House, Schaaf discusses the two copies of *Sun Pictures* held there, calling them "the finest and most original single group of photographs he [Talbot] ever accomplished." Schaaf does not, however, explain why he thinks this is so, and through my research I discovered that many authors willing to comment on the book rarely supported their arguments with an analysis of the book itself. There was a fundamental gap in academic discourse where a thorough description of the book belonged.

It is worth taking a brief look back at the secondary sources available for those who wished to learn more about *Sun Pictures in Scotland* in the past. André Jammes was the first to bring Talbot into the spotlight in the 1970s and a flurry of biographies followed. Jammes provided possible reasons for Talbot's books, conjecturing that Talbot launched into production of *Sun Pictures* between fascicles of *The Pencil of Nature* as an attempt to inflate his sagging commercial image, (there were reports that photographs in the early copies of *Pencil*

¹³⁸ See Larry J. Schaaf's arguments in the chapter "Photography Becomes an Art," in *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 103-153.

¹³⁹ Larry J. Schaaf, *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 202-8.

faded quickly.)¹⁴⁰ H.J.P. Arnold and Robert Lassam were the next to produce biographies on Talbot, and Lassam ironically imagines that Talbot made *Sun Pictures* to repeat his success with *Pencil*.¹⁴¹ The ideas appear to spring out of some conception that *Sun Pictures* was a reactionary effort; something created as a result of *Pencil*. Neither Jammes, nor Arnold and Lassam gave the book more attention in their works than a few cursory lines. In 1980, Gail Buckland provided a lavishly illustrated biography of Talbot with a more persuasive agenda of establishing Talbot's artistic pedigree. She argued, however, that Talbot's photographs in *Sun Pictures* were less artistic than the photographs he produced for *Pencil*, and shockingly enough, because of his intentions: "Generally, rather than seeking to make imaginative, poetic images, he made literal, staid representations."¹⁴² We are not told why Buckland has this insight into Talbot's mind. Again, not much attention is paid to possible reasons for making the book, merely the results and how those can be compared to *Pencil*. Finally, Alex Sweetman discussed the role of *Sun Pictures* in the history of the photographically illustrated book, a survey article that could not provide the depth the book demands. That did not deter Sweetman from concluding that *Sun Pictures* was a "portfolio between the covers" and "the order of presentation follow[ed] no particular logic."¹⁴³ No attempt was made to compare this book to existing book styles but *Sun Pictures* was instead lauded as an original new format. While the book is clearly original by virtue of its process, one must consider the milieu in which the photographic book was created. The photographic book had to compete with other illustrated books if it were to lay claim to any part of the market for books. While each author certainly had their reasons to draw the conclusions they did, it is easy to see how the literature on *Sun Pictures* appears terribly confused. Because of this, *Sun Pictures* should be studied in more detail as its own entity apart from its older sibling, *The Pencil of Nature*. While *Pencil* provides relevant material with which to understand how *Sun Pictures* were made, it is a different book with a different purpose, and recognizing this disparity is what makes studying *Sun Pictures in Scotland* attractive.

I hope to have illustrated with this thesis that Talbot did produce a cohesive book, with an organization that could have borrowed from artistic book production in other

¹⁴⁰ André Jammes, *William Henry Fox Talbot, The Inventor of the Negative-Positive Process* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1973), 12.

¹⁴¹ Robert Lassam, *Fox Talbot, Photographer* (Tisbury, Wiltshire: Compton Press, 1979), 22.

¹⁴² Gail Buckland, *Fox Talbot and the Invention of Photography* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980), 88.

¹⁴³ Alex Sweetman, "Photographic Book to Photobookwork: 140 Years of Photography in Publication," *California Museum of Photography Bulletin* 5, no. 2 (1986): 4.

media. The format could have been influenced by budget constraints but it also could have been an indication that he was trying to produce a form of drawing manual or view book commonly used by artists and amateurs. The images he chose reflected his personal taste and would have situated him within a practice of landscape sketching that was highly prized among his class. His advertising clearly indicates that he considered the book to have a thematic link with the life and writings of Sir Walter Scott, and that the subject matter was important to him. In each instance there is room for argument that Talbot thought that the book was an artistic production rather than simply another demonstration of his process.

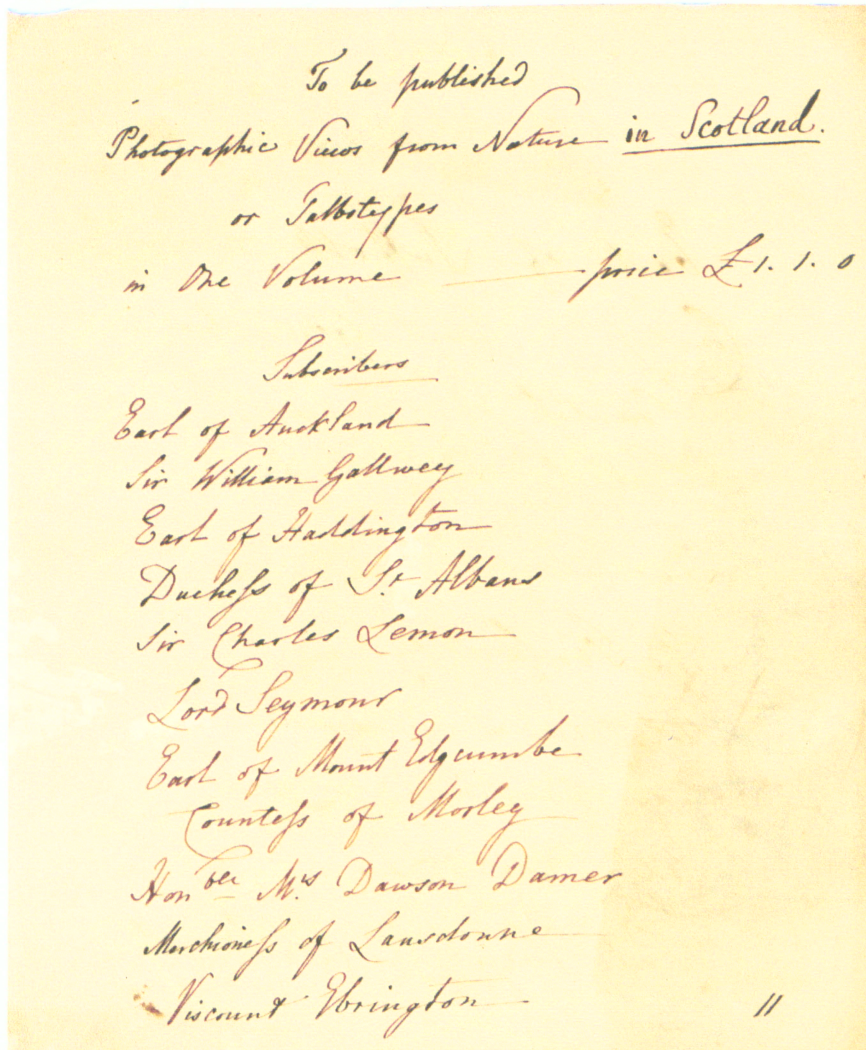
The Subscription Lists for *Sun Pictures in Scotland*

Image from the first copy of the Subscription List for *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, The Talbot Collection, National Media Museum (Bradford, UK).

This is the first page of what was probably the earliest subscription list. At the top of this, Talbot has not yet identified the book by the title he will finally give it, *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. This list is shorter than the second one and all the names appear on the second list. Why would Talbot's mother re-write the list over again? The answer probably lies in the name that appears at the end of this list: The Queen (see my highlight on following page).

Earl of Carnarvon — 2 Copies
 Miss Louisa — — — 2 Copies
 Lady Charlotte Guest
 Anne Wm Fox Longway
 Viscountess Palmerston
 Chevalier Bunsen
 Mr. Sewall
 Lady William Powlett
 Lord Colborne
 Mrs. Montefiore — 2 Copies
 62

Carrington
 by Carrington
 The Secret

Image from the first copy of the Subscription List for *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, The Talbot Collection, National Media Museum (Bradford, UK).

The second list, written by Lady Elisabeth Fielding, is the one most often reproduced. It is clear from this first document that the Queen was not the first subscriber, however, just the

most prestigious. The other names on the list must have been re-arranged as well, for logic would dictate that Sir William Gallwey's name would still appear on the first page. It would be interesting to know if the order of Lady Elisabeth's second list reveals anything more about the importance and, by implication, the order of the people inscribed there.

Subscribers
To the Talbotype Sun Pictures in Scotland
1845

Air Majesty the Queen
The Queen Dowager
Earl of Auckland
Lady William Powlett
Lady de Dunstanville
Earl of Haddington
Duchess of St. Albans
Duke of Devonshire
Sir John Lubbock
Mr. Galford
Sir Robert Throckmorton
Lord Dudley Stuart — 2 copies

Image from a second copy of the Subscription List for *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, The Talbot Collection, National Media Museum (Bradford, UK).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Talbot, William Henry Fox. *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. London: 1845.

____. *The Pencil of Nature, Anniversary Facsimile*. New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989.

Schaaf, Larry J. "The Correspondence of William Henry Fox Talbot." De Montfort University, Leicester and The University of Glasgow, Glasgow.
<http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk/index.html>

Talbot, William Henry Fox and Elisabeth Fielding. "To Be Published Photographic Views from Nature in Scotland or Talbotypes in One Volume – price £1.1.0. Subscribers." Handwritten note, [1845?]. National Media Museum, Bradford, UK.

____. "Subscribers To the Talbotype Sun Pictures in Scotland 1845." Handwritten note, 1845. National Media Museum, Bradford, UK.

____. "Stock of Pictures." Ledger, British Library. 1846. LA46-2.

Historical Works

Belch, William. *William Belch's Drawing Book of Landscapes*. Printed and sold by William Belch, Newting Butts. [183-?]

Browne, James Esq. *Picturesque Views of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: Daniel Lizars, 1825.

Chambers, Robert. *The Picture of Scotland*. 4th Edition. [n.p.]: Robert Chambers, 1840.

The English Catalogue of Books. London: Publisher's Circular, 1835-62.

Fielding, T.H.A. *The Art of Engraving with the Various Modes of Operation*. London: Ackerman, 1841.

Leighton, John M. Esq. *The Lakes of Scotland*. Joseph Swan, Engraver. London : Hodgson, Boys and Graves. 1836.

Lerebours, N.P. *Excursions Daguerriennes: vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe*. Paris: Rittner et Goupil, 1840-1.

____. *Excursions Daguerriennes: vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe*. Paris: Rittner et Goupil, 1842.

McLellan, I. Jr. *McLellan's Journal and Memoir*. Boston: Allen and Ticknor, 1834.

Queen Victoria in Scotland. Glasgow: Maclure and MacDonald, 1842.

Repton, Thomas. "On Gardening." In *The Early Nineteenth Century: Art, Design and Society 1789-1852*, edited by Bernard Denvir, 35. London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1984.

The Scottish Tourist. Edinburgh, Published by Stirling and Kenney, London, and J. Cumming, Dublin, 1834.

Stevens, John L. *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatan*. Illustrations by Frederick Catherwood. London: John Murray, 1843.

Townsend, W.H. *A System of Foliage with Hints on the Acquirement of Touch: Being an Introduction to the Study of Nature, Designed for the Use of Amateurs*. London and Edinburgh: Joseph Graham, 1844.

Westall, W. Esq. *The Landscape Album; or, Great Britain Illustrated*. London: Charles Tilt, 1832.

Wright, Thomas Esq. *Virtue's Picturesque Beauties of Great Britain*. London: G. Virtue, 1831.

Contemporary Literature

Ackerman, James S. "The Photographic Picturesque." *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol.24, iss.8, (2003): 73-94.

Andrews, Malcolm. *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989.

_____. *The Picturesque: Literary Sources & Documents, Volume I*. Edited by Malcolm Andrews. East Sussex, UK: Helm Information Ltd., 1994.

Armstrong, Carol. *Scenes in a Library: Reading the Photograph in the Book, 1843-1875*. Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998.

Arnold, H.J.P. *William Henry Fox Talbot; Pioneer of Photography and Man of Science*. London: Hutchinson Benham, 1977.

Ballantyne, Andrew. *Architecture, landscape and liberty: Richard Payne Knight and the picturesque*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Barger, M. Susan and William White. *The Daguerreotype: Nineteenth-Century Technology and Modern Science*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Berman, Morris. "'Hegemony' and the Amateur Tradition in British Science." *Journal of Social History*, Vol.8, iss.2., (1975): 30-50.

Bermingham, Ann. *Landscape and Ideology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.

_____. *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art*. New Haven, Connecticut: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2000.

_____. "‘An Exquisite Practice’: The Institution of Drawing as a Polite Art in Britain." In *Towards a Modern Art World, Studies in British Art 1*, edited by Brian Allen, 47-66. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.

_____. "The Picturesque and ready-to-wear femininity." In *The Politics of the Picturesque*, edited by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, 81-119. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Bloore, Catherine. "The Circle of William Henry Fox Talbot." In *The Golden Age of British Photography 1839-1900*, edited by Haworth Booth. New York: Aperture, 1984.

Brown, Iain G. Introduction to *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence*, xiii-xvii. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Royal Museum of Scotland, 2003.

Buckland, Gail. *Fox Talbot and the Invention of Photography*. Boston: David R. Godine, 1980.

Buerger, Janet E. *French Daguerreotypes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Charlesworth, Michael. "The Ruined Abbey: Picturesque and Gothic Values." In *The Politics of the Picturesque*, edited by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, 62-80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Chiarenza, Carl. "Notes on the Aesthetic Relationships between Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting and Nineteenth Century Photography." In *One Hundred Years of Photographic History*, edited by Van Deren Coke. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1975.

Clair, Colin. *A History of Printing in Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Coe, Brian W. "‘Sun Pictures’ Modern Preparation." In *Camera* (1976): 22-23.

Copley, Stephen. "The Fine Arts in the Eighteenth Century." In *Painting and the Politics of Culture: New Essays on British Art, 1700-1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Decker, George. *The Fictions of Romantic Tourism: Radcliffe, Scott and Mary Shelley*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2005.

Denvir, Bernard. *The Early Nineteenth Century: Art, Design and Society 1789-1852*. London and New York: Longman Group Limited, 1984.

- Fawcett, Richard and Richard Oram. *Melrose Abbey*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2004.
- Flint, Kate. *The Victorians and the Visual Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Frew, John. "Scott, Abbotsford and the Antiquaries." In *Abbotsford and Sir Walter Scott: The Image and the Influence*, edited by Iain Brown, 37-48. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and the Royal Museum of Scotland, 2003.
- Goedde, Lawrence O. "Naturalism as Convention: Subject, Style, and Artistic Self-Consciousness in Dutch Landscape." In *Looking at Seventeenth Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, edited by Wayne Franits. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Groth, Helen. *Victorian Photography and Literary Nostalgia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Holloway, James and Lindsay Errington, *The Discovery of Scotland*. Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1978.
- Huellas de luz: *El Arte y los Experimentos de William Henry Fox Talbot*. Madrid : Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, 2001.
- Jammes, André. *William Henry Fox Talbot, The Inventor of the Negative-Positive Process*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1973.
- Keeler, Nancy. "The Calotype and Aesthetics in Early Photography." In *Paper and Light: The Calotype in France and Great Britain, 1839-1870*, edited by Richard Brettell, 11-46. Boston: David R. Godine, Publisher, Inc., 1984.
- Kemp, Martin. "Talbot and the picturesque view – Henry, Caroline and Constance." *History of Photography*, v.21, (1997): 270-282.
- Lambert, Susan. *The Image Multiplied: Five Centuries of Printed Reproductions of Paintings and Drawings*. New York: Abaris Books, 1987.
- Lassam, Robert. *Fox Talbot, Photographer*. Tisbury Wiltshire: Compton Press, 1979.
- Lyons, Clare L. et al. *Antiquity and Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005.
- Mayor, A. Hyatt. *Prints & People: A Social History of Printed Pictures*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971.
- Muir, Percy. *Victorian Illustrated Books*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1985.
- Newhall, Beaumont. *The Pencil of Nature*. New York: DaCapo Press, 1969.

Peveraro, Katherine. *Views of the North: Visions of Scotland From Talbot, Turner and Scott*. M.Litt. thesis, University of St Andrews, 2004.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.

Roberts, Russell. *Specimens and Marvels, William Henry Fox Talbot and the Invention of Photography*. New York: Aperture, 2000.

Schaaf, Larry J. H. *Fox Talbot's The Pencil of Nature Anniversary Facsimile, Introductory Volume*. New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1989.

_____. *Out of the Shadows: Herschel, Talbot, & the Invention of Photography*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.

_____. *The Photographic Art of William Henry Fox Talbot*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.

_____. "Henry Talbot's First Exhibition in Scotland." *Studies in Photography* (1998): 25-28.

_____. *Catalogue Three. Sun Pictures, The Harold White Collection of Works by William Henry Fox Talbot*. New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr. Inc., 1987.

_____. *Catalogue Five. Sun Pictures, The Reverend Calvert R. Jones*. New York: Hans P. Krauss, Jr., Inc. and Meridian Printing, 1990.

Smith, Graham. *Disciples of Light: Photographs in the Brewster Album*. Malibu, California: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1990.

_____. *Sun Pictures in Scotland*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1989.

_____. "William Henry Fox Talbot's Views of Loch Katrine," *Bulletin of University of Michigan's Museums of Art and Archaeology* 7 (1984-1985): 49-77. An edited version appears as "Views of Scotland." In *Henry Fox Talbot, Selected Texts and Bibliography*, edited by Mike Weaver, 117-124. Boston: G.K.Hall & Co., 1993.

Snow, V.F. and D.B. Thomas. "The Talbotype Establishment at Reading," *The Photographic Journal*. Vol. 106, (1966): 56-67.

Standring, Timothy J. "Watercolor Landscape Sketching During the Popular Picturesque Era in Britain." In *Glorious Nature: British Landscape Painting 1750-1850*, edited by Katherine Baetjer, 73-84. New York: Denver Art Museum and Hudson Hills Press, 1993.

The Sublime: A Reader in Eighteenth Century British Aesthetic Theory, edited by Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Sweetman, Alex. "Photographic Book to Photobookwork: 140 Years of Photography in Publication." *California Museum of Photography Bulletin* 5, no. 2 (1986): 1-32.

Taylor, Roger. *Photographs Exhibited in Britain, 1839-1865: A Compendium of Photographers and Their Works / Photographies exposées en Grande-Bretagne de 1839 à 1865: répertoire des photographes et de leurs oeuvres*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, Library and Archives, 2002.

Taylor, Susan L. "Fox Talbot as an Artist: The Patroclus Series." *Bulletin of University of Michigan's Museums of Art and Archaeology* 8 (1986-88): 39-55.

Thomas, D.B. *The Science Museum Photography Collection*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969.

Todd, William B. *Sir Walter Scott: A Bibliographical History, 1796-1832*. [n.p.], Oak Knoll Press, 1998.

Wakeman, Geoffrey. *Victorian Book Illustration*. Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1973.

Weaver, Mike, ed. *Henry Fox Talbot, Selected Texts and Bibliography*. Boston: G.K.Hall & Co., 1993.

_____. "Henry Fox Talbot: Conversation Pieces." In *British Photography in the Nineteenth Century: The Fine Art Tradition*, edited by Mike Weaver, 11-24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Weedon, Alexis. *Victorian Publishing: The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2003.

Whale, John. "Romantics, explorers and Picturesque travelers." In *The Politics of the Picturesque*, edited by Stephen Copley and Peter Garside, 175-195. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

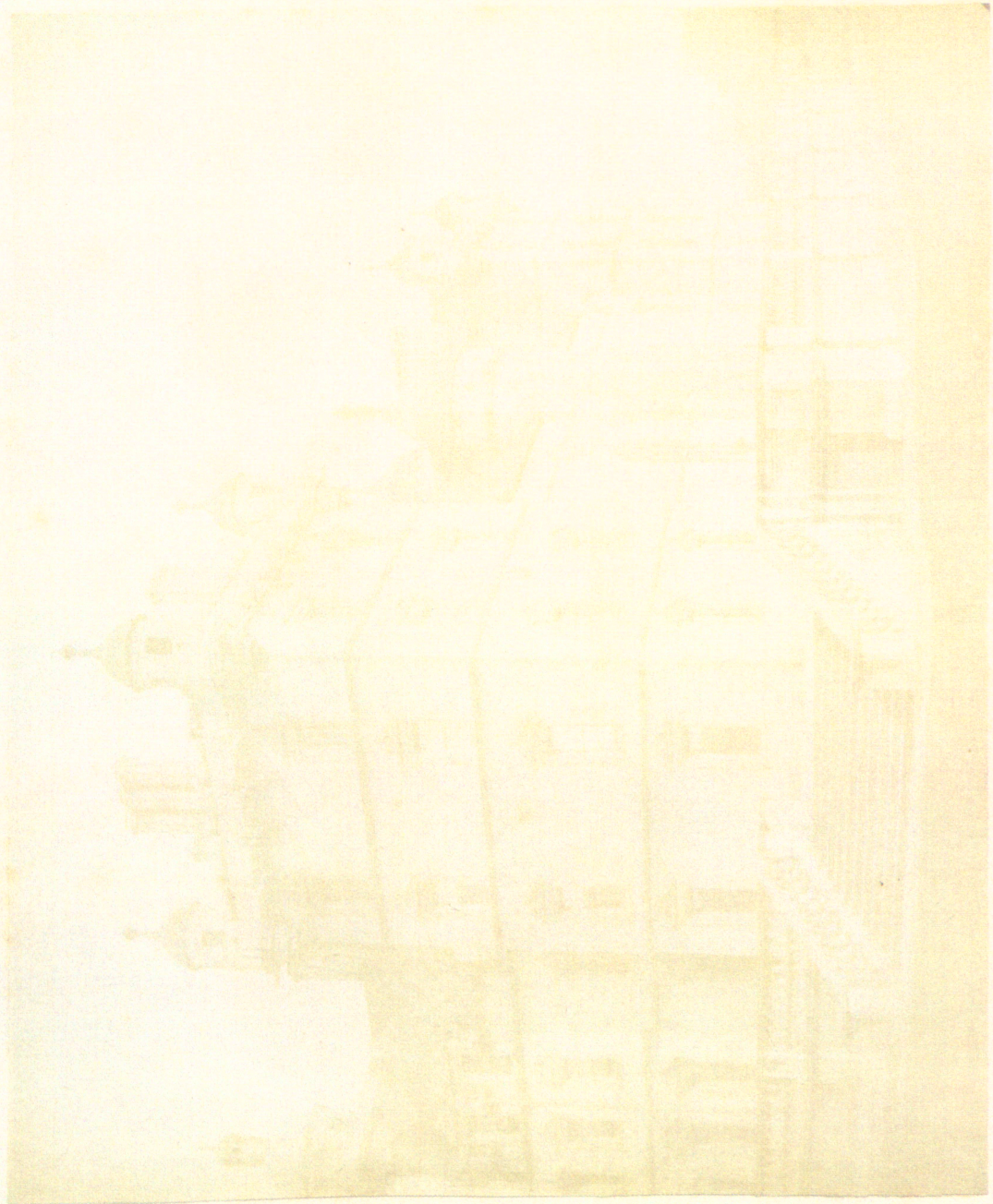
Wood, John. *The Scenic Daguerreotype, Romanticism and Early Photography*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1995.

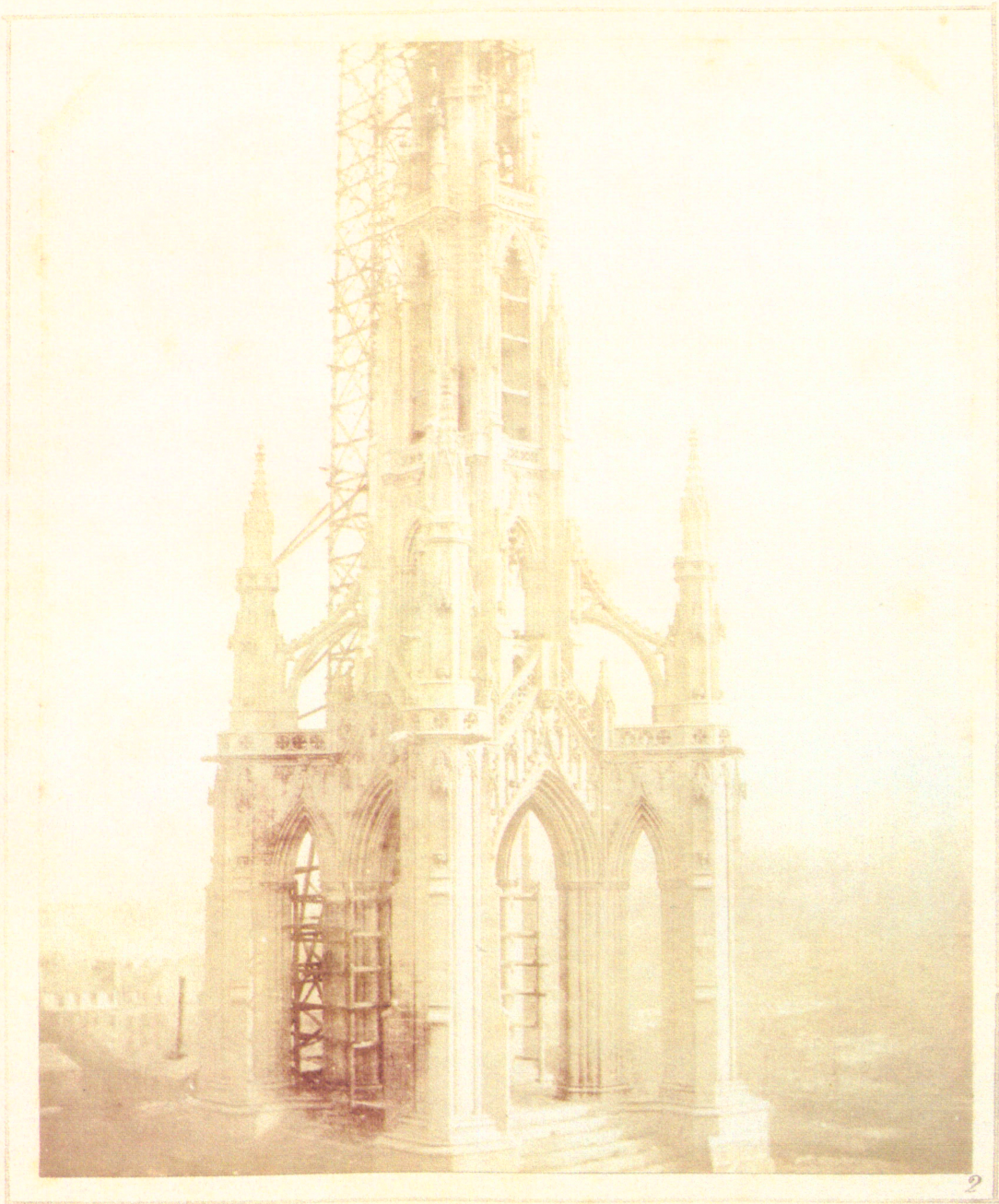
Websites

Roger Taylor, "Photographs exhibited by: Talbot, William Henry Fox (1800-1877)," *Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839-1865, Records from Victorian Exhibition Catalogues*, <http://peib.dmu.ac.uk/itemphotographer.php?photogNo=391&orderby=coverage&photogName=Talbot%2C+William+Henry+Fox+%281800-1877%29>

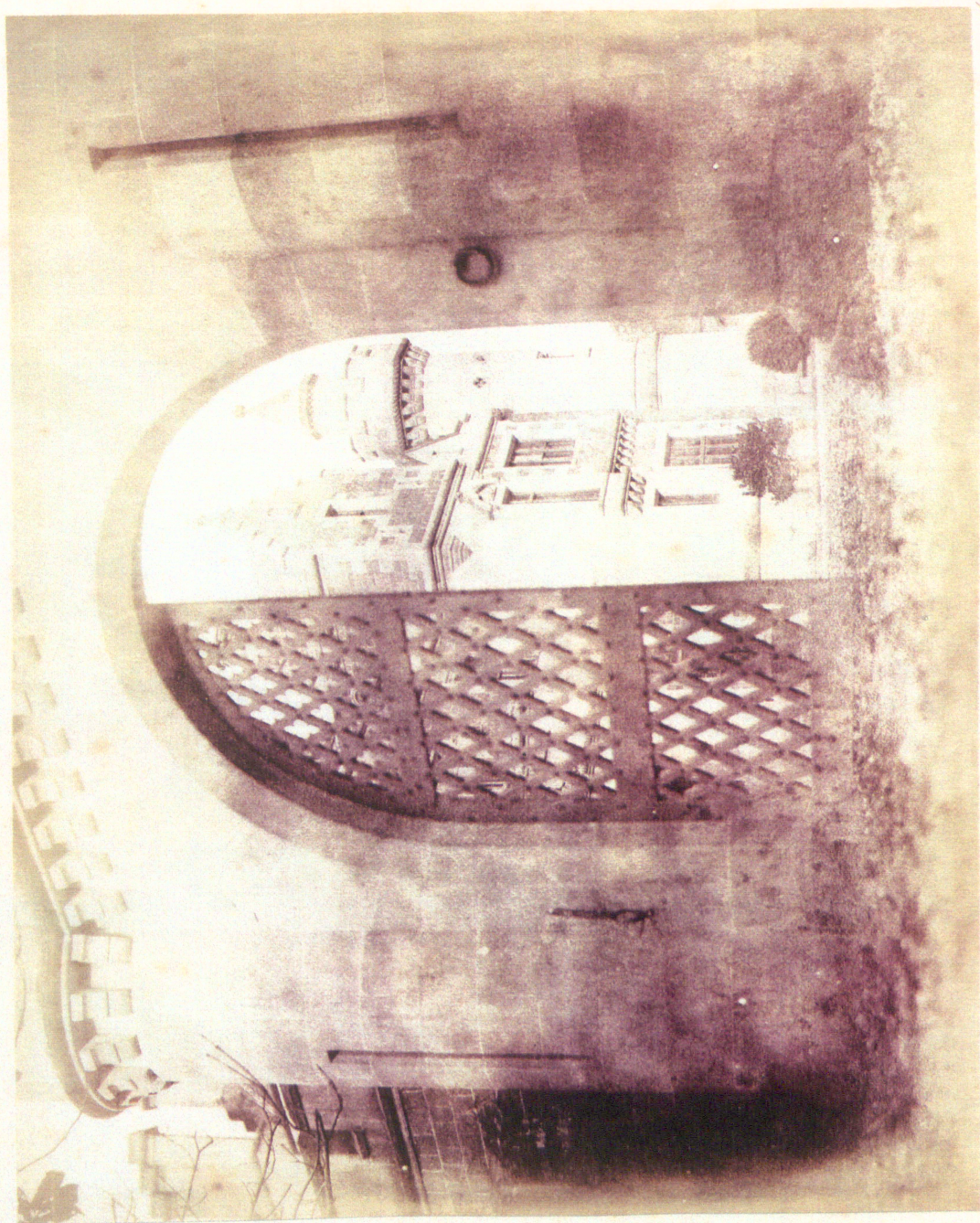
"Abbotsford, The Home of Sir Walter Scott, Melrose, Scotland," Official Website, <http://www.scottsassbotsford.co.uk/house.html>

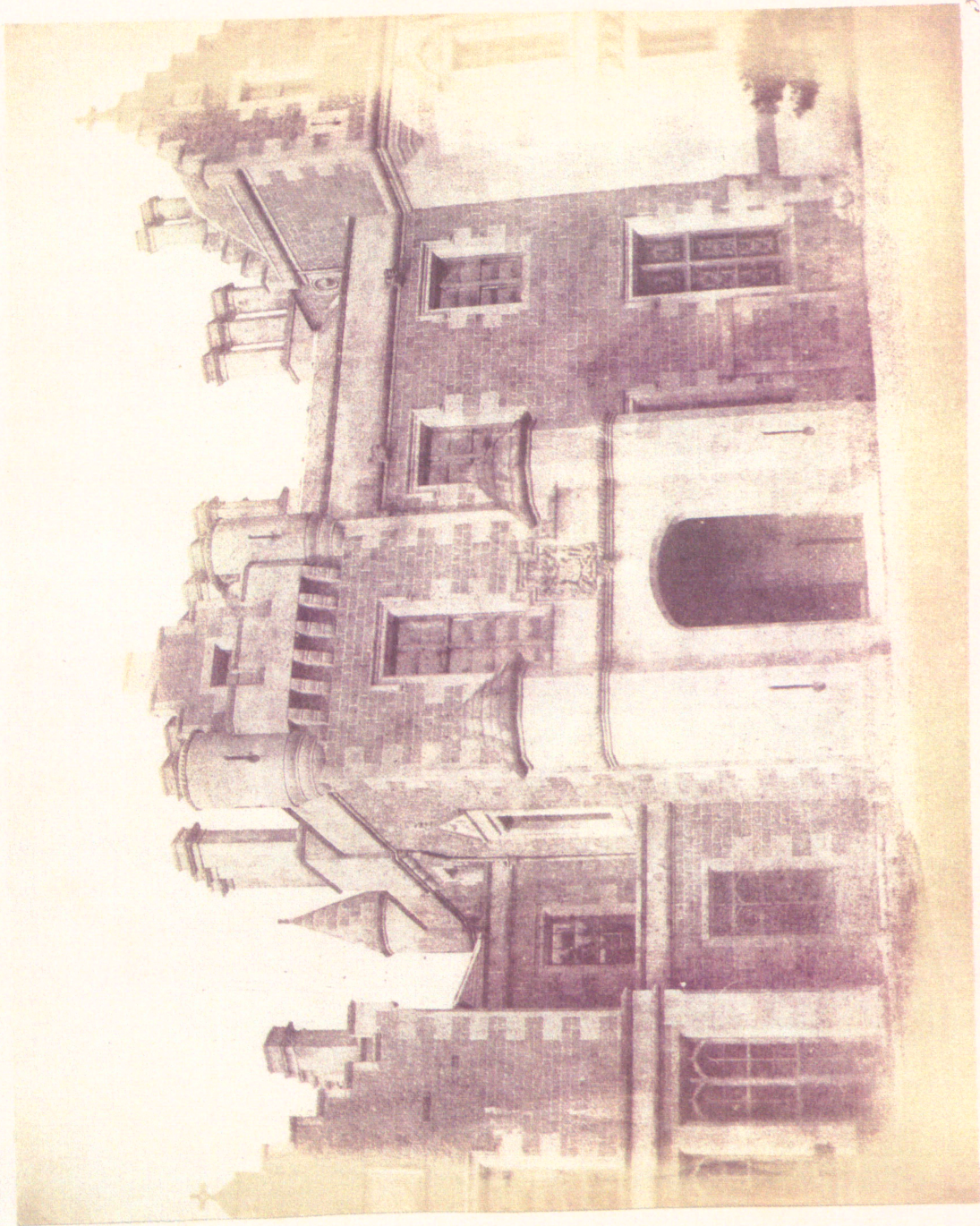
"Scott Monument," Excelsior Information Systems Ltd., <http://www.aboutbritain.com/ScottMonument.htm>



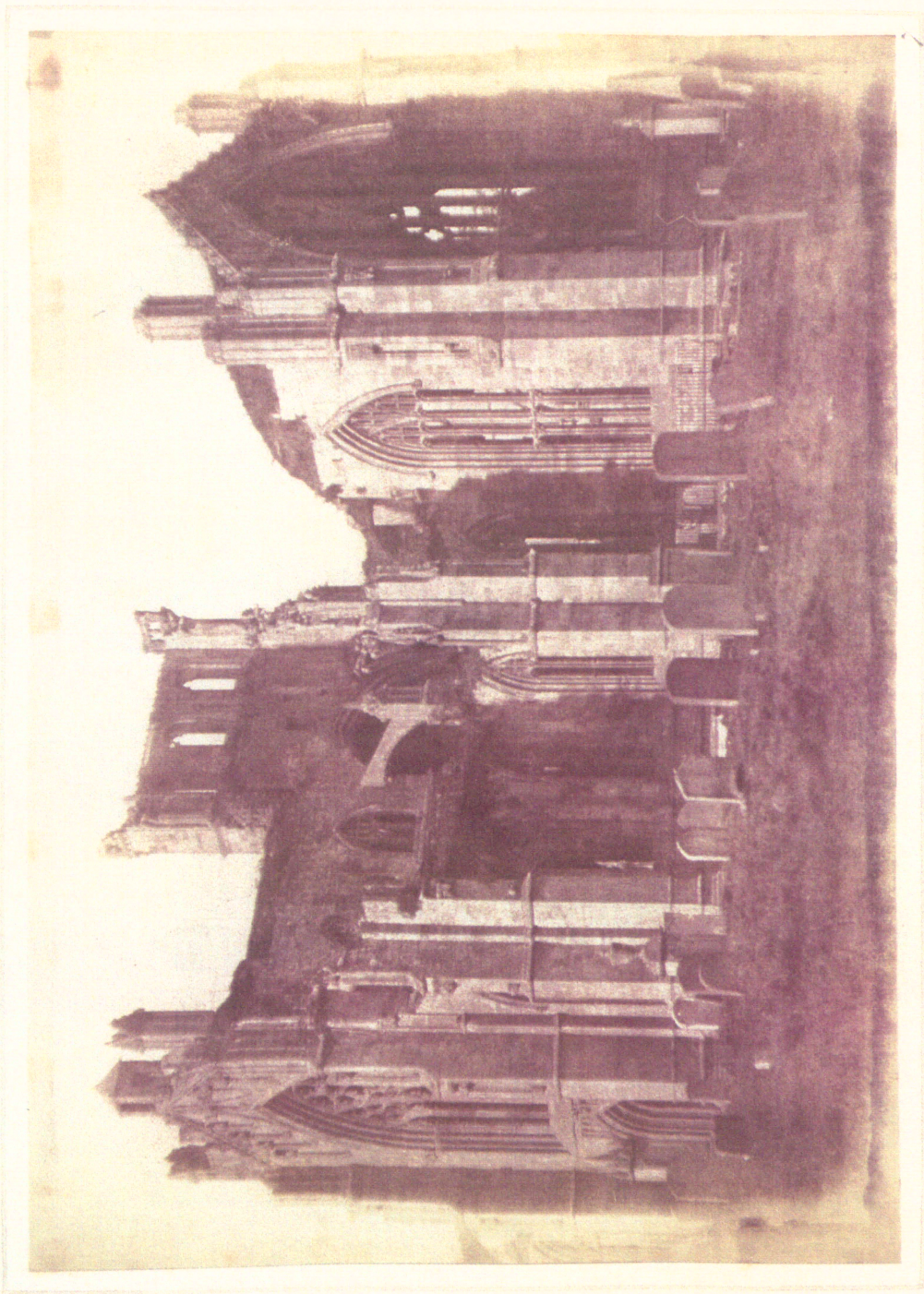


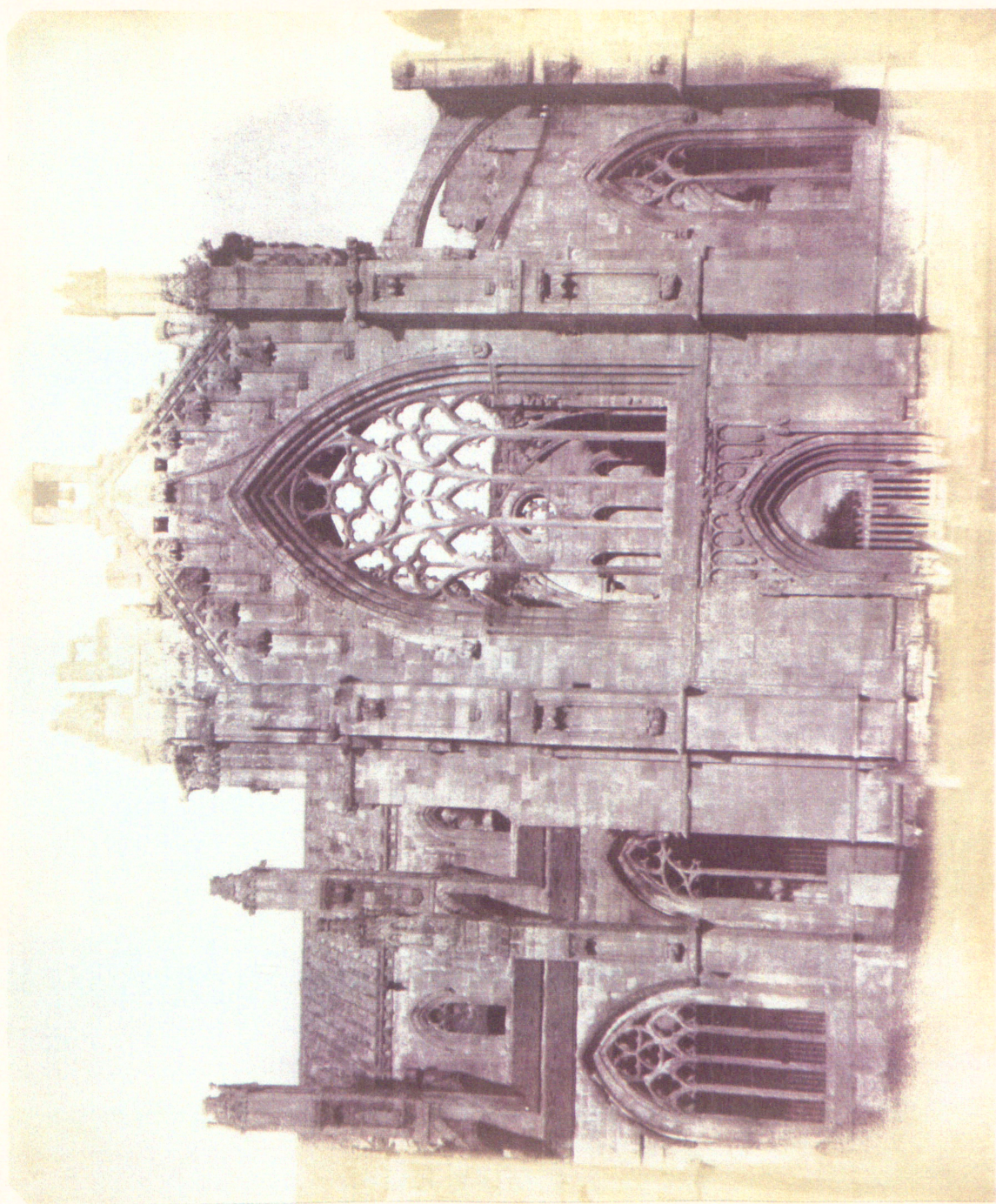


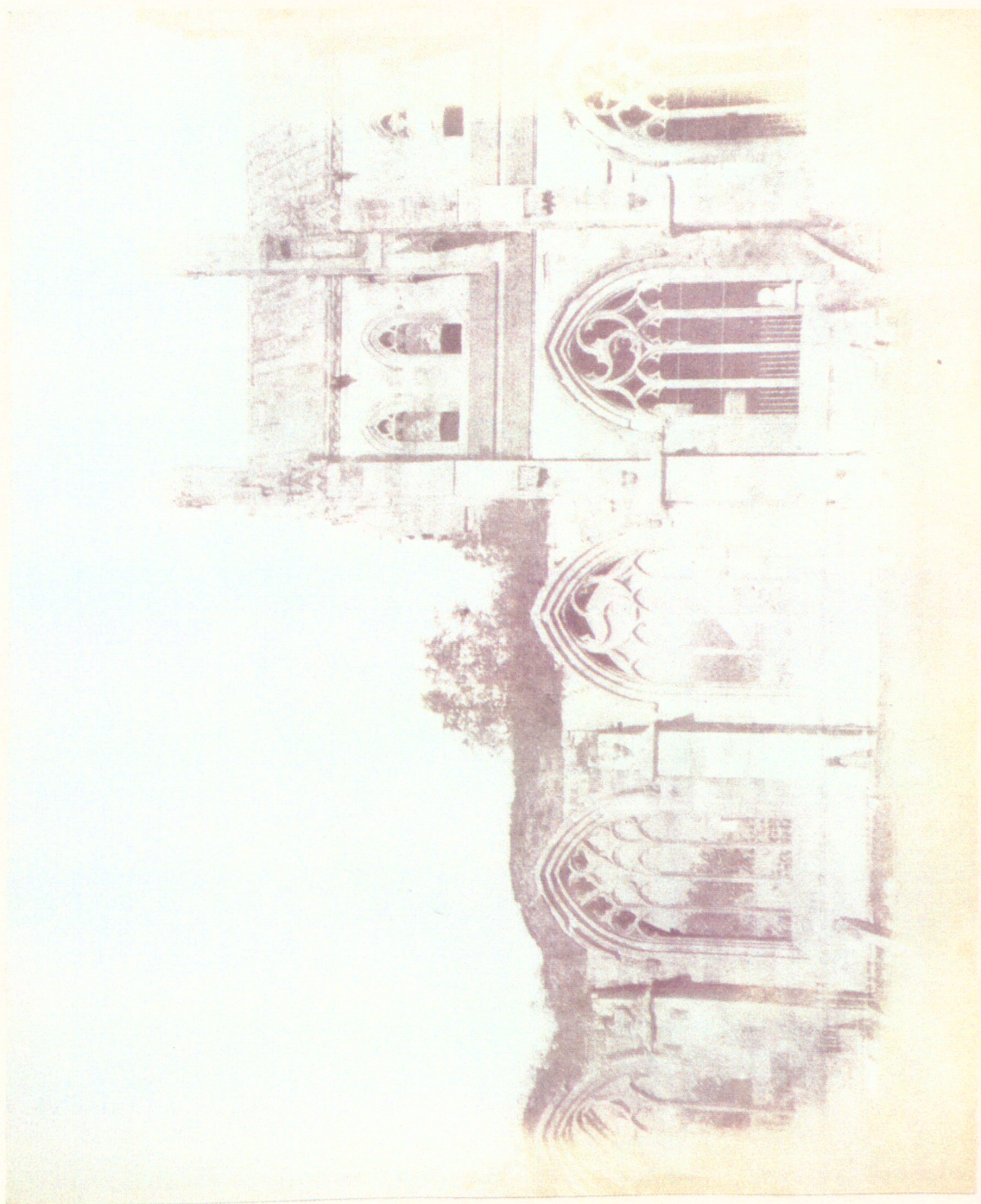


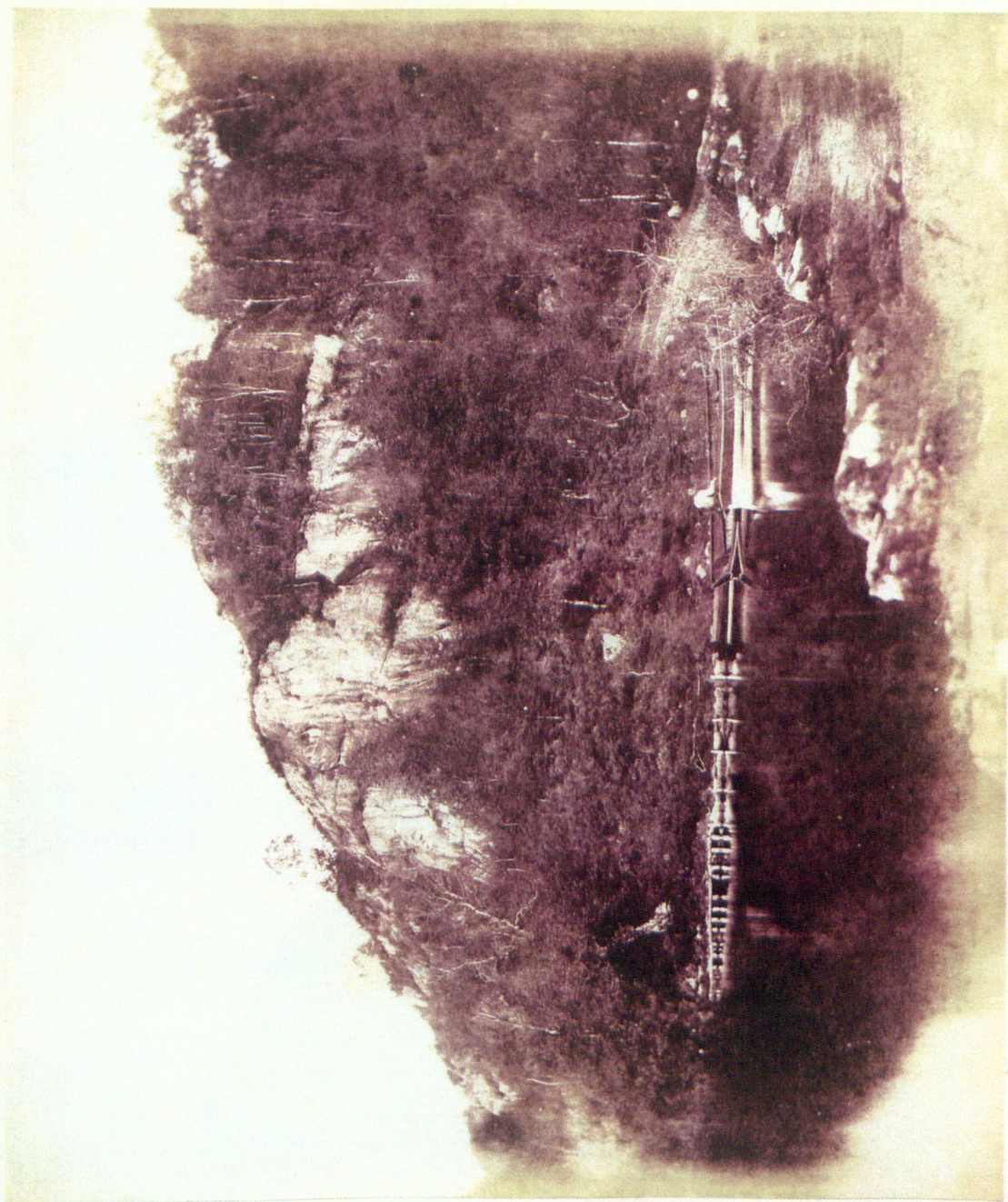










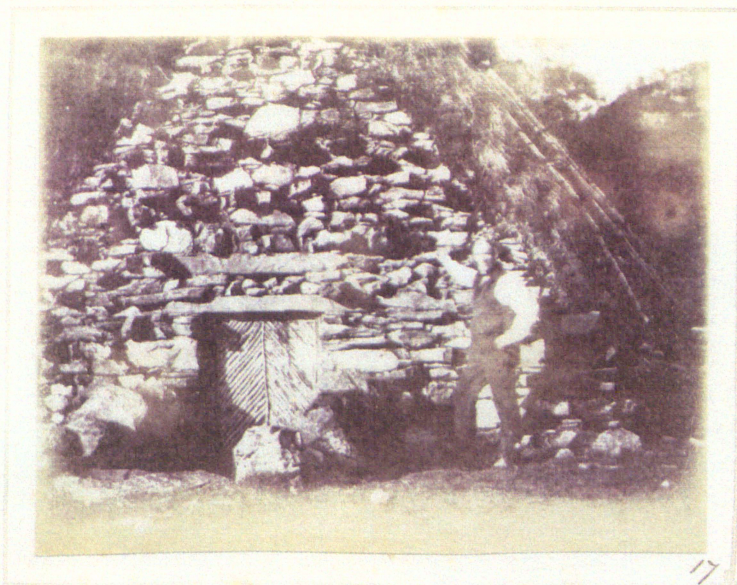


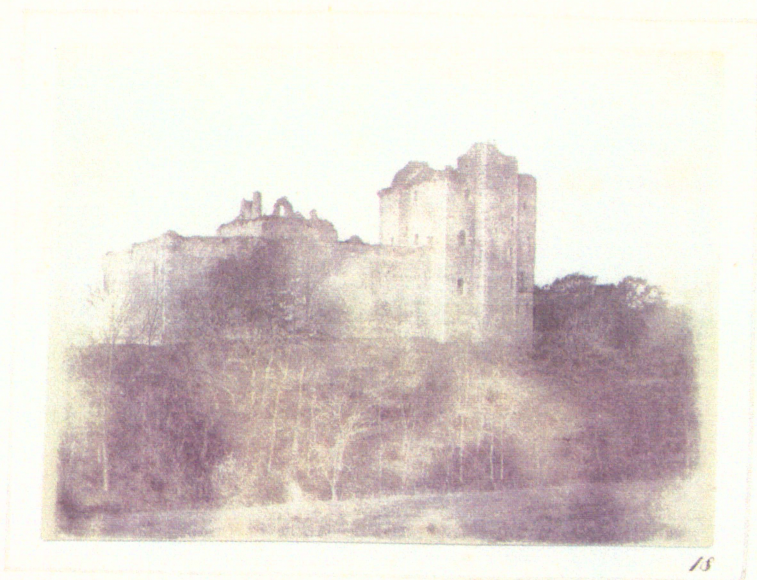












13



14



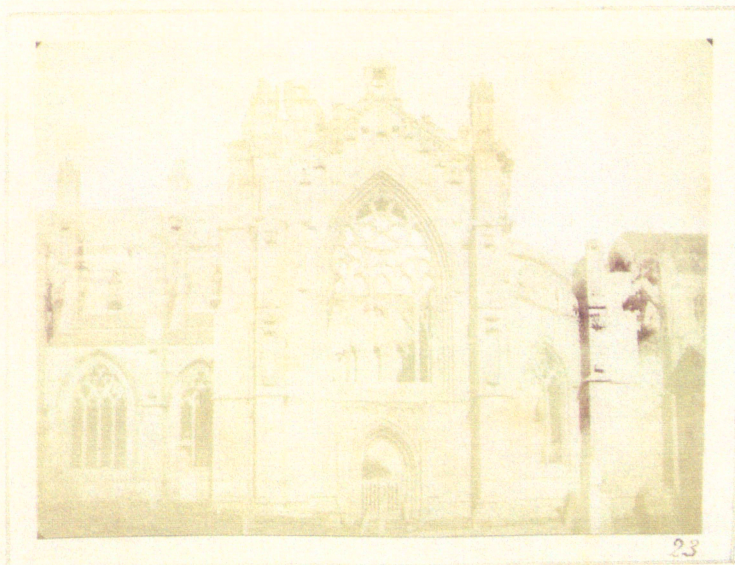
20



21



22



23